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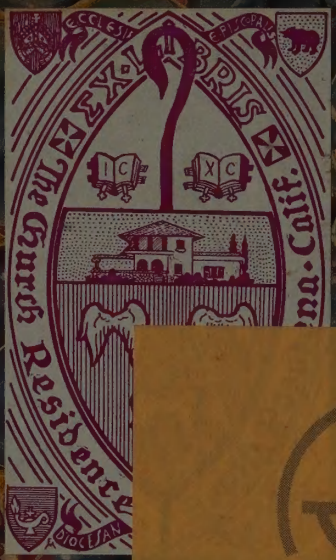

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AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF

BISHOP BURNET'S

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE TWO FIRST VOLUMES ABRIDGED BY HIMSELF.

A NEW EDITION.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCVIII.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE bulk and price of the two volumes of the Hiſtory of our Reformation, which I have publiſhed, being ſuch, that every one cannot find the money to buy them, or the leiſure to read them, I have been deſired by many to contract what I proſecuted more largely in that work, and bring it into a leſs compaſs.

I know abridgments are generally hurtful: in them men receive ſuch a ſlight tincture of knowledge, as only feeds vanity, and furniſhes diſcourſe, but does not give ſo clear a view of things, nor ſo ſolid an inſtruction, as may be had in more copious writings. And as it is a grievous impoſition on that time, which ought to be employed to better uſes, to draw out that which might be expreſſed in few words, to ſuch a length, that it frights ſome from the ſtudy of books, which might have been of excellent uſe, if they had not been too voluminous, and oppreſſes the patience of thoſe who are reſolved to acquire knowledge in the moſt laborious methods; ſo it is, on the other hand, a great prejudice to the improvement of learning, when things are too

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much contracted, and ſuch hints are only given, as may be the ſeeds of excellent notions, perhaps, in very rich and fruitful minds: for copious enlargements are often neceſſary to make the greateſt part, who are generally ſlow and heavy in their apprehenſions, enter into thoſe notions which we ſet before them. It is a true judgment of men and things, that muſt direct us to ſeek and keep that mean betwixt thoſe extremes, that may be of the greateſt advantage to the world.

What is ſaid of notions and matters of ſcience is likewiſe applicable to matters of fact. Hiſtory is of little uſe, if we conſider it only as a tale of what was tranſacted in former times. Then it becomes moſt profitable, when the ſeries and reaſons of affairs, and ſecret councils and ends, together with the true characters of eminent men, are rightly preſented to us, that ſo, upon the light which is given us of paſt times, we may form prudent judgments of the preſent time, and probable conjectures of what is to come; and may frame ſuch a true idea of men and parties, as may both enlighten our underſtandings more, by giving us a freer proſpect of human affairs, and may better direct us in our conduct.

This made me judge it neceſſary to open things in my Hiſtory as largely as my materials could ſerve me: and becauſe I wrote upon a ſubject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great collection of records for my juſtification, which makes the half of each volume, but likewiſe in the Hiſtory itſelf to give often an account of the grounds on which I went. I alſo added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable calumnies, by which the writers of the Roman communion have endeavoured to corrupt the hiſtory of that time; together with a confutation of them. I was likewiſe careful to ſet down many particular curioſities relating to the proceedings of Parliament, of the importance of which every reader will not be aware at firſt. I gave alſo a large account of all the arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the reaſons that wrought on Sateſmen, in the changes that were made:

in

in which the reader may find an apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its hiſtory.

In all theſe particulars, there was matter enough for an abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give ſuch an account of the whole tranſaction, as might in a great meaſure ſatisfy even inquiſitive perſons. I underſtood that another was about this, which made me reſolve on doing it myſelf; for none can ſo truly comprehend, and by conſequence abridge any book, as the author himſelf; who, as he knows his own meaning beſt, ſo he who has fixed his thoughts long upon any argument, will be beſt able to judge what are the things and circumſtances that are of the greateſt importance, and are moſt neceſſary to be rightly underſtood. In compiling this Abridgment, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the records, and the proof of what I relate, or to the confutation of the falſehoods that run through the Popiſh hiſtorians: all that is to be found in the Hiſtory at large; and therefore in this Abridgment every thing is to be taken upon truſt; and thoſe that deſire a fuller ſatisfaction are to ſeek it in the volumes which I have already publiſhed. The particularities relating to the proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament could not be brought within ſo ſhort an abſtract. Many digreſſions, and the deductions of arguments, are either paſſed over, or but ſhortly touched. He that deſires to be particularly informed in any or all of theſe muſt reſort to the Hiſtory itſelf.

All that I pretend to have done in this Abridgment is, that I have given a true and clear account of the progreſs of the Reformation, in all thoſe windings, and advances, and declinings, through which it was carried from its firſt beginnings, till it was brought to a complete ſettlement under Queen Elizabeth: and this is done in ſuch a manner, that I hope the reader ſhall not find much cauſe to complain that the endeavouring to be ſhort has made me either obſcure or defective. In the prefaces to the two volumes, I endeavoured to clear the reader's mind of the prejudices which may be apt to ariſe, either from a ſlight and general view of this

matter, or from the falſe relations that have been formerly made of it. I ſhall not undertake to abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a compaſs as the weight of the matter did admit of: therefore I refer the reader, that labours under the ill effects of ſuch impreſſions, to the prefaces themſelves; and I ſhall add here that which is the laſt part of the preface to the ſecond volume, becauſe it may be of more general uſe, and is accommodated to all, that, as may be ſuppoſed, will have the curioſity to read this Abridgment, that ſo they may come to it with a true idea of the nature of religion in general, and of the Chriſtian religion in particular.

That religion is chiefly deſigned for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions, and ſecuring the peace of every man's conſcience, and of the ſocieties of mankind in common, is a truth ſo plain, that, without further arguing about it, all will agree to it. Every part of religion is then to be judged by its relation to the main ends of it; and ſince the Chriſtian doctrine was revealed from heaven, as the moſt perfect and proper way that ever was for the advancing the good of mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy faith, but what is proportioned to the end for which it was deſigned. And all the additions that have been made to it, ſince it was firſt delivered to the world, are juſtly to be ſuſpected; eſpecially where it is manifeſt at firſt view, that they were intended to ſerve carnal and ſecular ends. What can be reaſonably ſuppoſed in the Papacy, where the Popes are choſen by ſuch intrigues either of the two crowns, the nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of ſome aſpiring men, to entitle them to infallibility or univerſal juriſdiction? What can we think of redeeming ſouls out of purgatory, or preſerving them from it by tricks, or ſome mean pageantry, but that it is a foul piece of merchandiſe? What is to be ſaid of implicit obedience, the prieſtly dominion over conſciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the people's hands, and the worſhip of God in a ſtrange tongue, but that theſe are ſo many arts to hood-

hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy? What can we think of ſuperſtition and idolatry, of images, and all the other pomp of the Roman worſhip, but that by theſe things the people were to be kept up in a groſs notion of religion, as a ſplendid buſineſs, and that the prieſts have a trick of ſaving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands? And, to ſum up all, what can we think of that conſtellation of prodigies in the ſacrament of the altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpoſe, but that it is an art to bring the world by wholeſale to renounce their reaſon and ſenſe, and to have a moſt wonderful veneration for a ſort of men, who can with a word perform the moſt aſtoniſhing thing that ever was?

I ſhould grow too large for a preface, if I would purſue this argument as far as it will go. But if, on the other hand, we reflect on the true ends of this holy religion, we muſt needs be convinced that we need go no where elſe out of this Church to find them; and that we are completely inſtructed in all parts of it, and furniſhed with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the *end of our faith, the ſalvation of our ſouls*. Here we have the rule of holy obedience, and the methods of repentance and reconciliation for paſt ſins, clearly ſet before us. We believe all that doctrine which Chriſt and his Apoſtles delivered, and the primitive Church received: we have the comfort of all thoſe ſacraments which Chriſt inſtituted, and in the ſame manner that he appointed them: all the helps to devotion that the Goſpel offers are in every one's hand. So what can it be that ſhould ſo extravagantly ſeduce any who have been bred up in a Church ſo well conſtituted, unleſs a blind ſuperſtition in their temper, or a deſire to get heaven in ſome eaſier method than Chriſt has appointed, do ſtrangely impoſe on their underſtandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed, the thing is ſo unaccountable, that it looks like a curſe from heaven on thoſe who are given up to it, for their other ſins; for an ordinary meaſure of infatuation cannot carry any

one ſo far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain maxim, that ſuch as leave us have never had a true and well-formed notion of religion, or of Chriſtianity, in its main and chief deſign; but take things in parcels, and, without examining them, ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by ſome prejudices, which only darken weaker judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable folly for any to forſake our communion, and go over to thoſe of Rome, it is at the ſame time an unexcuſable weakneſs in others, who ſeem full of zeal againſt Popery, and yet upon ſome inconſiderable objections do depart from the unity of the body, and form ſeparated aſſemblies and communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our doctrine or worſhip: but the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the wonder is, that in ſuch differences there ſhould be ſo little mutual forbearance or gentleneſs to be found; and that they ſhould raiſe ſuch heats, as if the ſubſtance of religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a ſtroke from heaven on both ſides, for their other ſins: we of the Church communion have truſted too much to the ſupports we receive from the law; we have done our duties too ſlightly, and have minded the care of ſouls too little; therefore God, to puniſh and awaken us, has ſuffered ſo many of our people to be wreſted out of our hands: and thoſe of the ſeparation have been too forward to blood and war, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themſelves, and have been too compliant with the leaders of their ſeveral factions, or rather apt to outrun them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are puniſhed with this fatal blindneſs, not to ſee at this time the things that belong to our peace.

And this leads me to reflections of another ſort, with which I ſhall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The ſymptoms of our ill condition are as ſad as they are viſible: and one of the worſt is, that each ſort and party is very ready to throw

throw the guilt of it off themſelves, and caſt it on others, with whom they are diſpleaſed: but no man ſays, *What have I done?* The Clergy accuſe the laity, and the country complains of the city: every one finds out ſomewhat wherein he thinks he is leaſt concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the indignations of heaven, which, God knows, we ourſelves have kindled againſt ourſelves. It cannot be denied, ſince it is ſo viſible, that generally the whole nation is corrupted, and that the Goſpel has not had thoſe effects among us which might have been expected, after ſo long and ſo free a courſe as it has had in this iſland. Our wiſe and worthy progenitors reformed our doctrine and worſhip; but we have not reformed our lives and manners. What will it avail us to underſtand the right methods of worſhipping God, if we are without true devotion, and coldly perform public offices, without ſenſe and affection, which is as bad as a bead-roll of prayers, in whatſoever language they are pronounced? What ſignifies our having the Sacraments purely adminiſtered among us, if we either contemptuouſly neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with law, than out of a ſenſe of the holy duties incumbent on us? For what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? And what does all preaching ſignify, if men go to church merely for form, and hear ſermons only as ſet diſcourſes, which they will cenſure or commend as they think they ſee cauſe, but are reſolved never to be the better for them? If to all theſe ſad conſiderations we add the groſs ſenſuality and impurity that is ſo avowedly practiſed, that it is become a faſhion, ſo far it is from being a reproach; the oppreſſion, injuſtice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us; what can be expected, but that theſe abominations receiving the higheſt aggravation they are capable of from the clear light of the Goſpel, which we have ſo long enjoyed, the juſt judgments of heaven ſhould fall on us ſo ſignally, as to make us a reproach to all our

neighbours? But, as if all this were not enough to fill up the meaſure of our iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of impiety, by defying heaven itſelf with their avowed blaſphemies and atheiſm: and if they are driven out of their atheiſtical tenets, which are indeed the moſt ridiculous of any in the world, they ſet up their reſt on ſome general notions of morality and natural religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Chriſtianity and the Scriptures with open and impudent ſcorn, and are abſolutely inſenſible of any obligation of conſcience in any thing whatſoever: and even in that morality, which they for decency ſake magnify ſo much, none are more barefacedly and groſsly faulty. This is a direct attempt againſt God himſelf; and can we think that he will not viſit for ſuch things, nor be avenged on ſuch a nation? And yet the hypocriſy of thoſe who diſguiſe their flagitious lives with a maſk of religion is perhaps a degree above all, though not ſo ſcandalous till the maſk falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all ſo guilty, and when we are ſo alarmed by the black clouds that threaten ſuch terrible and laſting ſtorms, what may be expected but that we ſhould be generally ſtruck with a deep ſenſe of our crying ſins, and turn to God with our whole ſouls? But if, after all the loud awakenings from heaven, we will not hearken to that voice, but will ſtill go on in our ſins, we may juſtly look for unheard of calamities, and ſuch miſeries as ſhall be proportioned to our offences; and then we are ſure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet, if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or, at leaſt, if ſo many were rightly ſenſible of this, as, according to the proportion that the mercies of God allow, did ſome way balance the wickedneſs of the reſt; and if theſe were as zealous in the true methods of imploring God's favour, as others are in procuring his diſpleaſure; and were not only mourning for their own ſins, but for the ſins of others; the prayers and ſighs of many ſuch might diſſipate that diſmal cloud

cloud which our ſins have gathered; and we might yet hope to ſee the Goſpel take root among us, ſince that God, who is the Author of it, is merciful and full of compaſſion, and ready to forgive; and this holy religion, which by his grace is planted among us, is ſtill ſo dear to him, that, if we by our own unworthineſs do not render ourſelves incapable of ſo great a bleſſing, we may reaſonably hope that he will continue that which at firſt was by ſo many happy concurring providences brought in, and was, by a continued ſeries of the ſame indulgent care, advanced by degrees, and at laſt raiſed to that pitch of perfection, which few things attain in this world.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT

FROM

THE PREFACE

TO THE

ABRIDGMENT OF THE THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE two former volumes of the Hiſtory of the Reformation having been abridged by the Author, and his death having prevented him from abridging this third volume, it cannot be thought improper, that thoſe who were moſt nearly concerned in him ſhould attempt the work. The ſame reaſons that made the former Abridgment be thought uſeful are a ſufficient plea for this: the largeneſs and price of the great volume, which renders it impracticable for thoſe who either want money, or leiſure, to come at the knowledge of ſeveral curious additional pieces of hiſtory.

The reader will find here, as in the former Abridgment, only the moſt material facts related; while the proofs of them are left to the large work, to which thoſe who would be fully ſatisfied about them muſt be referred. The deſign of this work is to give ſuch an idea of the hiſtory of that time, as may ſupply the errors or defects of the former account; in which the reader will find ſeveral new and ſometimes different relations and circumſtances, ſo as to clear up and com-

complete his knowledge of the great tranſactions which paſſed in thoſe times.

It cannot be expected that ſuch broken remnants of hiſtory, as will here be found, can be read with much reliſh by thoſe who have not freſh in their memory the ſeries of affairs, as it is contained in the former hiſtory. Wherefore it would be adviſeable for thoſe who would have a complete view of that time, to read a book of the former Abridgment, and then to read the ſupplement in this; that ſo they may carry the thread of the hiſtory along with them, and thereby ſee what is new, what is corrected, and what is added to it.

It were to be wiſhed the Author would have been prevailed upon to work this laſt volume into the body of the work, that it might have made one complete thread of hiſtory: but he eſteemed it ſo great a hardſhip upon all thoſe who had purchaſed any of the editions of his former work, totally to ſink their value, that no arguments could work upon him to do it.

The Author's example is a ſufficient excuſe for my not having undertaken to do that with relation to the Abridgment, which I could wiſh he himſelf had done as to the Hiſtory. And it would be a much more difficult taſk, for one who has not all the views the Author had, and is not ſuch a maſter of the ſubject as he was, than it could have been to the Author himſelf. And beſides, the world will ſcarce allow an eſtabliſhed work to be modified anew, and changed from what the Author left it, by others that come after him, eſpecially if they have ſome regard for the Author himſelf, which they have no reaſon to pay to others.

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AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

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OF THE

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Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progreſs made in it by King Henry the Eighth.

THE wars of the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter had produced ſuch diſmal revolutions, and caſt England into ſuch frequent and terrible convulſions, that the nation with great joy received Henry the Seventh; who being himſelf deſcended from the Houſe of Lancaſter, by his marriage with the heir of the Houſe of York, did deliver them from the fear of any more wars by new pretenders. But the covetouſneſs of his temper, the ſeverity of his miniſters, his ill conduct in the matter of Bretagne, and his jealouſy of the Houſe of York, not only gave occaſion to impoſtors to diſturb his reign, but to ſeveral inſurrections that were raiſed in his time: by all which he was become ſo generally odious to his people, that as his ſon might have raiſed a dangerous competition for the crown during his life, as devolved on him by his mother's death, who was indeed the rightful heir; ſo his death was little lamented. And Henry the Eighth ſucceeded, with all the advantages he could have deſired; and his diſgracing Empſon and Dudley, that had been the cruel miniſters of his father's deſigns for filling his coffers,

The union of the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter in K. H. VIII.

April 22, 1509. He diſgraces Empſon and Dudley.

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coffers, his appointing reſtitution to be made of the ſums that had been unjuſtly exacted of the people, and his ordering juſtice to be done on thoſe rapacious miniſters, gave all people hopes of happy times, under a reign that was begun with ſuch an act of juſtice, that had indeed more mercy in it than thoſe acts of oblivion and pardon with which others did uſually begin. And when miniſters, by the King's orders, were condemned and executed for invading the liberties of the people under the covert of the King's prerogative, it made the nation conclude, that they ſhould hereafter live ſecure under the protection of ſuch a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments ſhould be no more neceſſary, except as in this caſe, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of juſtice.

He is very liberal.

The King alſo, either from the magnificence of his own temper, or the obſervation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parſimony, did diſtribute his rewards and largeſſes with an unmeaſured bounty; ſo that he quickly emptied his treaſure, which his father had left 1,800,000l. the fulleſt in Chriſtendom: but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raiſed in his court and ſubjects the greateſt hopes poſſible of a prince, whoſe firſt actions ſhewed an equal mixture of juſtice and generoſity.

His ſucceſs in the wars.

At his firſt coming to the crown, the ſucceſſes of Lewis the Twelfth in Italy made him engage as a party in the wars with the Crown of Spain; he went in perſon beyond ſea, and took both Terouane and Tournay; in which, as he acquired the reputation of a good and fortunate captain; 1513. ſo Maximilian the emperor put an unuſual compliment on him, for he took his pay, and rid in his troops. But 1514. a peace quickly followed; upon which, the French King married his younger ſiſter Mary; but he dying ſoon after, Francis the Firſt ſucceeded: and he renewing his pretenſions upon Italy, Henry could not be prevailed on to engage early in the war, till the ſucceſſes of either party ſhould diſcover which of the ſides was the weaker, and needed his aſſiſtance moſt.

But though hitherto Spain was an unequal match to France, yet all Spain being now united (except Portugal) and ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the dominions of Burgundy, and enriched by the diſcovery of the Indies; and all this falling into the hands of ſo great a prince as Charles, afterwards the fifth emperor of that name; the balance between theſe kingdoms grew as equal, as the qualities of the princes themſelves were, which engaged them

them in a rivalry that made their minds as divided as their intereſts were oppoſite. Charles being preferred to Francis in the competition for the empire, that kindled the animoſity higher, and ſeemed to increaſe Charles's party, though the extent and diſtance of his dominion was ſuch, that one ſoul (though his was one of the largeſt and moſt active in the world) could not animate ſo vaſt a body. Both theſe princes ſaw how conſiderable an ally or enemy England might prove under a king ſo much eſteemed and beloved; ſo they ſpared no arts that might engage him into their intereſts; they gained his miniſters by their preſents, and himſelf by their compliments, for it was ſoon found out that vanity was his weak ſide. The Emperor came in perſon to England, without the diſtruſtful precaution of a paſſport, and did ſo prevail with him, and his great favourite Cardinal Wolſey, by the promiſe of the Popedom, that though an interview followed between Francis and him, yet he found the ſcale of France was then the heavier; ſo that, upon the war which followed between thoſe princes, he joined with the Emperor.

He is courted both by France and Spain.

1520. May.

June.

Charles, to aſſure himſelf of Cardinal Wolſey, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more eaſily, becauſe Pope Leo being ſo young a man, there was no great appearance of a vacancy: but the Pope died ſooner than perhaps was expected; Adrian, that had been the Emperor's tutor, was then choſen, and Cardinal Wolſey had the promiſe of ſucceeding him: but a ſecond vacancy following within two years, the Emperor broke his word the ſecond time; upon which the Cardinal was ſo offended, that he reſolved to take his revenge ſo ſoon as a favourable conjuncture ſhould offer itſelf; and though he had laid the beſt train he could at Rome for the Chair, yet upon Clement the Seventh's advancement, he diſſembled the matter ſo with him, as to proteſt, that he was the very perſon whom he had wiſhed to ſee raiſed to that dignity.

1521. Decemb.

The battle of Pavia, in which Francis was taken priſoner, and his army defeated, turned the ſcale mightily; the Pope was neareſt the danger, and felt it ſooneſt; for he projected the Clementine league, by which both he and the Republic of Venice, and the Princes of Italy, engaged in the intereſts of France, and the King of England was declared the protector of it. Both public and private intereſts wrought on the King; and his own reſentments, as well as the Cardinal's, animated him to it: for the

Francis the Firſt is taken priſoner.

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Emperor was ſo lifted up with his ſucceſs, that he began to form the project of an univerſal empire; and though he had come to England in perſon a ſecond time, and had
1522. contracted a marriage with the King's daughter, yet he preferred a match with the Infanta of Portugal to it, judging it to be of more importance to him to keep all
1526. quiet in Spain. Francis was now at liberty, but had given his ſons as hoſtages; ſo he was ſlow in his proceedings, though he was the perſon moſt concerned in the league: the Emperor was highly diſpleaſed with the Pope, whom he looked on as his own creature; but it was always obſerved, that of what faction ſoever a Cardinal might be, yet upon the advancement he became the head of his own.

Septemb. 1527. The Coloneſs entered Rome with three thouſand men, and ſacked it, the Pope retiring to the Caſtle of St. Angelo, and ſubmitting to the conditions that were offered; but their troops being drawn out of Rome, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their lands, and by a creation of fourteen Cardinals for money, (which perhaps may be excuſed from ſimony, becauſe they took no care of ſouls,) he was enabled to proſecute the war; but the Duke of Bourbon, that, upon a diſcontent given him in France, had gone over to the Emperor's ſervice, came to Rome, and took it by ſtorm, himſelf being killed in the aſſault: the Pope and ſeventeen Cardinals ſhut themſelves in the Caſtle of St. Angelo; but he was forced to ſurrender, and was kept priſoner ſome months.

May. And afterwards the Pope.

This gave great ſcandal to all Europe; the Emperor himſelf ſeemed aſhamed of it, for he would ſuffer no rejoicing to be in Spain for his ſon's birth, but appointed public proceſſions for the Pope's liberty. Wolſey had now the beſt opportunity he could wiſh to declare his zeal for the Pope's ſervice, and his averſion to the Emperor; ſo he went to France, and made a new league for ſetting the Pope at liberty. The Emperor prevented the conjunction he ſaw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own terms, he reſtored him again to his freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of France, that by very unuſual accidents had been taken priſoners, acknowledged that their liberty was chiefly due to the endeavours that King Henry had uſed for procuring it.

When he was thus firmly united to the intereſts of France, he had leſs to fear from Scotland, which being a perpetual ally to France, gave him no diſturbance, but as

Scotland in diſorder.

it

it was drawn into the war by that Court: that kingdom was alſo for many years under a King not of age, and ſo was much diſtracted by faction; and thoſe broils at home, being the ſureſt way to keep them from making inroads into England, were kept up by the money which the King ſent the malcontents; therefore both the Courts of France and England, by the penſions they gave, kept the ſeveral parties there in pay, which advantage that kingdom loſt when it was joined to England. As for domeſtic affairs in the government of England, the King left matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different parties, headed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Lord Treaſurer, that was Duke of Norfolk. The former much complained of the conſumption of the treaſure; the other juſtified himſelf, that he only obeyed the King's orders. But the Treaſurer's party, under a bountiful King, muſt always be ſtrongeſt, both in the court and council. In the firſt parliament, the juſtice done upon Empſon and Dudley gave ſo great ſatisfaction, that all things went as the Court deſired. In the ſecond parliament, a brief that Pope Julius writ, complaining of Lewis the Twelfth, was firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then carried down by the Lord Chancellor, and ſome other Lords, to the Houſe of Commons, and read there; upon which money was granted for a war with France. At this time Fox, to ſupport his party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, endeavoured to bring Thomas Wolſey into favour: he was of mean extraction, but had great parts, and a wonderful dexterity in inſinuating himſelf into men's favours; ſo he being brought into buſineſs, did ſo manage the King, that he became very quickly the maſter of his ſpirit, and of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the moſt abſolute favourite that had ever been ſeen in England. He ſaw the King was much ſet on his pleaſures, and had a great averſion to buſineſs, and the other counſellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were uneaſy to him, by preſſing him to govern by his own counſels: but he knew the methods of favourites better, and ſo was not only eaſy, but aſſiſtant to the King in his pleaſures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leiſure to follow his appetites.

Factions in the Council.

Cardinal Wolſey's riſe,

He was maſter of all the offices at home and treaties abroad, ſo that all affairs went as he directed them. He, it ſeems, became ſoon obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore he tried but one during his miniſtry, where the

and greatneſs.

BOOK I.

ſupply was granted ſo ſcantily, that afterwards he choſe rather to raiſe money by loans and benevolences, than by the free gift of the people in parliament. He became ſo ſcandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a diſgrace to his profeſſion; for he not only ſerved the King, but alſo ſhared with him in his pleaſures, which were unhappy to him, for he was ſpoiled with venereal diſtempers. He was firſt made Biſhop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln; after that he was promoted to the ſee of York, and had both the abbey of St. Alban's, and the biſhopric of Bath and Wells *in commendam:* the laſt he afterwards exchanged for Durham; and upon Fox's death he quitted Durham, that he might take Wincheſter: and beſides all this, the King, by a ſpecial grant, gave him power to diſpoſe of all the eccleſiaſtical preferments in England; ſo that in effect he was the Pope of this other world, as was ſaid anciently of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and no doubt but he copied ſkilfully enough after thoſe patterns that were ſet him at Rome. Being made a Cardinal, and ſetting up a legantine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the Great Seal likewiſe, that there might be no claſhing between thoſe two juriſdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities neceſſary for a great miniſter, and all the vices ordinary in a great favourite.

During this whole reign, the Dukes of Norfolk, father and ſon, were Treaſurers; but that long and ſtrange courſe of favour, in ſo tickliſh a time, turned fatally upon the ſon, near the end of the King's life. But he that was the longeſt and greateſt ſharer in the King's favour was Charles Brandon, who, from the degree of a private gentleman, was advanced to the higheſt honours. The ſtrength of his body and the gracefulneſs of his perſon contributed more to his riſe, than his dexterity in affairs, or the endowments of his mind: for the greateſt evidence he gave of his underſtanding was, that knowing he was not made for buſineſs, he did not pretend to it; a temper ſeldom obſerved by the creatures of favour. The frame and ſtrength of his body made him a great maſter in the diverſions of that age, juſts and tiltings, and a fit match for the King, or rather a ſecond to him, who delighted mightily in them. His perſon was ſo acceptable to the ladies, that the King's ſiſter, the Queen Dowager of France, liked him, and, by a ſtrange ſort of making love, prefixed him a time for gaining her conſent to marry him; and aſſured him, if that he did not prevail within that

Charles Brandon's advancement.

that time, he might for ever deſpair. She married him in France; and the King, after a ſhew of ſome diſpleaſure, was pacified, and continued his favours to him, not only during his ſiſter's life, but to the laſt; and in all the revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every miniſter fell by turns, he ſtill enjoyed his ſhare in the King's bounty and affection: ſo much happier it proved to be loved than truſted by him.

The King denied himſelf none of thoſe pleaſures, that are as much legitimated in courts, as they are condemned elſewhere; but yet he declared no miſtreſs but Elizabeth Blunt, and owned no iſſue but a ſon he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of Richmond. He took great care never to embroil himſelf with his parliaments; and he met with no oppoſition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal Wolſey's miniſtry; in which 800,000l. being demanded for a war with France, to be paid in four years, the debate about it roſe very high, and not above the half of it was offered; ſo the Cardinal came into the Houſe of Commons, and deſired to hear the reaſons of thoſe who were againſt the ſupply; but he was told that it was againſt their orders to ſpeak to a debate before any that was not of the Houſe: he was much diſſatisfied at this, and caſt the blame of it upon Sir Thomas More, that was Speaker; and after that, he found out other means of ſupplying the King without parliaments.

The King's uſage of his parliaments.

The King had been educated with more than ordinary care: and learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and groſs ignorance, his father had given orders that both his elder brother and he ſhould be well inſtructed in matters of knowledge; not with any deſign to make him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for he had made ſmall progreſs, when his brother Prince Arthur died, being then but eleven years old: perhaps Henry the Seventh felt the prejudices of his own education ſo much, that he was more careful to have his ſon better taught; or may be he did it to amuſe him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of ſtate. The learning then moſt in credit among the Clergy was ſcholaſtical divinity, which by a ſhew of ſubtilty did recommend itſelf to curious perſons; and being very ſuitable to a vain and contentious temper, was that which agreed beſt with his diſpoſition; and it being likely to draw the moſt flattery from divines, became the chief ſubject of his ſtudies, in which he grew not only to be eminent for a

The King's education.

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prince, whoſe knowledge, though never ſo moderate, will be admired by flatterers as a prodigy, but he might really have paſſed for a learned man, had his quality been never ſo mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin tongue, and underſtood philoſophy, and was ſo great a maſter in muſic, that he compoſed well. He was a bountiful patron to all learned men, more particularly to Eraſmus and Polydore Virgil, and delighted much in thoſe returns which hungry ſcholars uſe to make to liberal princes; for he loved flattery out of meaſure, and particularly to be extolled for his learning and great underſtanding; and he had enough of it to have ſurfeited a man of any modeſty; for all the world, both at home and abroad, contended who ſhould exceed moſt indecently in ſetting out his praiſes: the Clergy carried it; for as he had merited moſt at their hands, both by his eſpouſing the intereſts of the Papacy, and by his entering the liſts with Luther; ſo thoſe that hoped to be advanced by thoſe arts were as little aſhamed in magnifying him out of meaſure, as he was in receiving their groſs commendations.

His learning and vanity.

The manner of promotion to biſhoprics and abbeys was then the ſame that had taken place ever ſince the inveſtitures by the ring and ſtaff were taken out of the hands of Princes. Upon a vacancy, the King ſeized on all the temporalities, and granted a licence for an election, with a ſpecial recommendation of the perſon; which being returned, the royal aſſent was given, and it was ſent to Rome, that bulls might be expedited, and then the Biſhop elect was conſecrated: after that, he came to the King, and renounced every clauſe in his bulls that was contrary to the King's prerogative, or to the law, and ſwore fealty; and then were the temporalities reſtored. Nor could bulls be ſued out at Rome without a licence under the Great Seal; ſo that the Kings of England had reſerved the power to themſelves of promoting to eccleſiaſtical benefices, notwithſtanding all the invaſions the Popes had made on the temporal power of Princes.

The manner of the promotion of Biſhops.

The immunity of Churchmen for crimes committed by them, till they were firſt degraded by the ſpirituality, occaſioned the only conteſt that was in the beginning of this reign between the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical courts. King Henry the Seventh paſſed a law, that Clerks convict ſhould be burnt in the hand. A temporary law was alſo made in the beginning of this reign, that murderers and robbers, not being Biſhops, Prieſts, nor Deacons, ſhould be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to laſt only till

A conteſt concerning the eccleſiaſtical immunity.

till the next parliament, and ſo being not continued by it, the act determined. The Abbot of Winchelcomb preached ſeverely againſt it, as being contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the holy Church, and ſaid, that all who aſſented to it had fallen under the cenſures of the Church. And afterwards he publiſhed a book, to prove that all Clerks, even of the lower orders, were ſacred, and could not be judged by the temporal courts. This being done in parliament time, the temporal Lords, with the Commons, addreſſed to the King, deſiring him to repreſs the inſolence of the Clergy. So a public hearing was appointed before the King and all the Judges: Dr. Standiſh, a Franciſcan, argued againſt the immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practiſed in England; and that it was neceſſary for the peace and ſafety of mankind, that all criminals ſhould be puniſhed. The Abbot argued on the other ſide, and ſaid it was contrary to a decree of the Church, and was a ſin in itſelf. Standiſh anſwered, that all decrees were not obſerved: for, notwithſtanding the decrees for reſidence, Biſhops did not reſide at their cathedrals. And ſince no decree did bind till it was received, this concerning immunity, which was never received in England, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the laity were all of opinion, that the Friar was too hard for the Abbot, and ſo moved the King that the Biſhops might be ordered to make him preach a recantation ſermon. But they refuſed to do it, and ſaid, they were bound by their oaths to maintain his opinion. Standiſh was, upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall; yet the Clergy carried the point, for the law was not continued.

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1515.

Not long after this, an accident fell out, that drew great conſequences after it. One Richard Hun, a merchant in London, was ſued by his pariſh prieſt for a mortuary in the Legate's court; ſo he was adviſed to ſue the prieſt in the temporal court for a *præmunire*, for bringing the King's ſubjects before a foreign and illegal court. This incenſed the Clergy ſo much, that they contrived his deſtruction: ſo hearing that he had Wickliff's Bible, he was upon that put in the Biſhop's priſon for hereſy; but being examined upon ſundry articles, he confeſſed ſome things, and ſubmitted himſelf to mercy; upon which they ought, according to the law, to have enjoined him penance, and diſcharged him, this being his firſt crime: but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let

Hun impriſoned for herely:

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let his ſuit fall in the temporal court; ſo one night his neck was broken with an iron chain, and he was wounded in other parts of his body, and then knit up in his own girdle; and it was given out that he had hanged himſelf: but the Coroner's inqueſt, by examining the body, and by ſeveral other evidences, and particularly by the confeſſion of the Sumner, gave their verdict, that he was murdered by the Biſhop's Chancellor, Dr. Horſey, and the Sumner and the Bell-ringer. The ſpiritual court proceeded againſt the dead body, and charged Hun with all the hereſy in Wickliff's Preface to the Bible, becauſe that was found in his poſſeſſion; ſo he was condemned as an heretic, and upon that his body was burnt; the Biſhops of Durham and Lincoln, and many doctors, ſitting with the Biſhop of London when he gave judgment; ſo that it was looked upon as an act of the whole Clergy. But this produced very ill effects; for the Clergy loſt the affections of the city to ſuch a degree, that they could never recover them: nor did any one thing diſpoſe them more than this did, to the entertaining the new preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Churchmen, whom they eſteemed no more their paſtors, but accounted them barbarous murderers. The rage went ſo high, that the Biſhop of London complained, that he was not ſafe in his own houſe, and there were many hearings before the council; for the Cardinal did all he could to ſtop the progreſs of the matter, but in vain: for the Biſhop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as principals in the murder. In parliament an act paſſed, reſtoring Hun's children; but the Commons ſent up a bill concerning his murder; yet that was laid aſide by the Lords, where the Clergy were the majority. The Clergy looked on the oppoſition that Standiſh had made in the point of their immunities, as that which gave the riſe to Hun's firſt ſuit; ſo the Convocation cited him to anſwer for his carriage in that matter: but he claimed the King's protection, ſince he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's name. The Clergy pretended they did not proſecute him for his pleading, but for ſome of his divinity-lectures contrary to the liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his coronation oath: but the temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons, prayed the King alſo to maintain the laws according to his coronation oath, and to give Standiſh his protection. The King upon this, being in great perplexity, required Veyſey, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, to declare

Murdered:

And condemned: his body burnt.

Further diſputes about immunity.

declare upon his conſcience and allegiance the truth in that matter. His opinion was againſt the immunity; ſo another public hearing being appointed, Standiſh was accuſed for teaching, "that the inferior orders were not "ſacred; that their exemption was not founded on a divine "right, but that the laity might puniſh them; that the "Canons of the Church did not bind till they were re-"ceived; and that the ſtudy of the Canon Law was uſe-"leſs." Of theſe he denied ſome, and juſtified other particulars. Veyſey being required to give his opinion, alleged, that the laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: as the law of the celibate of the Clergy, received in the Weſt, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it; ſo the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in England. The Judges gave their opinion next, which was, that thoſe who proſecuted Standiſh were all in a *præmunire*. So the court broke up. But in another hearing, in the preſence of the greateſt part of both Houſes of Parliament, the Cardinal ſaid in the name of the Clergy, that though they intended to do nothing againſt the King's prerogative, yet the trying of Clerks ſeemed to be contrary to the liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King anſwered, that he thought Standiſh had anſwered them fully. The Biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, he would not ſtand to his opinion at his peril. Standiſh upon that ſaid, What can one poor friar do againſt all the Clergy of England? The Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid, ſome of the Fathers of the Church had ſuffered martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief Juſtice replied, that many holy Kings had maintained that law, and many holy Biſhops had obeyed it. In concluſion, the King declared, that he would maintain his rights, and would not ſubmit them to the decrees of the Church, otherwiſe than as his anceſtors had done. Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired ſo long time might be given, that they might have an anſwer returned from Rome; but that was not granted: yet a temper was found. Horſey was appointed to be brought to his trial for Hun's murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no evidence was to be brought, and ſo he was to be diſcharged. But upon this it was ſaid, the Judges were more concerned to maintain their juriſdiction, than to do juſtice upon ſo horrid a murder; ſo the diſcontent given by

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by it was raiſed ſo much higher, and the crime of a few murderers was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned themſelves ſo much in their preſervation; and this did very much diſpoſe the laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

The King is much addicted to the Papacy.

This was the only uneaſy ſtep in this King's reign, till the ſuit for his divorce was commenced. In all other points he was conſtantly in the Pope's intereſts, who ſent him the common compliments of roſes, and ſuch other trifles, by which that ſee had treated princes ſo long as children. The King made the defence of the Popedom an article in his leagues with other princes; and Pope Julius having called a General Council to the Lateran, in oppoſition to that which by Lewis the Twelfth's means was held at Piſa, the King ſent the Biſhops of Worceſter and Rocheſter, the Prior of St. John's, and the Abbot of Winchelcomb, to repreſent the Church of England, thereby to give the greater authority to a packed meeting of Italian Biſhops and Abbots, who aſſumed to themſelves the title of a Holy and Œcumenical Council. But no compliment wrought ſo much on the King's vanity, as the title of *Defender of the Faith*, ſent him by Pope Leo, upon the book which he writ againſt Luther, concerning the ſacraments.

Cardinal Wolſey intends to reform the Clergy.

The Cardinal drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Clergy, by a bull which impowered him to viſit all the monaſteries of England, and to diſpenſe with all the laws of the Church for a year. He alſo gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought to be the firſt ſtep of all who pretend to reform others; for none could be worſe than himſelf was. He lived in great luxury, and in an inſolent affectation of the higheſt ſtate poſſible; many of his domeſtics being men of the firſt rank. He intended to ſuppreſs many monaſteries, and thought the beſt way for doing it with the leaſt ſcandal was firſt to viſit them, and ſo to expoſe their corruptions: but he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the deſign which he laid being communicated to Cromwell, that was then his ſecretary, it was put in practice toward the end of this reign, when the monaſteries were all ſuppreſſed.

The ſummoning of convocations.

The convocations were of two ſorts; ſome were ſummoned by the King, when parliaments were called, as is in uſe to this day; only the King did not then prefix a day, but left that to the Archbiſhops. Others were called by the Archbiſhops, and were provincial ſynods, of which there

there were but few. The Cardinal pretended, that the ſummoning all convocations belonged to him as Legate; ſo that when Warham had called one, he diſſolved it after it was met, and ſummoned it of new. In that convocation, a great ſupply was granted to the King, of half a year's rent of all benefices, payable in five years, for aſſiſting him in his wars with France and Scotland. This was much oppoſed by the Cardinal's enemies; but it was agreed to at laſt, a proviſo being made, that ſuch a heavy tax ſhould never be made a precedent for the future; though the grant they made was more likely to become a precedent, than this proviſo to be a ſecurity for the time to come. 1522.

This increaſed the averſion the Clergy had to the Cardinal: the monks were more particularly incenſed; for they ſaw he was reſolved to ſuppreſs their foundations, and convert them to other uſes.

The ſtate of the monaſteries.

In the days of King Edgar, moſt of the cathedrals of England were poſſeſſed by ſecular prieſts, who were generally married; but Dunſtan and ſome other monks took advantage from the vices of that prince, to perſuade him to make compenſation for them; and as he made laws, in which he declared what compenſations were to be made for ſins, both by the rich and poor; ſo, it ſeems, he thought the founding of monaſteries was the fitteſt compenſation for a King; and he turned out all the married prieſts, and put monks in their ſtead. From that time the credit and wealth of monaſtic orders continued to increaſe for ſeveral ages, till the begging orders ſucceeded, in the eſteem of the world, to the place which the monks formerly had; for they decreaſed as much in true worth, as the falſe appearances of it had now raiſed their revenues. They were not only ignorant themſelves, but very jealous of the progreſs learning was making: for Eraſmus, and the other reſtorers of it, treating them with much ſcorn, they looked on the increaſe of it as that which would much leſſen them; and ſo not only did not contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for hereſy.

Cardinal Wolſey ſuppreſſes many.

The Cardinal deſigned two noble foundations, the one at Oxford, and the other at Ipſwich, the place of his birth, both for the encouragement of the learned, and the inſtruction of youth; and for that end he procured a bull for ſuppreſſing divers monaſteries, which being executed, their lands by law fell to the King; and thereupon

BOOK I. upon the Cardinal took out grants of them, and endowed his colleges with them.

But we ſhall next conſider the ſtate of religion in England.

The growth of Wickliff's doctrine.

From the days of Wickliff there were many that differed from the doctrines commonly received. He writ many books that gave great offence to the Clergy, yet being powerfully ſupported by the Duke of Lancaſter, they could not have their revenge during his life; but he was after his death condemned, and his body was raiſed and burnt. The Bible which he tranſlated into Engliſh, with the Preface which he ſet before it, produced the greateſt effects. In it he reflected on the ill lives of the Clergy, and condemned the worſhip of ſaints and images, and the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament: but the moſt criminal part was, the exhorting all people to read the Scriptures; where the teſtimonies againſt thoſe corruptions were ſuch, that there was no way to deal with them but to ſilence them. His followers were not men of letters, but being wrought on by the eaſy conviction of plain ſenſe, were by them determined in their perſuaſions. They did not form themſelves into a body, but were contented to hold their opinions ſecretly, and did not ſpread them, but to their particular confidents. The Clergy fought them out every where, and did deliver them after conviction to the ſecular arm, that is, to the fire.

The cruelty of the Clergy.

In the primitive Church, all cruel proceedings upon the account of hereſy were condemned; ſo that the Biſhops who accuſed ſome heretics, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Baniſhment and fines, with ſome incapacities, were the higheſt ſeverities, even upon the greateſt provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, ſo a cruel ſpirit being generally the mark of all ill prieſts, of whatſoever religion they are, they fell under the influences of it; and from the days of the riſe of the Albigenſes, the ſeverities of the Inquiſition, and burnings, with many other cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicians ſet up, firſt in France, and then in the other parts of Europe. A decree was alſo made in the Council of the Lateran, requiring all magiſtrates, under the pains of forfeiture and depoſition, to extirpate heretics. Burning agreed beſt with their cruelty, as being the moſt terrible ſort of death, and bearing ſome reſemblance to everlaſting burnings in hell; ſo they damned the ſouls of the heretics, and burnt their bodies; but the execution of the former part of the ſentence was not

not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in England, the proceedings againſt heretics grew to be a part of the common law, and a writ for burning them was iſſued out upon their conviction. But ſpecial ſtatutes were afterwards made: the firſt under Richard the Second was only agreed to by the Lords; and, without its being conſented to by the Commons, the King aſſented to it; yet all the ſeverity in it was no more, than that writs ſhould go out to the ſheriffs to hold heretics in priſon till they ſhould be judged by the laws of the Church. The preamble of the law ſays, "they were very numerous, that they had a pecu-"liar habit, that they preached in many churches, and "other places, againſt the faith, and refuſed to ſubmit to "the cenſures of the Church." This was ſent with the other acts, according to the cuſtom of that time, to all the ſheriffs of England, to be proclaimed by them: but the year following, in the next Parliament, the Commons complained that that act was publiſhed, to which they had never conſented; ſo an act paſſed, declaring the former null; yet this was ſuppreſſed, and the former was ſtill eſteemed a good law.

Laws made in England againſt heretics.

When Henry the Fourth came to the crown, he owing it in great meaſure to the help of the Clergy, paſſed an act againſt all that preached without the Biſhop's licence, or againſt the faith; and it was enacted, that all tranſgreſſors of that ſort ſhould be impriſoned, and within three months be brought to a trial: if upon conviction they offered to abjure, and were not relapſes, they were to be impriſoned and fined at pleaſure: and if they refuſed to abjure, or were relapſes, they were to be delivered to the ſecular arm, and the magiſtrates were to burn them in ſome public place. But though by this ſtatute no mention is made of ſending out a writ for execution; yet that continued ſtill to be practiſed: and that ſame year Sautre, a prieſt, being condemned as a relapſe, and degraded by Arundell, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a writ was iſſued out for it, in which burning is called the common puniſhment, which related to the cuſtoms of other nations: for this was the firſt inſtance of that kind in England. In the beginning of Henry the Fifth's reign there was a conſpiracy againſt the King diſcovered, (though others, that lived not long after, ſay it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy,) of Oldcaſtle and ſome other of Wickliff's followers, then called Lollards; upon which many were condemned both for treaſon and hereſy, who were firſt hanged, and

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and then burnt; and a law followed, that the Lollards ſhould forfeit all that they held in fee-ſimple, as well as their goods and chattels, to the King; and all ſheriffs and magiſtrates were required to take an oath, to deſtroy all hereſies and Lollardies, and to aſſiſt the Ordinaries in their proceedings againſt them. Yet the Clergy making ill uſe of theſe laws, and vexing all people that gave them any offence with long impriſonments, the judges interpoſed, and examined the grounds of their commitments, and, as they ſaw cauſe, bailed or diſcharged the priſoners; and took upon them to declare what opinions were hereſies by law, and what were not. Thus the people fought for ſhelter under their protection, and found more mercy at the hands of common lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the paſtors of their ſouls, and the publiſhers of the moſt merciful religion that ever was.

The proſecution of Lollards before Warham.

In the beginning of this reign there were ſeveral perſons brought into the Biſhops' courts for hereſy, before Warham. Forty-eight were accuſed: but of theſe, forty-three abjured, twenty-ſeven men and ſixteen women, moſt of them being of Tenterden; and five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned; ſome as obſtinate heretics, and others as relapſes: and, againſt the common ties of nature, the woman's huſband and her two ſons were brought witneſſes againſt her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the Archbiſhop to the Chancery: upon which, ſince there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them muſt have gone out in courſe, and the execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were ſeldom guilty of much mercy in ſuch caſes, having diveſted themſelves of all bowels, as the dregs of unmortified nature. The articles objected to them were, that they believed, that in the Euchariſt there was nothing but material bread; that the Sacraments of Baptiſm, Confirmation, Confeſſion, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, were neither neceſſary, nor profitable; that prieſts had no more power than laymen; that pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the money and labour ſpent in them were ſpent in vain; that images ought not to be worſhipped, and that they were only ſtocks and ſtones; that prayers ought not to be made to ſaints, but only to God; that there was no virtue in holy water, or holy bread. Thoſe who abjured did ſwear to diſcover all that held thoſe errors, or were ſuſpected of them; and they were enjoined to carry a faggot in proceſſion, and to wear on their clothes the repreſentation of one in flames, as a

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public confeſſion that they had deſerved to be burnt. There were alſo four in London that abjured almoſt the ſame opinions; and Fox ſays, that ſix were burnt in Smithfield, who might be perhaps thoſe whom Warham had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the regiſters of London. By all this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive thoſe doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther began firſt to oppoſe indulgences.

The progreſs of Luther's doctrine.

The riſe and progreſs of his doctrine are well known; the ſcandalous extolling of indulgences gave the firſt occaſion to all that contradiction that followed between him and his followers, and the Church of Rome; in which, if the corruptions and cruelties of the Clergy had not been ſo viſible and ſcandalous, ſo ſmall a matter could not have produced ſuch a revolution: but any criſis will put ill humours in fermentation.

The Biſhops were groſsly ignorant; they ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes, except it had been to riot it at high feſtivals; and all the effect their reſidence could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example. They followed the court of Princes, and aſpired to the greateſt offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleneſs; and the unmarried ſtate, both of the ſeculars and regulars, gave infinite ſcandal to the world; for it appeared, that the reſtraining them from having wives of their own made them conclude that they had a right to all other men's. The inferior Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the Monks had, they became more public. In ſum, all ranks of Churchmen were ſo univerſally deſpiſed and hated, that the world was very apt to be poſſeſſed with prejudice againſt their doctrines, for the ſake of the men, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them: and the worſhip of God was ſo defiled with much groſs ſuperſtition, that, without great enquiries, all men were eaſily convinced that the Church ſtood in great need of a reformation. This was much increaſed when the books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the Church did very evidently appear. They found that a blind ſuperſtition came firſt in the room of true piety; and when by its means the wealth and intereſt of the Clergy was highly advanced, the Popes had upon that eſtabliſhed their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All theſe

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things concurred to make way for the advancement of the Reformation: and ſo the books of the Germans being brought into England, and tranſlated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this a hot perſecution, which is always the foundation on which a vicious Clergy ſet up their reſt, was vigorouſly ſet on foot, to ſuch a degree, that ſix men and women were burnt in Coventry in Paſſion-week, only for teaching their children the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. Great numbers were every where brought into the Biſhops' courts; of whom ſome were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this occaſion to become the Church's champion, and wrote againſt Luther, as was formerly told. His book, beſides the title of *Defender of the Faith*, drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it; yet Luther, not daunted with ſuch an antagoniſt, but rather proud of it, anſwered it, and treated him as much below the reſpect that was due to a king, as his flatterers had raiſed him above it. Tindal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, with ſome notes added to it, drew a ſevere condemnation from the Clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Sir Thomas More ſeconded the King, and employed his pen in the ſervice of the Clergy, but mixed too much gall with his ink. The Cardinal's behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing againſt the new preachers; but when ſome Biſhops moved for a viſitation of the Univerſities, upon a report of the ſpreading of hereſy in them, he ſtopped it; yet afterwards he called a meeting of ſeveral Biſhops, Abbots, and Divines, before whom two preachers, Bilney and Arthur, were brought, and articles of hereſy being objected to them, and proved by witneſſes, they for a while ſeemed reſolved to ſeal their doctrines with their blood; but what through fear, what through perſuaſion, they were prevailed on (firſt Arthur, and Bilney five days after) to abjure: but though Bilney was a relapſe, yet the Cardinal was gentle to him; and Tonſtal, Biſhop of London, enjoined him penance, and diſcharged him. So much may ſuffice to ſhew the condition of affairs in England, both in Church and State, when the proceſs of the King's divorce was firſt ſet on foot.

The King's marriage.

Henry the Seventh entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed a match between his ſon Prince Arthur, and Catharine the Infanta of Spain. She came

came into England, and was married in November; but on the second of April after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in ceremony the night of the marriage, but continued still to lodge together; and the Prince, by some indecent raillery, gave occasion to believe that the marriage was consummated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his death, his younger brother was not created Prince of Wales till ten months had passed, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with child by the late Prince; women were also set about her to wait on her with the precaution that is necessary in such a case; so that it was generally believed that she was no virgin when the Prince died. 1502.

Henry the Seventh, being unwilling to restore so great a portion as two hundred thousand ducats, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham did then object against the lawfulness of it; yet Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the Pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections; so one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young persons to marry together for preserving peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, by which the Pope dispensed with it, notwithstanding the Princess's marriage to Prince Arthur, which was (as is said in the bull) perhaps consummated. Decemb. 1503.

The Pope was then in war with Lewis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the King of England, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimation of their issue depending on the Pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this, a marriage followed, the Prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage. 1505.

Henry the Seventh, at his death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster; but upon his death, Henry the Eighth, being then eighteen years of age, married her: she bore him two sons, who died soon after they were born; and a daughter Mary, who lived to reign after him; but after that, the Queen contracted some diseases that made her 1516.

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unacceptable to the King; ſo all hope of any other iſſue failing, ſeveral matches were propoſed for his daughter: the firſt was with the Dauphin; then ſhe was contracted with the Emperor; and after that a propoſition was made for the King of Scotland; and laſt of all, a treaty was made with Francis the Firſt, either for himſelf, he being then a widower, or for his ſecond ſon, the Duke of Orleans, to be determined at his option; upon which the Biſhop of Tarbe was ſent over ambaſſador to conclude it: he made an exception that the marriage was doubtful, and the lady not legitimate; which had been likewiſe made by the Cortes of Spain, by whoſe advice the Emperor broke the contract upon that very account; ſo that other Princes moving ſcruples againſt a marriage with his daughter, the heir of ſo great a crown, the King began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh them, for he ſaid afterwards he had them ſome years before.

Matches propoſed for his daughter.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor was looked on as one of the ſecret ſprings of the King's averſion to his aunt, which the King vindicating him in public afterwards did not remove; that being conſidered only as a court contrivance.

The King has ſome ſcruples concerning his marriage.

The King ſeemed to lay the greateſt weight on the prohibition in the Levitical law, of marrying the brother's wife; and he being converſant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen looked on thoſe laws as moral, and for ever binding, and that by conſequence the Pope's diſpenſation was of no force, ſince his authority went not ſo far as to diſpenſe with the laws of God. All the Biſhops of England, Fiſher of Rocheſter only excepted, declared under their hands and ſeals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill conſequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown were alſo much conſidered, or at leaſt pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's affections to any other gave the riſe to all this; for ſo prying a courtier as Wolſey was would have diſcovered it, and not have projected a marriage with Francis's ſiſter, if he had ſeen the King prepoſſeſſed: it is more probable, that the King conceiving himſelf upon the point of being diſcharged of his former marriage, gave a free ſcope to his affections, which upon that came to ſettle on Anne Boleyn. The King had reaſon enough to expect a quick and favourable diſpatch of his buſineſs at Rome, where diſpenſations or divorces in favour of Princes uſed to paſs, rather with regard to the merits of the Prince that deſired them, than

than of the cauſe itſelf. His alliance ſeemed then neceſſary to the Pope, who was at that time in captivity. Nor could the Emperor with any good colour oppoſe his ſuit, ſince he had broken his contract with his daughter upon the account of the doubtfulneſs of the marriage.

The Cardinal had alſo given him full aſſurances of a good anſwer from Rome; whether upon the knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promiſe made him, is not certain. The reaſons gathered by the Canoniſts for annulling the bull of diſpenſation, upon which the divorce was to follow in courſe, were grounded upon ſome falſe ſuggeſtions in the bull, and upon the proteſtation which the King had made when he came to be of age. In a word, they were ſuch, that a favourable Pope, left to himſelf, would have yielded to them without any ſcruple.

Anne Boleyn was born in the year 1507, and went to France at ſeven years of age, and returned twelve years after to England. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any blemiſh till her unfortunate fall gave occaſion to ſome malicious writers to defame her in all the parts of her life: ſhe was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than diſcreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or perſon, and muſt have had extraordinary attractives, ſince ſhe could ſo long manage ſuch a King's affection, in which her being with child ſoon after the marriage ſhews, that in the whole courſe of ſeven years ſhe kept him at a due diſtance. Upon her coming to England, the Lord Piercy, being then a domeſtic of the Cardinal's, made love to her, and went ſo far as to engage himſelf ſome way to marry her, and that being entertained by her, ſhews ſhe had then no aſpirings to the crown. But the Cardinal, having underſtood ſomewhat of the King's ſecret intentions, did ſo threaten him, that he made him, though not without great difficulty, break off his addreſſes to her.

1527. And applies to the Pope.

Knight, then Secretary of State, was ſent to Rome to prepare the Pope in the matter; and the family of the Caſſali having much of the Pope's favour, they were likewiſe employed to promote it. To Gregory Caſſali did the Cardinal ſend a large diſpatch, ſetting forth all the reaſons both in conſcience and policy, for obtaining a commiſſion to himſelf to judge the affair. Great promiſes were made in the King's name, both for public and private ſervices, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or thoſe Cardinals that had the greateſt credit

BOOK I. about him. Knight made application to the Pope in the ſecreteſt manner he could, and had a very favourable anſwer; for the Pope promiſed frankly to diſſolve the marriage: but another promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperor's name, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great ſtraits; not ſo much out of regard to his promiſes (for he had ſo engaged himſelf, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his intereſts: he was then at the Emperor's mercy, ſo he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was diſtruſtful of him, and had no mind to loſe the King of England; therefore he ſtudied to gain time, and promiſed that if the King would have a little patience, he ſhould not only have that which he aſked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

1528. The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* made ſome ſcruples concerning the bull that was demanded, till he had raiſed his price, and got a great preſent, and then the Pope ſigned both a commiſſion for Wolſey to try the cauſe, and judge in it, and alſo a diſpenſation, and put them in Knight's hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperor were put out of a capacity of executing his revenge upon him; and whenever that was done, he would own this act of juſtice, which he did in the King's favour. For though the Pope on public occaſions uſed to talk in the language of one that pretended to be St. Peter's ſucceſſor; yet in private treaties he minded nothing but his own ſecurity, and the intereſts of his family; and being a very crafty man, he propoſed an expedient, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and eaſier end to the proceſs. He found his ſending bulls, or a Legate, to England, would become public, and draw the Emperor upon him, and muſt admit of delays, and be full of danger; therefore he propoſed, if the King was ſatisfied in his own conſcience, in which he believed no doctor could reſolve him better than himſelf, then he might without more noiſe make judgment be given in England; and upon that marry another wife, and ſend over to Rome for a confirmation; which would be the more eaſily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Pope deſired might be repreſented to the King as the advice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's counſellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a proceſs; for if upon the King's ſecond marriage a confirmation ſhould be denied, then the right of ſucceſſion by it would

Who was very favourable.

would be ſtill very doubtful, ſo they would not venture on it.

The Pope was at this time diſtaſted with Cardinal Wolſey; for he underſtood, that during his captivity he had been in an intrigue, to get himſelf choſen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have ſate at Avignon, which might have produced a new ſchiſm. Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promiſe of a biſhopric, and a recommendation to a Cardinal's hat, to promote the King's affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a moſt earneſt ſtrain, for a diſpatch of this buſineſs; and he deſired, that an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be ſent over, with a full commiſſion to join with him, and to judge the matter; propoſing to the King's ambaſſadors Campegio as the fitteſt man; when a Legate ſhould be named, he ordered preſents to be made him, and that they would haſten his diſpatch, and take care that the commiſſion ſhould be full. But upon the arrival of the couriers that were ſent from Rome, Gardiner, the Cardinal's ſecretary, and Fox, the King's Almoner, the one a Canoniſt, and the other a Divine, were ſent thither with letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the Pope, and they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any arguments they could offer) to make great preſents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a bull, containing all the clauſes could be invented, to make the matter ſure; one clauſe was to declare the iſſue of the marriage good, as being begotten *bona fide*, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more eaſy, ſince by that it appeared, that her daughter ſhould not ſuffer, which way ſoever the matter went.

The Cardinal, in his letters to Caſſali, offered to take the blame on his own ſoul, if the Pope would grant this bull; and, with an earneſtneſs as hearty and warm as can be expreſſed in words, he preſſed the thing, and added, that he perceived, that if the Pope continued inexorable, the King would proceed another way.

Theſe treaties had ſuch effects, that Campegio was declared Legate, and ordered to go for England, and join in commiſſion with Wolſey, for judging this matter. Campegio was Biſhop of Saliſbury, and having a ſon whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable man; but to raiſe his price the higher, he moved many ſcruples, and ſeemed to enter upon this employment with great fear and averſion. Wolſey, who knew his temper,

Campegio ſent over Legate.

BOOK I.

preſſed him vehemently to make all the haſte he could, and gave him the aſſurance of great rewards from the King: for whatever was to be made uſe of publicly for form's ſake, theſe were the effectual arguments that were moſt likely to convince a man of his temper: in which Wolſey was ſo ſincere, that in a letter he wrote to him, that of a good conſcience being put among other motives to perſuade him, in the firſt draught, the Cardinal ſtruck it out, as knowing how little it would ſignify. Campegio ſet out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull for annulling the marriage, which was truſted to him, and he was authorized to ſhew it to the King and Wolſey; but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them. At this time Wolſey was taken with the ſweating-ſickneſs, which then raged in England; and by a compliment, which both the King and Anne Boleyn wrote him, on the ſame piece of paper, it appears he was then privy to the King's deſign of marrying her, and intended to advance himſelf yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the crown.

This year he ſettled his two great colleges; and finding both the King and people much pleaſed with his converting ſome monaſteries to ſuch uſes, he intended to ſuppreſs more, and to convert them to biſhoprics and cathedral churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the religious orders making great oppoſition to it; but Gardiner told him, it was neceſſary, and muſt be done: ſo a power for doing it was added to the Legate's commiſſion.

At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to eſpouſe her intereſts, which he did the more willingly, becauſe the King was then in the intereſts of France; and to help her buſineſs, a breve was either found, or forged, (the laſt is more probable,) of the ſame date with the bull, that diſpenſed with her marriage; but with ſtronger clauſes in it, to anſwer thoſe objections that were made againſt ſome defects in the bull, though it did not ſeem probable, that in the ſame day a bull and a breve would have been granted for the ſame thing, in ſuch different ſtrains. The moſt conſiderable variation was, that whereas the bull did only ſuppoſe, that the Queen's marriage with Prince Arthur was perhaps conſummated; the breve did ſuppoſe it abſolutely, without a perhaps. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's cauſe as much as the ſuſpicion of the forgery did blemiſh her agents.

Campegio comes into England.

In October, Campegio came into England; and after the

the firſt compliments were over, he firſt adviſed the King to give over the proſecution of his ſuit; and then counſelled the Queen, in the Pope's name, to enter into a religious life, and make vows; but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an impartiality, almoſt loſt both ſides. But he in great meaſure pacified the King, when he ſhewed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal; upon which great inſtances were made at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to ſhew it to ſome of the King's counſellors, and to go on and end the buſineſs, otherwiſe Wolſey would be ruined, and England loſt: yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperor's indignation: but though he poſitively refuſed to grant that, yet he ſaid he left the Legates in England free to judge as they ſaw cauſe, and promiſed that he would confirm their ſentence.

The Imperialiſts at Rome preſſed him hard to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the cauſe, that it might be heard before the Conſiſtory. The Pope declined this motion; and, to mollify the King, he ſent Campana, one of his bedchamber, over to England, with compliments too high to gain much credit: he aſſured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in juſtice and equity, but in the fulneſs of his power: and that though he had reaſon to be very apprehenſive of the Emperor's reſentments, yet that did not divert him from his zeal for the King's ſervice; for if his reſigning the Popedom would advance it, it ſhould not ſtick at that. He alſo was ordered to require the Legates to put a ſpeedy end to the buſineſs: but his ſecret inſtructions to Campegio were of another ſtrain; he charged him to burn the bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delays he could invent. Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes were diſpatched to Rome with new propoſitions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took religious vows, ſo that their marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to diſpenſe with the King's vow, or grant him a licence for having two wives. Wolſey alſo offered in the King's name to ſettle a pay for two thouſand men, that ſhould be a guard to the Pope, and to procure a reſtitution of ſome of his towns, on which the Venetians had ſeized. But the Pope did not care to have

Campana ſent to deceive the King.

BOOK I.

have his guards paid by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himſelf in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new calamity upon him; and was now reſolved to unite himſelf firmly with the Emperor, by whoſe means only he hoped to reeſtabliſh his family at Florence; and ever after this, all the uſe he made of the King's earneſtneſs in his divorce, was only to draw in the Emperor to his intereſts, on the better terms. The Emperor alſo was then preſſing him hard for a General Council; of which, beſides the averſion that the Court of Rome had to it, he had particular reaſon to be afraid; for being a baſtard, he was threatened with depoſition, as incapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold ſuch a dignity. The Pope propoſed a journey *incognito*, to Spain, and deſired Wolſey to go with him, for obtaining a general peace. But in ſecret he was making up with the Emperor, and gave his agents aſſurances, that though the Legates gave ſentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's correſpondents at Rome wrote to him, to ſet on the war more vigorouſly againſt the Emperor; for he could expect nothing at Rome, unleſs the Emperor's affairs declined.

The Pope reſolved to unite with the Emperor.

1529. The Pope went on cajoling thoſe the King ſent over, and gave new aſſurances, that though he would not grant a bull, by which the divorce ſhould be immediately his own act, yet he would confirm the Legate's ſentence; ſo he reſolved to caſt the load wholly upon them: he ſaid, if he did it himſelf, a Council would be called by the Emperor's means, in which his bull would be annulled, and himſelf depoſed, which would bring on a new confuſion; and that, conſidering the footing hereſy had got, would ruin the Church. The Pope inclined more to the diſſolving the marriage, by the Queen's taking vows, as that which could be beſt defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unleſs her nephews adviſed it.

The Pope's ſickneſs. At this time the Pope was taken ſuddenly ill, and fell into a great ſickneſs; upon which the Imperialiſts began to prepare for a conclave: but Farneſe and the Cardinal of Mantua oppoſed them, and ſeemed to have inclination for Wolſey; whom, as his correſpondents wrote to him, they reverenced as a deity. Upon this he ſent a courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large directions how to manage the election; it was reckoned, that the King of France, joining heartily with the King, of which he ſeemed confident, there were only ſix Cardinals wanting

Wolſey's aſpiring.

wanting to make the election sure, and besides sums of money, and other rewards that were to be distributed among them, he was to give them assurance, that the Cardinal's preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret methods of attaining that chair: and indeed it would puzzle a man of an ordinary degree of credulity to think, that one chosen by such means could be Christ's Vicar, and the infallible judge of controversies. But the Pope's recovery put an end to those intrigues, which yet were soon after revived, by a long and dangerous relapse. Then great pains was taken to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's cause; and many precedents were found of divorces, granted in favour of Princes, upon much slighter grounds. But the Imperialists were so strong at Rome, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperor was not first gained; so there was a secret negociation set on foot with him, but it had no other effect, save that it gave great jealousy both to the Pope and the King of France. Another dispatch was sent to Rome, to procure a commission, with fuller powers in it to the Legates, and a promise under the Pope's hand to confirm their sentence: the latter was granted, but the former was refused; for the Pope was resolved to go no further in that matter, though Wolsey wrote to Rome, that if justice were denied the King, not only England, but France likewise would withdraw their obedience from the Apostolic see; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperor had such influence at Rome, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleased. At this time the Cardinal was cheapening his bulls for Winchester, which were rated at fifteen thousand ducats; but since it was a translation from Durham, so that a new composition would come in for that vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded.

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The Pope promised to confirm any sentence the Legates should give.

The Emperor's ambassador made a protestation at Rome, in the Queen's name, against the Legates, as partial in the King's favour, which the Pope received. Gardiner, that was a man of great craft, and could penetrate well into secrets, wrote to the King, assuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperor nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give sentence with all possible haste; and then when it should come to the Emperor's turn to solicit the Pope for bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution, that he could be brought to do nothing with vigour.

This

BOOK I. This Gardiner deſired might not be ſhewn to the Cardinal; for he was now ſetting up for himſelf, and had a private correſpondence with Anne Boleyn, who in one of her letters to him, as a token of ſpecial favour, ſent him ſome cramp rings that the King had bleſſed, of which the office is extant; and Gardiner in one of his letters ſays, they were much eſteemed for the virtue that was believed to be in them. In the promiſe which the Pope ſigned to confirm the ſentence that ſhould be given by the Legates, ſome clauſes were put, by which he could eaſily be let looſe from it; ſo he endeavoured to get another in fuller terms, by this artifice: He told the Pope, that the courier had met with an accident in paſſing a river, by which the promiſe was ſo ſpoiled with water, that it could not be made uſe of. But the Pope, inſtead of being catched with this to give a new one, ſeemed glad that it was ſpoiled, and poſitively refuſed to renew it. And a long and earneſt letter, which the Legates wrote to the Pope, preſſing him to end the matter roundly by a decretal bull, aſſuring him it was only ſcruple of conſcience that wrought on the King, and no deſire of a new wife, and that the whole nation was much offended with the delays of this matter, in which they were all ſo much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he conſidered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had entirely gained Campegio, and the ſcandals of his life were ſo public, that the motives of intereſt were likely to prevail on him more than any other: but by all the arts that were uſed, they were not able to over-reach the Pope; who, whatever he might be in his deciſions, ſeemed infallible in his ſagacity and jealouſy. The Queen's agents preſſed hard for an avocation; but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finiſhed his treaty in all other points with the Emperor; and he began to complain much of the cold proceedings of the confederates, and that they expoſed him ſo much, not only to the Emperor's mercy, but to the ſcorn of the Florentines: by this it was viſible, he was ſeeking a colour for caſting himſelf into the Emperor's arms. Great objections were made to the motion for an avocation: it was contrary to the King's prerogative to be cited to Rome; and it was ſaid, he would ſeek juſtice of the Clergy of England, if the Pope denied it. It was alſo contrary to the promiſe under the Pope's hand, and his faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by Campana, to recall the Legate's commiſſion: but verbal promiſes did not bind the Pope much; they vaniſhed into air; and Campana

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pana ſwore, that he had not made any; and for the written promiſe, there was a clauſe put in it, by which he could eſcape, ſo that he was at liberty from all engagements but thoſe he had privately given in diſcourſe, and to theſe he was no ſlave. 1529.

The Legates began the proceſs in England, after the neceſſary preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and proteſted againſt them as incompetent judges: endeavours were uſed to terrify her into ſome compliance; it was given out, that ſome had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that ſhe had ſome hand in it; that ſhe carried it very diſobligingly to the King, and uſed many indecent arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his life by her means, and ſo could no more keep her company neither in bed nor at board: but ſhe was a woman of ſo reſolute a mind, that no threatenings could daunt her. When both the King and ſhe were together in the court, the Queen, inſtead of anſwering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and ſpake in a manner that raiſed compaſſion in all that were preſent: ſhe ſaid, ſhe had been his wife theſe twenty years; had borne him ſeveral children, and had always ſtudied to pleaſe him; therefore ſhe deſired to know wherein ſhe had at any time offended him. As for their marriage, it was made by both their parents, who were eſteemed wiſe Princes, and had, no doubt, good counſellors when their match was agreed on; but at preſent ſhe neither had indifferent judges, nor could ſhe expect that her lawyers, being his ſubjects, durſt ſpeak freely for her, and therefore ſhe could not expect juſtice there; ſo ſhe went out of the court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King gave her a great character for her extraordinary qualities, and proteſted, he was acted by no other principle than that of conſcience. He added, that Wolſey did not ſet him on this ſuit, but had oppoſed it long: that he firſt moved the matter in confeſſion to the Biſhop of Lincoln, and had deſired the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to procure him the reſolution of the Biſhops of England in his caſe; and that they had all under their hands declared that his marriage was unlawful. The Biſhop of Rocheſter denied he had ſigned it; but Warham pretended he gave him leave to make another write his name to it. Fiſher denied this, and it was no way probable.

The proceſs begun in England.

The Legates went on according to the forms of the law, though the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

BOOK I. and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers: yet they pronounced her *contumax*, and went on to examine witneſſes; chiefly, to that particular of the 1529. conſummation of her marriage with Prince Arthur. But now ſince the proceſs was thus going on, the Emperor's agents preſſed the Pope vehemently for an avocation; and all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the King's agents to hinder it: they ſpared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of perſuaſion or threatening: it was told him, that there was a treaty ſet on foot between the King and the Lutheran Princes of Germany; and that, upon the Pope's declaring himſelf ſo partial, as to grant the avocation, he would certainly embark in the ſame intereſts with them. But the Pope thought the King was ſo far engaged in honour in the points of religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's followers; ſo he did not imagine, that the effects of his granting the avocation would be ſo diſmal, as the Cardinal's creatures repreſented them: he thought it would probably ruin him, which might make his agents uſe ſuch threatenings; and he did not much conſider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in concluſion, after the Emperor had engaged to him to reſtore his family to the government of Florence, he reſolved to publiſh his treaty with him: but that the granting the avocation might not look like (what indeed it was) a ſecret article, he reſolved to begin with that; and with great ſigns of ſorrow he told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that he was forced to it; both becauſe all the lawyers told him it could not be denied, and that he could not reſiſt the Emperor's forces, which ſurrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays were as fruitleſs as their other arts had been; for on the 15th of July the Pope ſigned it, and on the 19th he ſent it by an expreſs meſſenger to England.

The Pope grants an avocation.

The Legates, Campegio in particular, drew out the matter by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At laſt, it being brought to that, that ſentence was to be pronounced, Campegio, inſtead of doing it, adjourned the court till October, and ſaid, that they being a part of the Conſiſtory muſt obſerve their times of vacation. This gave the King and all his Court great offence, when they ſaw what was like to be the iſſue of a proceſs, on which the King was ſo much bent, and in which he was ſo far engaged, both in honour and intereſt. Campegio had nothing to loſe in England but the biſhopric

bishopric of Salisbury, for which the Pope or Emperor could easily recompense him; but Wolsey was under all the terrors that an insolent favourite is liable to, upon a change in his fortune; none being more abject in misfortune, than those that are lifted up with success. When the avocation was brought to England, the King was willing that the Legates should declare their commission void, but would not suffer the letters citatory to be served, for he looked upon it as below his dignity to be cited to appear at Rome. The King governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than was expected: he dismissed Campegio civilly, only his officers searched his coffers, when he went beyond sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the decretal bull could be found. Wolsey was now upon the point of being disgraced, though the King seemed to treat him with the same confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordinary for many Princes to hide their designs of disgracing their favourites with higher expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their ruin breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen. 1529.

Cranmer's rise.

At this time, Dr. Cranmer, a Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and being put on the discourse of the King's marriage, proposed a new method, which was, that the King should engage the chief Universities and Divines of Europe to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the Pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, *He had the sow by the right ear.* He saw this way was both better in itself, and would mortify the Pope extremely. So Cranmer was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high opinion both of his learning and prudence, and of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in the King's mind, that no artifices nor calumnies were ever able to remove it.

Wolsey is disgraced.

But as he was thus in his rise, so Wolsey did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More; and he was sued in a *præmunire*, for having held the Legatine courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England. He confessed the indictment, and pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the King's mercy; so judgment passed on him: then

was

BOOK I. 1529.

was his rich palace (now Whitehall) and royal furniture ſeized on to the King's uſe: yet the King received him again into his protection, and reſtored to him the temporalities of the ſees of York and Wincheſter, and above ſix thouſand pounds in plate and other goods: and there appeared ſtill great and clear prints in the King's mind of that entire confidence to which he had received him; of which as his enemies were very apprehenſive, ſo he himſelf was ſo much tranſported with the meſſages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, it ſeems, for a bill of attainder, where he had but few friends; which all inſolent favourites may expect in their diſgrace. In the Houſe of Commons, Cromwell, that had been his ſecretary, did ſo manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be ſent to him to go into Yorkſhire. Thither he went in great ſtate, with an hundred and ſixty horſes in his train, and ſeventy-two carts following him, and there he lived ſome time. But the King was informed that he was practiſing with the Pope and the Emperor: ſo the Earl of Northumberland was ſent to arreſt him of high treaſon, and bring him up to London. On the way he ſickened, which different colours of wit may impute either to a greatneſs or meanneſs of mind, though the laſt be the truer. In con-

His death.

cluſion, he died at Leiceſter, making great proteſtations of his conſtant fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and he wiſhed he had ſerved God as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have caſt him off in his grey hairs, as the King had done. Words that declining favourites are apt to reflect on, but they ſeldom remember them in the height of their fortune.

The King thought it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf of the affections and confidences of his people, before he would venture on any thing that ſhould diſpleaſe two ſuch mighty potentates as the Pope and the Emperor. So a

A Parliament is called.

Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared ſeveral bills againſt ſome of the corruptions of the Clergy, particularly againſt plurality of benefices, and non-reſidents: abuſes that even Popery itſelf could not but condemn! The Clergy abhorred the precedent of the Commons meddling in eccleſiaſtical matters; ſo Fiſher ſpoke vehemently againſt them, and ſaid, all this flowed from *lack of faith*.

Upon

Upon this the Commons complained of him to the King for reproaching them: the Houſe of Peers either thought it no breach of privilege, or were willing to wink at it, for they did not interpoſe. Fiſher was hated by the Court for adhering ſo firmly to the Queen's intereſts; ſo he was made to explain himſelf, and it was paſſed over. 1530.

The bills were much oppoſed by the Clergy; but in the end they were paſſed, and had the royal aſſent. In this long interval of Parliament the King had borrowed great ſums of money; ſo the Parliament, both to diſcourage that way of ſupplying Kings for the future, and for ruining the Cardinal's creatures, who had been moſt forward to lend, as having the greateſt advantages from the government, did by an act diſcharge the King of all thoſe debts. The King granted a general pardon, with an exception of ſuch as had incurred the pains of *præmunire*, by acknowledging a foreign juriſdiction, with deſign to terrify the Pope, and keep the Clergy under the laſh. The King found it neceſſary to make all ſure at home, for now were the Pope and the Emperor linked in the firmeſt friendſhip poſſible: the Pope's nephew was made Duke of Florence, and married the Emperor's natural daughter. A peace was alſo made between Francis and the Emperor; and the King found it not ſo eaſy to make him break with the Pope, upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperor went into Italy, and was crowned by the Pope; who, when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiſs his foot, humbled himſelf ſo far as to draw it in, and kiſs his cheek.

The King's debts diſcharged.

But now the King, intending to proceed in the method propoſed by Cranmer, ſent to Oxford and Cambridge to procure their concluſions. At Oxford it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the queſtion, and put the ſeal of the Univerſity to their concluſion; and they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the convocation was unwilling to refer it to a ſelect number; yet it was, after ſome days practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it ſhould be referred to twenty-nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the ſeal of the Univerſity to their determination. Theſe agreed in opinion with thoſe of Oxford. The jealouſy that went of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheraniſm made the fierce

The Univerſities declare againſt the King's marriage.

BOOK I. 1530.

Popiſh party oppoſed every thing in which he was engaged. They were alſo afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed tinctured with thoſe opinions. Crook, a learned man in the Greek tongue, was employed in Italy, to procure the reſolution of Divines there; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that, beſides the great diſcoveries he made in ſearching the manuſcripts of the Greek Fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged ſeveral perſons to write for the King's cauſe; and alſo got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory: yet when a brother died without iſſue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preſerving their families and ſucceſſion; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The State of Venice would not declare themſelves, but ſaid, they would be neutrals; and it was not eaſy to perſuade the Divines of the Republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines and Canoniſts to deliver their opinions according to their conſciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. Crook was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his letters of the great want he was in: and he was in ſuch ill terms with John Caſſali, the King's ambaſſador at Venice, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poiſoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppoſe it; but he ſaid in great ſcorn, that no friar ſhould ſet limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promiſes to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which, as he wrote, he had ſo carefully obſerved, that he offered to forfeit his head, if the contrary were found true. Fifteen or twenty crowns was all the reward he gave, even to thoſe that wrote for the King's cauſe, and a few crowns he gave to ſome of thoſe that ſubſcribed: but the Emperor rewarded thoſe that wrote againſt the divorce with good benefices; ſo little reaſon there was to aſcribe the ſubſcriptions Crook procured to corruption; the contrary of which appears by his original accounts yet extant. Beſides many Divines and Canoniſts, not only whole houſes of religious orders, but even the Univerſity of Bononia, though the Pope's town, declared, that the laws in Leviticus, about the degrees of marriage, were parts of the law of nature; and that the Pope could not diſpenſe with them. The Univerſity of Padua determined the ſame; as alſo that of Ferrara. In all, Crook ſent over to England

England an hundred ſeveral books and papers, with many ſubſcriptions; all condemning the King's marriage, as unlawful in itſelf. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great ſolemnity: after a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, all the Doctors took an oath to ſtudy the queſtion, and to give their judgment according to their conſciences; and after three weeks ſtudy, the greater part agreed on this, That the King's marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not diſpenſe with it. At Orleans, Angers, and Thouloufe, they determined to the ſame purpoſe. Eraſmus had a mind to live in quiet, and ſo he would not give his opinion, nor offend either party. Grineus was employed to try what Bucer, Zuinglius, and Œcolampadius thought of the marriage. Bucer's opinion was, that the laws in Leviticus did not bind, and were not moral; becauſe God not only diſpenſed, but commanded them to marry their brother's wife, when he died without iſſue. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius were of another mind, and thought theſe laws were moral: but were of opinion, that the iſſue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received miſtake, ought not to be illegitimated.

1530. The Sorbonne declares againſt the marriage. The opinion of the reformed Divines about it.

Calvin thought the marriage was null, and they all agreed that the Pope's diſpenſation was of no force. Oſiander was employed to engage the Lutheran Divines; but they were afraid of giving the Emperor new grounds of diſpleaſure.

Melanchon thought the law in Leviticus was diſpenſable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that in thoſe matters, ſtates and princes might make what laws they pleaſed: and though the Divines of Leipſick, after much diſputing about it, did agree, that theſe laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to juſtify the divorce, with the ſubſequent marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done, and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their doctrine; ſo ſteadily did they follow their conſciences, even againſt their intereſts: but the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to Caſſali, to grant the King a diſpenſation for having another wife, with which the Imperialiſts ſeemed not diſſatisfied.

The King's cauſe being thus fortified by ſo many reſolutions in his favour, he made many members of Parliament, in a prorogation time, ſign a letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithſtanding the great merits of the King, the juſtice of his cauſe, and the importance of it to

Many of the nobility write to the Pope.

BOOK I.

the ſafety of the kingdom, yet the Pope made ſtill new delays; they therefore preſſed him to diſpatch it ſpeedily, otherwiſe they would be forced to ſee for other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was ſigned by the Cardinal, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, four other Biſhops, twenty-two Abbots, forty-two Peers, and eleven Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an anſwer: He took notice of the vehemence of their ſtyle: he freed himſelf from the imputations of ingratitude and injuſtice: he acknowledged the King's great merits, and ſaid, he had done all he could in his favour: he had granted a commiſſion, but could not refuſe to receive the Queen's appeal; all the Cardinals with one conſent judged, that an avocation was neceſſary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the King's: that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as ſpeedy an iſſue as the importance of it would admit of; and for their threatenings, they were neither agreeable to their wiſdom, nor their religion.

1530.

The Pope's anſwer.

November. Things being now in ſuch a poſture, the King ſet out a proclamation againſt any that ſhould purchaſe, bring over, or publiſh any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abſtract of all the reaſons and authorities of Fathers, or modern writers againſt his marriage, to be publiſhed, both in Latin and Engliſh.

The arguments for the divorce. The main ſtreſs was laid on the laws in Leviticus, of the forbidden degrees of marriage; among which this was one, *Not to marry the brother's wife.* Theſe marriages are called *abominations that defile the land*; and for which the Canaanites were caſt out of it. The expoſition of Scripture was to be taken from the tradition of the Church: and by the univerſal conſent of all Doctors, thoſe laws had been ſtill looked on as moral, and ever binding to Chriſtians, as well as Jews: therefore Gregory the Great adviſed Auſtin the Monk, upon the converſion of the Engliſh, among whom the marriages of the brother's wife were uſual, to diſſolve them, looking on them as grievous ſins. Many other Popes, as Calixtus, Zacharias, and Innocent the Third, had given their judgments for the perpetual obligation of thoſe laws: they had been alſo condemned by the Councils of Neoceſarea, Agde, and the ſecond of Toledo. Among Wickliff's condemned opinions, this was one, that the prohibitions of marrying in ſuch degrees were not founded on the law

law of God: for which he was condemned in ſome Engliſh Councils, and theſe were confirmed by the General Council at Conſtance. Among the Greek Fathers, both Origen, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, and Heſychius; and among the Latins, Tertullian, Ambroſe, Jerome, and St. Auſtin, do formally deliver this as the belief of the Church in their time, that thoſe laws were moral, and ſtill in force: Anſelm, Hugo de ſancto Victore, Hildebert, and Ivo, argue very fully to the ſame purpoſe; the laſt particularly, writing concerning the King of France, who had married his brother's wife, ſays, it was inconſiſtent with the law of God, with which none can diſpenſe; and that he could not be admitted to the communion of the Church till he put her away. Aquinas and all the Schoolmen follow theſe authorities, and in their way of reaſoning they argue fully for this opinion; and all that wrote againſt Wickliff did alſo aſſert the authority of thoſe prohibitions: in particular, Waldenſis, whoſe books were approved by Pope Martin the Fifth. All the Canoniſts did alſo agree with them, as Johannes Andreas, Panormitan, and Oſtienſis: ſo that tradition being the only ſure expounder of the Scripture, the caſe ſeemed clear. They alſo proved, that a conſent without conſummation made the marriage complete, which being a ſacrament, that which followed after in the right of marriage was not neceſſary to make it complete; as a Prieſt ſaying maſs conſummates his orders, which yet were complete without it. Many teſtimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred, that the Queen's being married to Prince Arthur, though nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful marriage with the King: and yet they ſhewed what violent preſumptions there were of conſummation, which was all that in ſuch caſes was ſought for; and this was expreſſed both in the bull and breve, though but dubiouſly in the one, yet very poſitively in the other. After that they examined the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation. It was a received maxim, that though the Pope had authority to diſpenſe with the laws of the Church, yet he could not diſpenſe with the laws of God, which were not ſubject to him: and it had been judged in the Rota at Rome, when a diſpenſation was aſked for a King to marry his wife's ſiſter, that it could not be granted; and when precedents were alleged for it, it was anſwered, that the Church was to be governed by laws, and not by examples; and if any Pope had granted ſuch diſpenſation, it was either out of ignorance

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rance or corruption. This was not only the opinion of the Schoolmen, but of the Canoniſts, though they were much ſet on raiſing the Pope's power as high as is poſſible; and therefore Alexander the Third refuſed to grant a diſpenſation in a like caſe, though the parent had ſworn to make his ſon marry his brother's widow: others went farther, and ſaid, the Pope could not diſpenſe with the laws of the Church, which ſeveral ancient Popes had declared againſt; and it was ſaid, that the fulneſs of power, with which the Pope was veſted, did only extend to the paſtoral care, and was not for deſtruction, but for edification; and that as St. Paul oppoſed St. Peter to his face, ſo had many Biſhops withſtood Popes, when they proceeded againſt the Canons of the Church. So both Laurence and Dunſtan in England had proceeded to cenſures, notwithſtanding the Pope's authority interpoſed to the contrary; and no authority being able to make what was a ſin in itſelf become lawful, every man that found himſelf engaged in a ſinful courſe of life ought to forſake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen; and the Biſhops of England, in caſe of refuſal, ought to proceed to cenſures. Upon the whole matter, tradition was that upon which all the writers of controverſy, particularly, now in the conteſts with the Lutherans, founded the doctrine of the Church, as being the only infallible expoſition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being ſo clear in this matter, there ſeemed to be no room for any further debate.

Arguments againſt it.

On the other hand, Cajetan was the firſt writer that, againſt the ſtream of former ages, thought that the laws of Leviticus were only judiciary precepts, binding the Jews, and were not moral: his reaſons were, that Adam's children muſt have married in the degrees there forbidden. Jacob married two ſiſters; and Judah, according to cuſtom, gave his two ſons, and promiſed a third, to the ſame woman. Moſes alſo appointed the brother to marry the brother's wife when he died without iſſue. But a moral law is for ever, and in all caſes binding; and it was alſo ſaid, that the Pope's power reached even to the laws of God, for he diſpenſed with oaths and vows; and as he had the power of determining controverſies, ſo he only could declare what laws were moral and indiſpenſable, and what were not; nor could any Biſhop pretend to judge concerning the extent of his power, or the validity of his bulls.

To all this, thoſe that wrote for the King anſwered, that

that it was ſtrange to ſee men, who pretended ſuch zeal againſt Heretics, follow their method, which was to ſet up private reaſonings, from ſome texts of Scripture, in oppoſition to the received tradition of the Church, which was the bottom in which all good Catholics thought themſelves ſafe; and if Cajetan wrote in this manner againſt the received doctrine of the Church in one particular, why might not Luther take the ſame liberty in other points? They alſo made diſtinctions in moral laws, between thoſe that were ſo from the nature of the thing which was indiſpenſable, and could in no caſe be lawful; and to this ſort no degrees, but thoſe of parents and children, could be reduced; other moral laws were only grounded upon public inconveniences and diſhoneſty, ſuch as the other degrees were: for the familiarities, that perſons ſo nearly related live in, are ſuch, that unleſs a terror were ſtruck in them, by a perpetual law againſt ſuch mixtures, families would be much defiled: but in ſuch laws, though God may grant a diſpenſation in ſome particular caſes, yet an inferior authority cannot pretend to it: and ſome diſpenſations granted in the latter ages ought not to be ſet up to balance the deciſions of ſo many Popes and Councils againſt them, and the doctrine taught by ſo many Fathers and Doctors in former times. 1530.

Both ſides having thus brought forth the ſtrength of their cauſe, it did evidently appear, that, according to the authority given to the tradition in the Church of Rome, the King had clearly the right on his ſide, and that the Pope's party did write with little ſincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from texts of Scripture, for which they had ſo loudly charged the Lutherans.

The Queen continued firm to her reſolution of leaving the matter in the Pope's hands, and therefore would hearken to no propoſitions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the arbitration of ſome choſen on both ſides.

A ſeſſion of Parliament followed in January, in which the King made the deciſions of the Univerſities, and the books that were written for the divorce, be firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir Thomas More, and twelve Lords, both of the ſpirituality and temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve ſeals of Univerſities ſhewed, and their deciſions were read, firſt in Latin, and then tranſlated into Engliſh. There were alſo an hundred books ſhewed, written on the 1531. A ſeſſion of Parliament.

BOOK I.

1531.

ſame argument. Upon the ſhewing theſe, the Chancellor deſired them to report in their countries, that they now clearly ſaw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his mere will and pleaſure, but for the diſcharge of his conſcience, and the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion of the Crown. This was alſo brought into the convocation, who declared themſelves ſatisfied concerning the unlawfulneſs of the marriage: but the circumſtances they were then in made that their declaration was not much conſidered; for they were then under the laſh. All the Clergy of England were ſued as in the caſe of a *præmunire*, for having acknowledged a foreign juriſdiction, and taken out bulls, and had ſuits in the Legatine court.

The laws of England againſt bulls from Rome.

The Kings of England did claim ſuch a power in eccleſiaſtical matters, as the Roman Emperors had exerciſed before the fall of that empire: anciently they had by their authority divided biſhoprics, granted the inveſtitures, and made laws both relating to eccleſiaſtical cauſes and perſons. When the Popes began to extend their power beyond the limits aſſigned them by the Canons, they met with great oppoſition in England, both in the matter of inveſtitures, appeals, legates, and the other branches of their uſurpations; but they managed all the advantages they found, either from the weakneſs or ill circumſtances of princes, ſo ſteadily, that in concluſion they ſubdued the world: and if they had not by their cruel exactions ſo oppreſſed the Clergy, that they were driven to ſeek ſhelter under the covert of the temporal authority, the world was then ſo over-maſtered by ſuperſtition and credulity, that not only the whole ſpiritual power, but even the temporal power of princes, was likely to have fallen into the Pope's hands: but the diſcontented Clergy ſupported the ſecular power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal tyranny. Boniface the Eighth had raiſed his pretenſions to that impudent pitch, that he declared all power, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, was derived from him, and eſtabliſhed that as an article of faith neceſſary to ſalvation; and he and his ſucceſſors took upon them to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, by their bulls and proviſions. Upon which, laws were made in England, reſtraining thoſe invaſions on the Crown; ſince thoſe endowments were made for informing the people of the law of God, and for hoſpitality and acts of charity, which were defeated, as well as the Crown was diſinherited by the proviſions which the Pope granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future; but no puniſh-

25 Ed. I.

ment

ment being declared for the tranſgreſſors of that fact, the courtiers at Rome were not frighted at ſo general a law; ſo theſe abuſes were ſtill continued: but in Edward the Third's time a more ſevere law was made, by which all that tranſgreſſed were to be impriſoned, to be fined at pleaſure, and to forfeit all their benefices. By another act, they were put out of the King's protection. Several other confirmations of this were made, both in that reign, and under Richard the Second; and the former puniſhments were extended not only to the proviſors themſelves, but to all that were employed by them, or took farms of them: and becauſe licences might be granted by the King for aliens, to hold benefices in England, he did bind himſelf to grant none: others took both preſentations in England, and obtained proviſions from Rome, which was likewiſe condemned. The right of preſentations was tried, only in the King's courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the cognizance of that to their own courts; upon which, the Parliament conſidering the great prejudice the nation was like to ſuffer, and the ſubjection that the Crown would fall under, reſolved to provide effectual remedies; ſo all the Commons declared, they would live and die with the King, and deſired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the regality of the Crown. The temporal Lords declared, they would do it: but the ſpiritual Lords made ſome difficulty; yet in concluſion, they alſo promiſed they would adhere to the Crown: ſo a law paſſed, that if any purchaſed tranſlations, excommunications, or bulls from Rome, that were contrary to the King, or his crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's protection, and that their goods and chattels ſhould be forfeited to the King, and their perſons impriſoned. And becauſe the proceedings upon this were by a writ called, from the moſt material words of it, *præmunire facias*, this ſtatute carried the name of the ſtatute of *præmunire*. There was alſo a law paſſed in Henry the Fourth's reign, againſt ſome bulls which the Ciſtertians had procured, and againſt the high rates ſet on bulls in the Apoſtolic Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with to give licences for ſome bulls, by which the proviſors put the incumbents out of their benefices; theſe were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the ſubject's rights. The invaſions, that both the Popes and Kings made upon elections, were by another law condemned, and the liberty of elections

1531.

15 Ed. III.

16 Ric. II.

BOOK I. elections was again ſet up. But thoſe Kings being more concerned to preſerve their own prerogative, than the rights of the people, were often prevailed with to grant
1531. pardons and licences to thoſe who obtained proviſions at Rome; ſo theſe were all again condemned in Henry the Fifth's time.

4 Hen. V. In all this time, the weakneſs of the Papacy gave princes ſome advantages, which they had not in former ages. For a great while the Popes ſate at Avignon, where they were much eclipſed of their former greatneſs: after that a ſchiſm followed between the Popes that ſate at Rome, and thoſe that ſtill ſate at Avignon: and the Princes of Chriſtendom, being then at liberty to chooſe which of thoſe they would acknowledge, the Popes durſt not thunder againſt thoſe laws, as they had done in former times, upon much leſs provocation. And indeed all the uſe the Kings made of them was, to oblige the proviſors to come and depend on them for their licence to execute their bulls; and the King's authority being joined with the Pope's, it was hard for thoſe who were oppreſſed to reſiſt that double force: nor was there any vigorous execution made of thoſe laws, otherwiſe than to draw money from the proviſors: for it fell out in this caſe, what is ordinary on all ſuch occaſions, that favourites make uſe of good laws; by which power is truſted to the Prince, for the protection and ſecurity of the ſubjects, only for their own ends. It was a ſtrange weakneſs in the Princes of Chriſtendom, to take ſuch pains, as was done at Conſtance, for healing the breach in the Papacy; for while that continued, they reigned in peace, and the Clergy was leſs oppreſſed than formerly: but that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raiſe their old pretenſions: and Pope Martin the Fifth not being willing to engage with ſo high ſpirited a King as Henry the Fifth was, he took advantage, in the
6 Hen. VI. minority of Henry the Sixth's reign, to propoſe a repeal of thoſe laws, and firſt wrote very ſeverely to Chichele, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for not oppoſing the ſtatute of proviſors that had paſſed in the former reign, nor ſtanding up for the rights of St. Peter: he therefore exhorted him to imitate his predeceſſor, Thomas Becket; and required him to declare at the next parliament the unlawfulneſs of it; and that all who obeyed it were under excommunication: he alſo required him to order the Clergy to preach every where againſt it. Yet Chichele did not proceed ſo zealouſly as the Pope expected, and therefore he

he ſuſpended his legatine power. The Archbiſhop appealed upon this, from the Pope, to the next General Council, or, if none met, to the tribunal of God: but the Pope wrote alſo to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the ſtatute: and in another letter to the two Archbiſhops, in which, in ſpite to Chichele, York is firſt named, he annulled the ſtatutes made by Edward the Third, and Richard the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reſerving the abſolution of them to himſelf, unleſs they were at the point of death: and he required them to publiſh, and affix this his monitory brief. The Archbiſhop humbled himſelf to the Pope; and got the other Biſhops, and the Univerſity of Oxford, to write in his favour to him; which they did according to the flattering and vain ſtyle of that age. In his own letter, he ſays, he had not opened the Pope's brief, and ſo did not know what it contained; being required by the King to bring it to him with the ſeals entire. The Pope wrote alſo both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of excommunication and damnation, to repeal thoſe ſtatutes. Upon the meeting of the next parliament, the Archbiſhop, accompanied by ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots, went to the Houſe of Commons, and made them a long ſpeech, in the form of a ſermon, upon that text, *Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's*; and exhorted them to repeal thoſe laws againſt the Pope's power, in granting proviſors; and with tears laid out the miſchiefs that would follow, if the Pope ſhould proceed to cenſures. But the Commons would not repeal thoſe laws; yet they were left as dead letters among the records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was ſo far ſatisfied with Chichele's behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and reſtored to him the legatine power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our writers, it ſeemed no impertinent digreſſion to give this account of it.

BOOK I.

1531.

1427.

Now were thoſe long forgotten ſtatutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a ſnare: it was deſigned by the terror of this, to force them into an entire ſubmiſſion; and to oblige them to redeem themſelves by the grant of a conſiderable ſubſidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King, by his favour to the Cardinal, ſeemed to conſent, if not to encourage that authority which he then exerciſed: it was a public error, and ſo they ought not to be puniſhed for it. To all this it was anſwered, that

The Clergy ſued in a *præmunire*.

BOOK I. that the laws which they had tranſgreſſed were ſtill in force, and ſo no ignorance could excuſe the violation of them. The convocation of Canterbury made their ſubmiſſion, and in their addreſs to the King, he was called, *The Protector and ſupreme Head of the Church of England*; but ſome excepting to that, it was added, *in ſo far as it is agreeable to the law of Chriſt.* This was ſigned by nine Biſhops, fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greateſt part of the lower Houſe; and with it they offered the King a ſubſidy, to procure his favour, of an hundred thouſand pounds, and they promiſed for the future not to make nor execute any conſtitutions without his licence. The convocation of York did not paſs this ſo eaſily; they excepted to the word *Head*, as agreeing to none but Chriſt: yet the King wrote them a long expoſtulating letter, and told them, with what limitations thoſe of Canterbury had paſſed that title; upon which they alſo ſubmitted, and offered him eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds, which was alſo well received; and ſo all the Clergy were again received into the King's protection, and pardoned. But when the King's pardon was brought into the Parliament, the laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were alſo obnoxious on the ſame account, in ſome meaſure, having had ſuits in the Legatine court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: and therefore they addreſſed to the King, and deſired to be comprehended within it: but the King told them, his mercy was neither to be reſtrained, nor forced. This put the Houſe of Commons in great trouble; but they paſſed the act; and ſoon after, the King ſent a pardon to all his temporal ſubjects, which was received with great joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his greatneſs with his clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

1531.

A poiſoner condemned of treaſon.

In this ſeſſion, one Rouſe, that had poiſoned a great pot of porridge in the Biſhop of Rocheſter's kitchen, of which two had died, and many had been brought near death, was attainted of treaſon, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was made the puniſhment of poiſoning in time to come. By this act the Parliament made a crime to be treaſon that was not ſo before, and puniſhed the perſon accordingly, which was founded on the power reſerved in the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what crimes were treaſon. This ſevere ſentence was executed in Smithfield, Rouſe accuſing none as his complices, though malicious perſons

perſons did afterwards impute that action of his to a deſign of Anne Boleyn upon Fiſher's life; but his ſilence under ſo terrible a condemnation ſhewed he could not charge others with it. 1531.

After the ſeſſions of Parliament, new applications were made to the Queen, to perſuade her to depart from her appeal; but ſhe remained fixed in her reſolution, and ſaid ſhe was the King's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the Court of Rome ſhould declare the contrary. Upon that, the King deſired her to chooſe any of his houſes in the country to live in, and reſolved never to ſee her more. The King departs from the Queen.

The Clergy were now raiſing the ſubſidy, and the Biſhops intended to make the inferior Clergy pay their ſhare. But upon the Biſhop of London's calling ſome few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them ſet a good example to the reſt, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-houſe, and forced their way in, though the Biſhop's officers did what they could by violence to keep them out. The Biſhop made a ſpeech, ſetting forth the King's clemency, in accepting ſuch a ſubſidy inſtead of all their benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore deſired them to bear their ſhare in it patiently. They anſwered, that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's faculties, nor needed they the King's pardon, not having tranſgreſſed his laws; and therefore ſince the Biſhops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reaſonable that they only ſhould raiſe the ſubſidy. Upon this, the Biſhop's officers and they came to very high words, and it ended in blows: but the Biſhop quieted them all he could with good words, and diſmiſſed them with a promiſe, that none ſhould be brought into queſtion for what had been then done; yet he complained to More of it, and he put many of them in priſon: but the thing was let fall. A tumult among the Clergy.

This year produced a new breach between the Pope and the Emperor: the Pope pretended to Modena and Regio, as fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperor judged againſt him for the Duke of Ferrara. Upon this the Pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the Crown of France; and Francis, to gain him more entirely, propoſed a match between his ſecond ſon Henry, and the Pope's niece, the famous Catherine de Medici; which as it wrought much on the Pope's ambition, ſo it was like to prove a great ſupport to his family. Francis alſo offered to reſign all his 1532. The Pope turns to the intereſt of France.

BOOK I. his pretenſions in Italy to his ſon Henry, which was like to draw in other Princes to a league with him, who would have been much better pleaſed to ſee a King's younger ſon among them, than either the Emperor or the King of France. The King's matter was now in a fairer way of being adjuſted; for the Pope's conſcience being directed by his intereſts, ſince he had now broken with the Emperor, it was probable he would give the King content. He ſaw the danger of loſing England. The intereſt of the Clergy was much ſunk, and they were in a great meaſure ſubjected to the Crown. Lutheraniſm was alſo making a great progreſs, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperor, on whom the whole power of the Turkiſh empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the practices of Francis at the Porte, though that did not well agree with his title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*. The Princes of Germany took advantage from this, to make the Emperor conſent to ſome farther liberty in matters of religion; and, to ſecure themſelves, they were then alſo entered into a league with Francis, for preſerving the rights of the empire, unto which King Henry was invited. All this raiſed Francis again very high; ſo he was the fitteſt perſon to mediate an agreement between the King and the Pope; and being himſelf a lover of pleaſure, he was the more eaſily engaged to ſerve the King in the accompliſhment of his amours.

1532.

A miſunderſtanding between the King and the Houſe of Commons.

A new ſeſſion of Parliament was held, in which the laity complained of the ſpiritual courts, of their way of proceeding *ex officio*, and not admitting perſons accuſed to their purgation. But this was not much conſidered, by reaſon of an ill underſtanding that fell in between the King and the Houſe of Commons. There was a cuſtom brought in of making ſuch ſettlements of eſtates, that the heir was not liable to wards, and the other advantages to which the King or the great Lords had otherwiſe a right by their tenures: ſo a bill for regulating that was ſent down by the Lords; but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great offence; upon that they addreſſed to the King for a diſſolution, ſince they had been now obliged to a long attendance. The King anſwered them ſharply: he ſaid, they had rejected a bill, in which he had offered a great abatement of that which he might claim by law; and therefore he would execute the law in its utmoſt ſeverity. He told them he had patience while his ſuit was in dependence, and ſo they muſt have likewiſe. For this Parliament

liament was made up of men very ill affected to the Clergy, so the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of Rome so much the more. BOOK I.

All that was remarkable that passed in this session was an act against Annats: it sets forth, that they were founded on no law; they were first exacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a revenue to the Papacy, and bulls were not granted till they were compounded for; for eight hundred thousand ducats had been carried out of England to Rome on that account, since the beginning of the former reign. The King was bound by his royal care of his subjects to hinder such oppressions; and therefore all that were provided with great benefices, were required not to pay first-fruits for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their goods, and the profits of their benefices; and those that were presented to bishoprics were appointed to be consecrated, though their bulls were denied at Rome, and they were required to pay no more but 5 *per cent.* of the clear profits of their fees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform divine offices, these notwithstanding. But, by an extraordinary proviso, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Easter next, whether this act shall take place or not: and the King by his letters patents declared, that it should take place, being provoked by the Pope. 1532. An act against Annats.

In January the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists, wrote to the King, complaining, that notwithstanding a suit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put Anne away. Upon this the King sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large dispatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men: the Pope had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's Vicar; and the King had now for several years expected a remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a commission, had promised never to recall it, and had sent over a decretal bull defining the cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. If he had the authority to grant these things, where was the faith which became a friend, much more a Pope, since he had recalled them? If he had not authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could consider any thing he did. It The Pope writes to the King.

was

BOOK I.

1532.

was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests, than according to conscience; and that as the Pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a marriage which almost all the learned men and Universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He desired the Pope would excuse the freedom he used, to which his carriage had forced him. He would not question his authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits, which was much better than to let it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high letter made the Pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The King was cited to answer to the Queen's appeal at Rome in person, or by proxy; so Sir Edward Karne was sent thither in the new character of the King's Excusator, to excuse the King's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the privileges of the Crown of England. Bonner, that was a forward and ambitious man, and would stick at nothing that might contribute to his preferment, was sent over with him. The Imperialists pressed the Pope much to give sentence; but all the wise Cardinals, who observed by the proceedings of the Parliament, that the nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provoked to shake off the Pope's yoke, were very apprehensive of a breach, and suggested milder counsels to the Pope; and the King's agents assured him, that if he gave the King content, the late act against Annats should not be put in execution.

The King cited to Rome, excuses himself.

Some Cardinals corrupted.

The Cardinal of Ravenna was then considered as an oracle for learning in the Consistory; so the King's agents resolved to gain him with great promises: but he said, princes were liberal of their promises till their turn was served, and then forgot them; so he resolved to make sure work; therefore he made Bennet give him a promise in writing of the bishopric of Ely, or the first bishopric that fell till that was vacant; and Bennet also engaged that the King should procure him benefices in France to the value of six thousand ducats a year, for the service he should do him in his divorce. This was an argument of so great efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him from being a great enemy, to be as great a promoter of the King's cause, though very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with by the same topics. The King's agents put in his plea of excuse in twenty-eight articles, and

and it was ordered, that three of them ſhould be diſcuſſed at a hearing before the Conſiſtory, till they ſhould be all examined: but that court ſitting once a week, the Imperialiſts, after ſome of them were heard, procured an order, that the reſt ſhould be heard in a congregation or committee of Cardinals before the Pope, for greater diſpatch: but Karne refuſed to obey this, and ſo it was referred back to the Conſiſtory. But againſt this the Imperialiſts proteſted, and refuſed to appear any more. News was brought to Rome from England, that a prieſt, that had preached up the Pope's power, was caſt into priſon; and that one, committed by the Archbiſhop for hereſy, appealed to the King as ſupreme head, which was received and judged in the King's courts. The Pope made great complaints upon this: but the King's agents ſaid, the beſt way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King juſtice. At this time a bull was granted for ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, and erecting new biſhoprics out of them. Cheſter was to be one, and the Cardinal of Ravenna was ſo pleaſed with the revenue deſigned for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till Ely ſhould happen to fall vacant. In concluſion, the Pope ſeemed to favour the King's plea excuſatory, upon which the Imperialiſts made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, ſave that the King was not bound to appear in perſon: therefore the Cardinals that were gained, adviſed the King to ſend over a proxy for anſwering to the merits of the cauſe, and not to loſe more time in that dilatory plea; and they having declared themſelves againſt the King in that plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit ſerve him in the other. So the vacation coming on, it was reſolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the plea. But both the Pope and the College wrote to the King to ſend over a proxy for determining the matter next winter. Bonner was alſo ſent to England to aſſure the King, that the Pope was now ſo much in the French intereſt, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King deſired a commiſſion to judge (*in partibus*) upon the place: it was ſaid, that the point to be judged being the Pope's authority to diſpenſe with the King's marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but muſt needs be judged in the Conſiſtory. 1532.

A ſeſſion of Parliament.

At this time a new ſeſſion of Parliament was called in England. The Clergy gave in an anſwer to the complaints made of them by the Commons in the former

BOOK I.

1532. ſeſſions: but when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained that one Temſe, a member of their Houſe, had moved for an addreſs to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court. The King ſaid, it touched his conſcience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that Houſe. He wiſhed his marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his ſuit out of luſt or fooliſh appetite, being then paſt the heats of youth; he aſſured them, his conſcience was troubled, and deſired them to report that to the Houſe. Many of the Lords came down to the Houſe of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build ſome forts on the borders of Scotland, to ſecure the nation from the inroads of the Scots; and the Lords approving of this, ſent them to propoſe it to the Commons, upon which a ſubſidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the act was finiſhed. At that time the King ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him, he found that the Prelates were but half ſubjects; for they ſwore at their conſecration an oath to the Pope, that was inconſiſtent with their allegiance and oath to the King. By their oath to the Pope, they ſwore to be in no council againſt him, nor to diſcloſe his ſecrets; but to maintain the Papacy and the regalities of St. Peter againſt all men; together with the rights and authorities of the Church of Rome; and that they ſhould honourably entreat the Legates of the Apoſtolic ſee, and obſerve all the decrees, ſentences, proviſions, and commandments of that ſee; and yearly, either in perſon or by proxy, viſit the threſholds of the Apoſtles. In their oath to the King, they renounced all clauſes in their bulls contrary to the King's royal dignity, and did ſwear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him againſt all others, and to keep his counſel; acknowledging that they held their biſhoprics only of him. By theſe it appeared that they could not keep both thoſe oaths, in caſe a breach ſhould fall out between the King and the Pope. But the plague broke off the conſultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More, ſeeing a rupture with Rome coming on ſo faſt, deſired leave to lay down his office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More was ſatisfied with the King's keeping up the laws formerly made in oppoſition to the Papal encroachments, and ſo had concurred in the ſuit of *præmunire*; but now the matter went further, and ſo he not being able to keep peace with

The oaths which the Biſhops ſwore both to the Pope and the King.

More quits his office.

with the Councils, retired to a private life, with a greatneſs of mind equal to what the ancient Greeks or Romans had expreſſed on ſuch occaſions. Endeavours were uſed to faſten ſome imputations on him, in the diſtribution of juſtice; but nothing could be brought againſt him to blemiſh his integrity. BOOK I. 1533.

An interview followed between the Kings of France and England; to which Anne Boleyn, now Marchioneſs of Pembroke, was carried; in which, after the firſt ceremonies and magnificence was over, Francis promiſed Henry to ſecond him in his ſuit. He encouraged him to proceed to a ſecond marriage without more ado; and aſſured him, he would ſtand by him in it: and told him, he intended to reſtrain the payment of Annats to Rome; and would aſk of the Pope a redreſs of that and other grievances; and if it was denied, he would ſeek other remedies in a provincial Council. An interview was propoſed between the Pope and him; to which he deſired the King to go with him, and the King was not unwilling to it, if he could have aſſurance, that his buſineſs would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to ſend a Legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the proceſs, reſerving only the giving ſentence to himſelf; and propoſed to him, and all Princes, a general truce, that ſo he might call a General Council. The King anſwered, that ſuch was the preſent ſtate of the affairs of Europe, that it was not ſeaſonable to call a General Council; that it was contrary to his prerogative to ſend a proxy to appear at Rome; that, by the decrees of General Councils, all cauſes ought to be judged on the place, and by a provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where elſe; and that by his coronation-oath he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his ſubjects, and not to appear before any foreign court. So Sir Thomas Elliot was ſent over with inſtructions, to move, that the cauſe might be judged in England: yet if the Pope had real intentions of giving the King full ſatisfaction, he was not to inſiſt on that: and to make the Cardinal of Ravenna ſure, he ſent him the offer of the biſhopric of Coventry and Litchfield, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield) did officiate, none being preſent but the Duke of Norfolk, and her father, her mother, and her brother, and Cranmer. It was thought, that the former marriage being null of itſelf,

An interview between the Kings of France and England.

Nov. 14, the King marries Anne Boleyn.

BOOK I. 1533. the King might proceed to another. And perhaps they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly propoſed this method, ſo he would now approve of it. But though the Pope had joined himſelf to France, yet he was ſtill ſo much in fear of the Emperor, that he reſolved not to provoke him; and ſo was not wrought on by any of the expedients which Bennet propoſed, which were either to judge the cauſe in England, according to the Council of Nice; or to refer it to the arbitration of ſome, to be named by the King, and the King of France, and the Pope: for all theſe, he ſaid, tended to the diminution of the Papal power. A new citation was iſſued out, for the King to anſwer to the Queen's complaints; but the King's agents proteſted, that he was a ſovereign Prince; that England was a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt authority; and that the King could expect no juſtice at Rome, where the Emperor's power was ſo great.

The Parliament condemns appeals to Rome.

At this time the Parliament met again, and paſſed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome: in it they ſet forth, "that the crown was imperial, and that the nation was a "complete body, having full power to do juſtice in all "caſes, both ſpiritual and temporal: and, that as former "Kings had maintained the liberties of the kingdom "againſt the uſurpations of the ſee of Rome; ſo they "found the great inconveniences of allowing appeals in "matrimonial cauſes; that they put them to great charges, "and occaſioned many delays: therefore they enacted, "that thereafter thoſe ſhould be all judged within the "kingdom, and no regard ſhould be had to any appeals "to Rome, or cenſures from it: but ſentences given in "England were to have their full effect; and all that "executed any cenſures from Rome were to incur the "pains of *præmunire*. Appeals were to be from the Arch-"deacon to the Biſhop, and from him to the Arch-"biſhop: and in the cauſes that concerned the King, the "appeal was to be to the Upper Houſe of Convocation."

There was now a new Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Warham died the former year: he was a great patron of learning, a good canoniſt, and wiſe ſtateſman; but was a cruel perſecutor of heretics, and inclined to believe fanatical ſtories. Cranmer was then in Germany, diſputing in the King's cauſe with ſome of the Emperor's Divines. The King reſolved to advance him to that dignity, and ſent him word of it, that ſo he might make haſte over: but a promotion ſo far above his thoughts had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive

Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

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primitive ſenſe of ſo great a charge; and, inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was afraid of it, and he both returned very ſlowly to England, and uſed all his endeavours to be excuſed from that advancement: but this declining of preferment, being a thing of which the Clergy of that age were ſo little guilty, diſcovered that he had maxims very far different from moſt Churchmen. Bulls were ſent for to Rome, in order to his conſecration, which the Pope granted, though it could not be very grateful to him, to ſend them to one who had ſo publicly diſputed againſt his power of diſpenſing; all the compoſition that was paid for them was but nine hundred ducats, which was perhaps according to the regulation made in the act againſt Annats. There were eleven ſeveral bulls ſent over, one confirming the King's nomination; a ſecond, requiring him to accept it; a third, abſolving him from cenſures; a fourth, to the ſuffragan Biſhops; a fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a ſixth, to the Clergy; a ſeventh, to the laity; an eighth, to the tenants of the ſee, requiring all theſe to receive him to be their Archbiſhop; a ninth, requiring ſome Biſhops to conſecrate him; the tenth gave him the pall; and by the eleventh, the Archbiſhop of York was required to put it on him. The putting all this in ſo many different bulls was a good contrivance for raiſing the rents of the Apoſtolic chamber. On the 30th of March, Cranmer was conſecrated by the Biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph. The oath to the Pope was of hard digeſtion: ſo he made a proteſtation before he took it, that he conceived himſelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his duty to God, to his King, or country; and he repeated this when he took it; ſo that if this ſeemed too artificial for a man of his ſincerity, yet he acted in it fairly, and above board.

Longland, Voyſei, Standiſh,

The Convocation had then two queſtions before them; the firſt was, concerning the lawfulneſs of the King's marriage, and the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation; the other was, of matter of fact, whether Prince Arthur had conſummated the marriage, or not. For the firſt, the judgments of nineteen Univerſities were read; and after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the Lower Houſe, fourteen were againſt the marriage, and ſeven for it, and two voted dubiouſly. In the Upper Houſe, Stokeſly, Biſhop of London, and Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, maintained the debate long: the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative: at laſt it was carried, *nemine contradicente*, (the few that

The Convocation condemns the King's marriage.

BOOK I. were of the other ſide, it ſeems, withdrawing,) againſt the marriage, two hundred and ſixteen being preſent. For the other, that concerned matter of fact, it was referred to the 1533. Canoniſts; and they all, except five or ſix, reported, that the preſumptions were violent; and theſe in a matter not capable of plain proof were always received in law. The ſmall number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the Upper Houſe of Convocation, makes it probable, that then not only Biſhops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Archdeacons, ſate in the Upper Houſe, for they were all called Prelates, and had their writs to ſit in a General Council, as appears by the records of the fourth Council in the Lateran, and the Council at Vienna, and ſo they might well ſit in the Upper Houſe: and perhaps the two Houſes of Convocation were taken from the pattern of the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo none might ſit in the Lower Houſe, but ſuch as were choſen to repreſent the inferior Clergy. The books of convocation are now loſt, having periſhed in the fire of London; but the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his teſtimony.

Cranmer gives the final ſentance. The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce judicially was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have a big belly, which was a great evidence of her living chaſtely before that with the King. On Eaſter-Eve ſhe was declared Queen of England; and ſoon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, (who was made, upon Wolſey's death, Stokeſly, Biſhop of Wincheſter,) and the Biſhops of London, Longland, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many Divines and Canon- Clerk. iſts, went to Dunſtable; Queen Catharine living then near it, at Ampthil. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by proxy, but the Queen refuſed to take any notice of the court: ſo, after three citations, ſhe was declared *contumax*, and all the merits of the cauſe formerly mentioned were examined. At laſt, on the 23d of May, ſentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbiſhop's titles in the beginning of the judgment, he is called, *Legate of the Apoſtolic See*, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in law. Some days after this, he gave another judgment, confirming the King's marriage with Queen Anne; and on the firſt of June ſhe was crowned Cenſures paſſed upon it. Queen. This was variouſly cenſured. It was ſaid, that in the intervals of a General Council, the aſking the opinions of ſo many univerſities, and learned men, was the only

ſure

ſure way to find out the tradition of the Church: and a provincial Council had ſufficient authority to judge in this caſe: yet many thought the ſentence diſſolving the firſt marriage ſhould have preceded the ſecond; and it being contracted before the firſt was legally annulled, there was great colour given to queſtion the validity of it. But it was anſwered, that ſince the firſt was judged null of itſelf, there was no need of a ſentence declaratory, but only for form: yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no ſentence paſſed at all, or it ſhould have been before the ſecond marriage. Some objected, that Cranmer, having appeared ſo much againſt the marriage, was no competent judge; but it was ſaid, that as Popes are not bound by the opinions they held when they were private men; ſo he, having changed his character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give ſentence as judges decide cauſes, in which they formerly gave counſel: and indeed the Convocation had judged the cauſe, he only gave ſentence in form of law. The world wondered at the Pope's ſtiffneſs; but he often confeſſed, he underſtood not thoſe matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperor; or of giving the Lutherans advantage to ſay, that one Pope condemned that which another had diſpenſed. All people admired Queen Anne's conduct, who in a courſe of ſo many years managed a King's ſpirit, that was ſo violent, in ſuch a manner, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour; and her being ſo ſoon with child gave hopes of a numerous iſſue: they that loved the Reformation looked for better days under her protection; but many Prieſts and Friars, both in ſermons and diſcourſes, condemned the King's proceedings. The King ſent ambaſſadors to all Courts, to juſtify what he had done: he ſent alſo ſome to Queen Catharine, to charge her to aſſume no other title, but that of Princeſs Dowager; and to give her hopes of putting her daughter next in the ſucceſſion to the crown, after his iſſue by the preſent Queen, if ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to his will. But ſhe would not yield. She ſaid, ſhe would not take that infamy on herſelf; and ſo reſolved, that none ſhould ſerve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her ſervants adhered ſo to her intereſt, that no threatenings nor promiſes could work on them: and the ſtir which the King kept in this matter was thought below his greatneſs, and ſeemed to be ſet on by a woman's reſentments; for ſince ſhe was deprived of the majeſty of

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a crown, the pageantry of a title was not worth the noiſe that was made about it. The Emperor ſeemed big with reſentments. The French King was colder than the

1533. King expected; yet he promiſed to intercede with the Pope and the Cardinals on his account: but he was now ſo entirely gained by the Pope, that he reſolved not to involve himſelf in the King's quarrel as a party: and he alſo gave over the deſigns he once had of ſetting up a patriarch in France; for the Pope granted him ſo great a power over his own Clergy, that he could not deſire more. With this the Emperor was not a little pleaſed; for this was like to ſeparate thoſe two Kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo hurtful to him.

The proceedings at Rome upon it.

At Rome the Cardinals of the imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the Pope's power; ſince a ſentence was given in England in a proceſs depending at Rome; ſo they preſſed the Pope to proceed to cenſures. But, inſtead of putting the matter paſt reconciling, there was only ſentence given, annulling all that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury had done; and the King was required, under the pain of excommunication, to put things again in the ſtate in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at Dunkirk. The King ſent a great embaſſy to Francis, who was then ſetting out to Marſeilles, where the Pope was to meet him: their errand was to diſſuade him from the journey, unleſs the Pope would promiſe to give the King ſatisfaction. The King of France ſaid, he was engaged in honour to go on; but aſſured them, he would mind the King's concerns with as much zeal, as if they were his own.

Sept. 7. Queen Elizabeth born.

In September the Queen brought forth a daughter, the renowned Queen Elizabeth; and the King having before declared Lady Mary Princeſs of Wales, did now the ſame for her: though ſince a ſon might put her from it, ſhe could not be heir apparent, but only the heir preſumptive to the crown. At Marſeilles the marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans and the Pope's niece, to whom the Pope gave, beſides one hundred thouſand crowns, many principalities, which he pretended were either fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the rights of the Houſe of Medici. The Pope's hiſtorian, with ſome triumph, boaſted, that the marriage was conſummated that very night; though it was thought not credible, that Prince Arthur, that was nine months older than the now Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry the Second, did conſummate his.

There

There was a ſecret agreement made between the Pope and Francis, that if King Henry would refer his cauſe to the Conſiſtory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the ſee of Rome, then ſentence ſhould be given in his favour; but this was to be kept ſecret: ſo Bonner not being truſted with it, and ſent thither with an appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldneſs, and threatened the Pope upon it with ſo much vehemence, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive: and he apprehending ſome danger, fled away privately. But when Francis came back to Paris, he ſent over the Biſhop of that city to the King, to let him know what he had obtained of the Pope in his favour, and the terms on which it was promiſed. This wrought ſo much on the King, that he preſently conſented to them. And upon that, the Biſhop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, took journey to Rome, being ſure of the ſcarlet, if he could be the inſtrument of regaining England, which was then upon the point of being loſt. What theſe aſſurances were which the Pope gave is not certain; but the Archbiſhop of York, and Tonſtal of Durham, in a letter which they wrote on that occaſion, ſay, that the Pope ſaid at Marſeilles, *That if the King would ſend a proxy to Rome, he would give ſentence for him againſt the Queen, for he knew his cauſe was good and juſt.* Upon the Biſhop of Paris's coming to Rome, the matter ſeemed agreed; for it was promiſed, that upon the King's ſending a promiſe under his hand, to put things in their former ſtate, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges ſhould be ſent to Cambray for making the proceſs, and then ſentence ſhould be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day that was prefixed for the return of the courier, the King diſpatched him with all poſſible haſte; and now the buſineſs ſeemed at an end. But the courier had a ſea and the Alps to paſs, and in winter it was not eaſy to obſerve a limited day ſo exactly: this made that he came not to Rome on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialiſts gave out, that the King was abuſing the Pope's eaſineſs; ſo they preſſed him vehemently to proceed to a ſentence. The Biſhop of Paris moved only for a delay of ſix days, which was no unreaſonable time in that ſeaſon, and in favour of ſuch a King, who had a ſuit depending ſix years; and ſince he had patience ſo many years, the delay of a few

1533. The Pope promiſes to ſatisfy King Henry.

days

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1533. days was no extraordinary favour. But the deſign of the Imperialiſts was, to hinder a reconciliation; for if the King had been ſet right with the Pope, there would have been ſo powerful a league formed againſt the Emperor, as would have broke all his meaſures: and therefore it was neceſſary for his deſigns to embroil them. It was alſo ſaid, that the King was ſeeking delays and conceſſions, merely to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded far in his deſign againſt that ſee; that it was neceſſary to go on to cenſures: and the angry Pope was ſo provoked by them, and by the news that he heard out of England, that, without conſulting his ordinary prudence, he brought in the matter into the Conſiſtory; and there the Imperialiſts being the greater number, it was driven on with ſo much precipitation, that they did in one day that, which, according to form, ſhould have been done in three.

March 23. But proceeds haſtily to a ſentence.

They gave the final ſentence, declaring the King's marriage with Queen Catharine good; and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwiſe they would proceed to cenſures. Two days after that, the courier came with the King's ſubmiſſion in due form: he alſo brought earneſt letters from Francis, in the King's favour. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as thoſe of the French faction. So they prayed the Pope to recall what was done. A new Conſiſtory was called, but the Imperialiſts preſſed with greater vehemence than ever, that they would not give ſuch ſcandal to the world, as to recall a definitive ſentence paſſed of the validity of a marriage, and give the heretics ſuch advantages by their unſteadineſs in matters of that nature: and ſo it was carried, that the former ſentence ſhould take place; and the execution of it was committed to the Emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the King in his reſolutions of ſhaking off the Pope's yoke, in which he had made ſo great a progreſs, that the Parliament had paſſed all the acts concerning it, before he had the news from Rome: for he judged, that the beſt way to peace was, to let them at Rome ſee with what vigour he could make war. All the reſt of the world looked on aſtoniſhed, to ſee the Court of Rome throw off England with ſo much ſcorn, as if they had been weary of the obedience and profits of ſo great a kingdom, and their proceedings looked as if they had been ſecretly directed by a divine Providence, that deſigned to draw great conſequences from this rupture, and did ſo far infatuate thoſe that were moſt

concerned

concerned to prevent it, that they needleſsly drew it on themſelves.

In England they had been now examining the foundations on which the Papal authority was built, with extraordinary care for ſome years; and ſeveral books being then and ſoon after written on that ſubject, the reader will be able to ſee better into the reaſons of their proceedings by a ſhort abſtract of theſe. 1533.

The arguments uſed for rejecting the Pope's power.

All the Apoſtles were made equal in the powers that Chriſt gave them, and he often condemned their conteſts about ſuperiority, but never declared in St. Peter's favour. St. Paul withſtood him to his face, and reckoned himſelf not inferior to him. If the dignity of a perſon left any authority with the city in which he ſat, then Antioch muſt carry it as well as Rome: and Jeruſalem, where Chriſt ſuffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother Church. Chriſt ſaid to Peter, *Upon this rock will I build my Church.* The ancients underſtood by the *Rock*, either the confeſſion Peter had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Chriſt himſelf; and though it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the reſt of the Apoſtles are alſo called *Foundations:* that of, *Tell the Church*, was by many Doctors of the Church of Rome turned againſt the Pope for a General Council. The other privileges aſcribed to St. Peter were either only a precedence of order, or were occaſioned by his fall, as that, *Feed my ſheep*; it being a reſtoring him to the Apoſtolical function. St. Peter had alſo a limited province, the circumciſion, as St. Paul had the uncircumciſion, that was of far greater extent; which ſhewed that he was not conſidered as the univerſal Paſtor. In the primitive Church St. Cyprian, and other Biſhops, wrote to the Biſhop of Rome, as to their fellow-biſhop, colleague, and brother: they were againſt appeals to Rome, and did not ſubmit to their definition, and in plain terms aſſerted, that all Biſhops were equal in power as the Apoſtles had been. It is true, the dignity of the city made the Biſhops of Rome to be much eſteemed; yet in the firſt Council of Nice the Biſhops of Alexandria and Antioch were declared to have the ſame authority in the countries about them, that the Biſhops of Rome had over thoſe that lay about them. It is true, the Eaſt being over-run with Arianiſm, from which the Weſt was better preſerved, the oppreſſed Eaſtern Biſhops did take ſhelter in the protection the Biſhops of Rome gave them; and, as is natural to all people, they magnified that authority which was ſo uſeful to them.

But.

BOOK I. 1533. But the ſecond General Council indirectly condemned all appeals to Rome: for it decreed, that every province ſhould be governed by its own ſynod, and allowed no higher appeal but to the Biſhops of the dioceſe. Conſtantinople being made the imperial city, the ſecond and fourth General Council gave it equal privileges with Rome, becauſe it was new Rome; which ſhews that the dignity of the ſees flowed from the greatneſs of the cities. The African Churches condemned all appeals to Rome, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of Nice for it; and then they did not talk of a divine right: but ſearch being made into all the copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a forgery. When the Emperor Mauricius gave the title, *Univerſal Biſhop*, to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, Gregory the Great complained of the ambition of that title, which he calls equal to the pride of Lucifer; and ſince England received the faith by thoſe whom he ſent over, it appeared from thence what was the doctrine of that ſee at that time, and, by conſequence, what were the firſt impreſſions made on the Engliſh in that matter. It is true, Boniface the Third got the ſame title by Phocas's grant, and Boniface the Eighth pretended to all power both ſpiritual and temporal; but the progreſs of their uſurpations, and the wars raiſed to maintain them, were very viſible in hiſtory. The Popes ſwore at their conſecrations to obey the Canons of the eight firſt General Councils, which are manifeſt againſt appeals, and their univerſal juriſdiction: ſmall regard is to be had to the decrees of latter Councils, being cabals packed and managed as the Popes pleaſed. Several ſees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the Papal authority. Many Engliſh Biſhops had aſſerted, that the Popes had no authority againſt the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding, till it was received; which ſhewed the Pope's authority was not believed founded on a divine authority: and the conteſts that the Kings of England had with the Popes concerning the inveſtitures, Biſhops doing the King homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of Papal bulls and proviſions, ſhewed that the Pope's power was believed ſubject to laws and cuſtom, and ſo not derived from Chriſt and St. Peter; and as laws had given them ſome power, and Princes had been forced in ignorant ages to ſubmit to their uſurpation, ſo they might, as they ſaw cauſe, change thoſe laws, and reſume their rights.

The

1533.

The next point enquired into was, the authority that Kings had in matters of religion and the Church. The Kings of Iſrael judged in all cauſes, and Samuel called Saul the *Head of the tribes*. David made many rules about the ſervice at the temple, and declaring to Solomon what his power was, he told him, that the *Prieſts were wholly at his command*; and it is alſo ſaid, that *Solomon appointed the Prieſts their charges in the ſervice of God, and that they departed not from his commandment in any matter*: he turned out one high-prieſt, and put another in his room. Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah, and Joſias, made alſo laws about eccleſiaſtical matters. In the New Teſtament, Chriſt was himſelf ſubject to the civil powers, and charged his diſciples not to affect temporal dominion. They alſo wrote to the Churches to be ſubject to the higher powers, and call them *Supreme*, and charge every ſoul to be ſubject to them: ſo in Scripture the King is called *Head* and *Supreme*, and *every ſoul* is ſaid to be under him; which joined together, makes up this concluſion, that *he is the ſupreme Head over all perſons*. In the primitive Church the Biſhops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulſive authority but what came from the civil magiſtrate. The Roman Emperors called Councils, preſided in them, and confirmed them, and made many laws concerning eccleſiaſtical matters; ſo did alſo Charles the Great. The Emperors did alſo either chooſe the Popes themſelves, or confirm their elections. Churchmen taking orders were not thereby diſcharged from the obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained ſtill ſubjects. And though the officers of the Church had peculiar functions, in which the people were ſubject to them, that did not deliver them from their obedience to the King; as a father's authority over his children cuts not off the King's power over him. They found alſo that in all times the Kings of England had aſſumed an authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. Ina, Alfred, Edgar, and Canutus, had many laws about them: ſo had alſo moſt of the Kings ſince the conqueſt, which appeared particularly in the Articles of Clarendon, and the conteſts that followed upon them; and from the days of King Ina, they had granted exemptions to monaſteries from the epiſcopal juriſdiction down to William the Conqueror's time, beſides many other acts that clearly imported a ſupremacy over all perſons, and in all cauſes. But they did at the ſame time ſo explain and limit this power, that it was viſible they did not intend to ſubject religion wholly to the pleaſure of

And for the King's ſupremacy. 1 Chron. xxviii. 21. 2 Chron. viii. 14, 15.

BOOK I. 1533. of the King; for it was declared, that his power was only a coercive authority, to defend the true religion, to aboliſh hereſies and idolatries, to cauſe Biſhops and Paſtors to do their duties, and in caſe they were negligent, or would not amend their faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no power in England, and that the King had an entire dominion over all his ſubjects, which did extend even to the regulating of eccleſiaſtical matters.

The Clergy ſubmitted to it. Theſe things being fully opened in many diſputes, and publiſhed in ſeveral books, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors of England, Fiſher only excepted, were ſo far ſatiſfied with them, or ſo much in love with their preferments, that they reſolved to comply with the changes which the King was reſolved to make. Fiſher was in great eſteem for piety and ſtrictneſs of life, and therefore much pains was taken with him. A little before the Parliament met, Cranmer propoſed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would chooſe, and Stokeſly, with five on his ſide, ſhould confer on that point, and examine the authorities that were on both ſides: he accepted of it, and Stokeſly wrote to him to name time and place, but Fiſher's ſickneſs hindered the progreſs of that motion.

A ſeſſion of Parliament. The Parliament met the 15th of January; there were but ſeven Biſhops and twelve Abbots preſent; the reſt, it ſeems, were unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the ſeſſion a Biſhop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the Pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only ſaid, that a General Council was above him, and that the exactions of that Court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a ſtrain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the Commons began the bill for taking away the Pope's power, and ſent it to the Lords on the 14th, who paſſed it on the 20th without any diſſent. In it they ſet forth "the exactions the "Court of Rome grounded on the Pope's power of diſ-"penſing; and that as none could diſpenſe with the laws "of God, ſo the King and Parliament only had the au-"thority of diſpenſing with the laws of the land; and "that therefore ſuch licences or diſpenſations as were "formerly in uſe ſhould be for the future granted by the "two Archbiſhops: ſome of theſe were to be confirmed "under the Great Seal; and they appointed that there-"after all commerce with Rome ſhould ceaſe." They alſo declared,

The Pope's power taken away.

declared, "that they did not intend to alter any article of "the catholic faith of Chriſtendom, or of that which "was declared in the Scripture neceſſary to ſalvation. "They confirmed all the exemptions granted to mo- "naſteries by the Popes, but ſubjected them to the King's "viſitation, and gave the King and his Council power to "examine and reform all indulgences and privileges grant- "ed by the Pope. The offenders againſt this law were to "be puniſhed according to the ſtatutes of *præmunire*." This act ſubjected the monaſteries entirely to the King's authority, and put them in no ſmall confuſion. Thoſe that loved the Reformation rejoiced both to ſee the Pope's power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the ſtandard of religion.

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1533.

After this act, another paſſed in both Houſes in ſix days time, without any oppoſition, "ſettling the ſucceſſion of "the Crown, confirming the ſentence of divorce, and the "King's marriage with Queen Anne, and declaring all "marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moſes to be "unlawful: all that had married within them were ap- "pointed to be divorced, and their iſſue illegitimated; "and the ſucceſſion to the Crown was ſettled upon the "King's iſſue by the preſent Queen, or, in default of that, "to the King's right heirs, for ever. All were required "to ſwear to maintain the contents of this act, and if any "refuſed to ſwear to it, or ſhould ſay any thing to the "ſlander of the King's marriage, he was to be judged "guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to be puniſhed ac- "cordingly." The oath is alſo ſet down in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; by which they did not only ſwear obedience to the King, and his heirs, by his preſent marriage, but alſo to defend the act of ſucceſſion, and all the effects and contents in it, againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever; by which they were bound to maintain the divorce, both againſt the Pope's cenſures, and the Emperor, if he went about to execute them.

The act of the ſucceſſion.

At this time one Philips complained to the Houſe of Commons of the Biſhop of London, for uſing him cruelly in priſon, upon ſuſpicion of hereſy. The Commons ſent up this to the Lords, but received no anſwer: ſo they ſent ſome of their members to the Biſhop, deſiring him to anſwer the complaints put in againſt him: but he acquainted the Houſe of Lords with it; and they all with one conſent voted, that none of their Houſe ought to appear, or to anſwer any complaint at the bar of the Houſe of Commons. So the Commons let this particular caſe fall, and

An act regulating the proceedings againſt hereſies.

BOOK I.

1534. and ſent up a bill, to which the Lords agreed, regulating the proceedings againſt heretics, "That whereas, by the "ſtatute made by King Henry the Fourth, Biſhops might "commit men upon ſuſpicion of hereſy; and hereſy was "generally defined to be whatever was contrary to the "Scriptures, or canonical ſanctions, which was liable to "great ambiguity; therefore that ſtatute was repealed, "and none were to be committed for hereſy, but upon a "preſentment made by two witneſſes: none were to be "accuſed for ſpeaking againſt things that were grounded "only upon the Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken "for heretics, and they were to be brought to their trials "in open court; and if, upon conviction, they did not "abjure, or were relapſes, they were to be burnt; the "King's writ being firſt obtained." This was a great check to the Biſhop's tyranny, and gave no ſmall comfort to all that favoured the Reformation.

The ſubmiſſion of the Clergy.

The Convocation ſent in a ſubmiſſion at the ſame time, by which they acknowledged, that all Convocations ought to be aſſembled by the King's writ, and promiſed, upon the *word of Prieſts*, never to make nor execute any canons, without the King's aſſent. They alſo deſired, that ſince many of the received canons were found to be contrary to the King's prerogative, and the laws of the land, there might be a committee named by the King of thirty-two; the one half out of both Houſes of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the act againſt appeals to Rome was renewed, and an appeal was allowed from the Archbiſhop to the King; upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a commiſſion for a Court of Delegates. A proviſo was added, that till the committee of thirty-two ſhould ſettle a regulation of the canons, thoſe then in force ſhould ſtill take place, except ſuch as were contrary to the King's prerogative, or the laws. But this laſt proviſo, though it ſeemed reaſonable to give the ſpiritual courts ſome rules, till the thirty-two ſhould finiſh their work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the greatneſs of the King's authority; and it ſubjected the Biſhops' courts more to the prohibitions of the temporal courts, to keep this whole matter in ſuch general terms, than to have brought it to a regulation that ſhould be fixed and conſtant.

An act for the election of Biſhops.

"Another act paſſed for regulating the elections and "conſecrations of Biſhops, condemning all bulls from "Rome,

" Rome, and appointing that upon a vacancy the King " ſhould grant a licence for an election, and ſhould by a " miſſive letter ſignify the perſon's name whom he would " have choſen: and within twelve days after theſe were " delivered, the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, " were required to return an election of the perſon named " by the King, under their ſeals. The Biſhop elect was " upon that to ſwear fealty, and a writ was to be iſſued " out for his conſecration in the uſual manner: after that, " he was to do homage to the King; upon which, both " the temporalities and ſpiritualities were to be reſtored, " and Biſhops were to exerciſe their juriſdiction as they " had done before. All that tranſgreſſed this act were " made guilty of a *præmunire*."

A private act paſſed, depriving Cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter: the reaſons given for it are, becauſe they did not reſide in their dioceſes, for preaching the laws of God, and keeping hoſpitality, but lived at the Court of Rome, and carried three thouſand pounds a year out of the kingdom.

The laſt act of a public nature, though relating only to private perſons, of which I ſhall give an account, was concerning the Nun of Kent, and her complices: it was the firſt occaſion of ſhedding any blood in this quarrel, and it was much cheriſhed by all the ſuperſtitious Clergy that adhered to the Queen's intereſt, and the Pope's. The Nun, and many of her complices, came to the Lords' bar, and confeſſed the whole matter. Among the concealers of this treaſon, Sir Thomas More and Fiſher were named: the former wrote upon that a long letter to Cromwell, giving him a particular account of all the converſation he had at any time with the Nun: he acknowledged he had eſteemed her highly, not ſo much out of any regard he had to her prophecies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holineſs and humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, " That ſhe was the moſt falſe diſſembling " hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of moſt de- " teſtable hypocriſy and deviliſh diſſembled falſehood: he " alſo believed that ſhe had communication with an evil " ſpirit." Concerning this letter a curious diſcovery has been made. In Queen Mary's time More's works were publiſhed, and among them, other letters of his to Cromwell, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which More kept a copy, and gave it to his daughter Roper:

The attainder of the Nun of Kent.

 that

BOOK I. 1534.

that copy was in the MS. out of which the reſt were publiſhed, and out of that I have tranſcribed it. The deſign of ſuppreſſing it ſeems to be this: it is probable, there might have been ſome thoughts in Queen Mary's time, to canonize the Nun, ſince ſhe was called a martyr for her mother's marriage; and there was no want of miracles to juſtify it: therefore a letter ſo plain and full againſt her was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This juſtification of More's prevailed ſo far, that his name was ſtruck out of the bill. The act contains a narrative of that whole ſtory, which is in ſhort this:

Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, fell in ſome trances, (it ſeems they were hyſterical fits,) and ſpake ſuch things as made thoſe about her think ſhe was inſpired of God. The parſon of the pariſh, Maſter, hoping to draw advantages from this, gave Archbiſhop Warham notice of it, who ordered him to obſerve her carefully, and bring him an account of what ſhould follow. But ſhe had forgot all that ſhe ſaid in her fits, when they were over: yet the Prieſt would not let it go ſo, but perſuaded her that ſhe was inſpired, and taught her ſo to counterfeit thoſe trances, that ſhe became very ready at it. The matter was much noiſed about, and the Prieſt intended to raiſe the credit of an image of the bleſſed Virgin's that was in his church, that ſo pilgrimages and offerings might be made to it by her means. He aſſociated to himſelf one Bocking, a Monk of Canterbury, and they taught her to ſay in her fits, that the bleſſed Virgin appeared to her, and told her, ſhe could not be well till ſhe viſited that image. She ſpake many good words againſt ill life, and ſpake alſo againſt hereſy, and the King's ſuit of divorce, then depending; and by many ſtrange motions of her body ſhe ſeemed to be inwardly poſſeſſed. A day was ſet for her cure; and before an aſſembly of two thouſand people ſhe was carried to that image; and after ſhe had acted her fits all over, ſhe ſeemed of a ſudden quite recovered, which was aſcribed to the interceſſion of the Virgin, and the virtue of that image. She entered into a religious life, and Bocking was her ghoſtly father. There were violent ſuſpicions of incontinence between them; but the eſteem ſhe was in bore them down. Many thought her a propheteſs; and Warham among the reſt. A book was alſo written of her revelations, and a letter was ſhewed all in letters of gold, pretended to be writ to her from Heaven by Mary Magdalene. She pretended, that when the King was laſt at Calais, ſhe was carried inviſibly beyond

beyond ſea, and brought back again, and that an angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his divorce, and married another wife, he ſhould fall from his Crown, and not live a month longer, *but ſhould die a villain's death.* 1534.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-Houſe, and the Obſervant Friars, with many Nuns, and Bp. Fiſher, came to give credit to this, and ſet a great value on her, and grew very inſolent upon it; for Friar Peyto preaching in the King's chapel at Greenwich, denounced the judgments of God upon him, and ſaid, though others as lying prophets deceived him, yet he in the name of God told him, that *dogs ſhould lick his blood as they had done Ahab's.* The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. Corren to preach next Sunday, and to anſwer all that he had ſaid, who railed againſt Peyto, as a dog and a traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury; but Elſton, a Franciſcan of the ſame houſe, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying prophets, that went about to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the Crown by adultery; and ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that the King himſelf was forced to command him ſilence. And yet ſo unwilling was the King to go to extremities, that all that was done upon ſo high a provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their inſolence. But the Nun's confederates publiſhing her revelations in all the parts of the kingdom, ſhe and nine of her complices were apprehended in November laſt year; and they did all, without any rack or torture, diſcover the whole conſpiracy, and upon that were appointed to go to St. Paul's; and after a ſermon preached upon that occaſion by the Biſhop of Bangor, they repeated their confeſſion in the hearing of the people, and were ſent to lie priſoners in the Tower. But it was given out, that all was extorted from them by violence; and meſſages were ſent to the Nun, deſiring her to deny all that ſhe had confeſſed; which made the King judge it neceſſary to proceed to further extremities. So ſhe, and ſix of her chief complices, were attainted of treaſon: and the Biſhop of Rocheſter and five more were attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon. But at the interceſſion of Queen Anne, (as it is expreſſed in the act,) all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned.

Alias Curwin.

Capon.

Fiſher.

This was as black an impoſture as any ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after viſions, the King might have loſt his crown by it. The diſcovery of this diſpoſed all to look on older

BOOK I. ſtories of the trances of monaſtical people, as contrivances to ſerve baſe ends, and did make way for the ruin of that order of men in England; but all that was at preſent done upon it was, that the Obſervants were put out of their houſes, and mixed with the other Franciſcans, and the Auſtin Friars were put in their rooms. When all theſe acts were paſſed, the King gave his aſſent to them on the 29th of March, and prorogued the Parliament till November.

1534.

The oath of ſucceſſion ſworn.

The members of both Houſes ſwore to the oath of ſucceſſion on the day of the prorogation. On the 20th of April followed the execution of the Nun and her complices at Tyburn, where ſhe freely acknowledged her impoſtures, and the juſtice of the ſentence, and laid the blame on thoſe who ſuffered with her; who, becauſe the thing was profitable to them, praiſed her much, and though they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghoſt; and ſhe concluded her life, begging both God's and the King's pardon. Upon the firſt diſcovery of this cheat, Cromwell ſent Fiſher's brother to him to reprove him for his carriage in that buſineſs, and to adviſe him to aſk the King's pardon for the encouragement he had given to the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: but Fiſher excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not. He confeſſed, that, upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never diſcovered any falſehood in her. It is true, ſhe ſaid ſome things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not neceſſary to do it; becauſe he knew ſhe had told it to the King herſelf: ſhe had named no perſon that ſhould kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reaſon to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had ſpoken of it to him; and ſo he deſired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, Cromwell wrote him a ſharp letter; he ſhewed him that he had proceeded raſhly in that affair, being ſo partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he eaſily believed every thing that ſeemed to make againſt it: he ſhewed him how neceſſary it was to uſe great caution before extraordinary things ſhould be received, or ſpread about as revelations; ſince otherwiſe the peace of the world ſhould be in the hands of every bold or crafty impoſtor: yet in concluſion he adviſes him again to aſk the

Fiſher in ſome trouble.

King's

King's pardon for his raſhneſs, and he aſſures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing elſe, by which he had offended him. But Fiſher was obſtinate, and would make no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the act; yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble. The ſecular and regular Clergy did every where ſwear the oath of ſucceſſion; which none did more zealouſly promote than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May got all his Clergy to ſwear it: and the religious orders being apprehenſive of the King's jealouſies of them, took care to remove them, by ſending in declarations under the ſeals of their houſes, that in their opinion the King's preſent marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him *Head of the Church of England*; that the Biſhop of Rome had no authority out of his own dioceſe, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithſtanding his cenſures; that they would preach the Goſpel ſincerely according to the Scriptures and the tradition of the Catholic Doctors, and would in their prayers pray for the King as ſupreme Head of the Church of England.

1534. And is very obſtinate.

A meeting of the Council ſate at Lambeth, to which many were cited in order to the ſwearing the oath; among whom was Sir Thomas More and Fiſher. More was firſt called on to take it: he anſwered, that he neither blamed thoſe that made the acts, nor thoſe that ſwore the oath, and that he was willing to ſwear to maintain the ſucceſſion to the Crown, but could not take the oath as it was conceived. Fiſher made the ſame anſwer; but all the reſt that were cited before them took it. More was much preſſed to give his reaſons againſt it; but he refuſed to do that; for it might be called a diſputing againſt law: yet he would put them into writing, if the King would command him to do it. Cranmer ſaid, if he did not blame thoſe that took it, it ſeems he was not perſuaded it was a ſin, and ſo was only doubtful of it; but he was ſure he ought to obey the law, if it was not ſinful; ſo there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him. This he confeſſed did ſhake him a little; but he ſaid, he thought in his conſcience, that it would be a ſin in him, and offered to take his oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other conſideration. The Abbot of Weſtminſter told him, he ought to think his conſcience was miſled, ſince the Parliament was of another mind; an argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But

More and Fiſher refuſe the oath.

BOOK I. 1534.

More ſaid, if the Parliament of England was againſt him, yet he believed all the reſt of Chriſtendom was on his ſide. In concluſion, both he and Fiſher declared, that they thought it was in the power of the Parliament to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the Crown, and ſo were ready to ſwear to that, but they could not take the oath that was tendered to them; for by it they muſt ſwear to maintain all the contents in the act of ſucceſſion, and in it the King's former marriage was declared unlawful; to which they could not aſſent. Cranmer preſſed that this might be accepted: for if they once ſwore to maintain the ſucceſſion, it would conduce much to the quiet of the nation; but ſharper counſels were more acceptable: ſo they were both committed to the Tower, and pen, ink, and paper was kept from them. The old Biſhop was alſo hardly uſed both in his clothes and diet; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him, which was a cruelty not capable of any excuſe, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

Another ſeſſion of Parliament.

In winter another ſeſſion of Parliament was held; the firſt act that paſſed declared the King to be the *ſupreme Head on earth of the Church of England*, and appointed that to be added to his other titles; and it was enacted, that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould have full authority to reform all hereſies and abuſes in the ſpiritual juriſdiction. By another act they confirmed the oath of ſucceſſion, which had not been ſpecified in the former act, though agreed to by the Lords. They alſo gave the King the firſt-fruits and tenths of eccleſiaſtical benefices, as being the ſupreme Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reaſonable to give him the annats, which the Popes had formerly exacted. The temporality were now willing to revenge themſelves on the ſpirituality, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another act paſſed, declaring ſome things treaſon; one of theſe was the denying the King any of his titles, or the calling him heretic, ſchiſmatic, or uſurper of the Crown. By another act, proviſion was made for ſetting up twenty-ſix ſuffragan Biſhops over England, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and the better ſervice of God: it is alſo ſaid, they had been formerly accuſtomed to be in the kingdom. The Biſhop of the dioceſe was to preſent two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbiſhop was to conſecrate the perſon, and then the Biſhop was to delegate ſuch parts of his charge to his care

care as he thought fitting, which was to laſt during his pleaſure. Theſe were the ſame that the ancients called the *Chorepiſcopi*, who were at firſt the Biſhops of ſome villages; but were afterwards put under the jurisdiction of the Biſhop of the next city. They were ſet up before the Council of Nice, and continued to be in the Church for many ages; but the Biſhops devolving their whole ſpiritual power to them, they were put down, and a decretal epiſtle was forged in the name of P. Damaſus, condemning them. The great extent of the dioceſes in England made it hard for one Biſhop to govern them with that exactneſs that was neceſſary; theſe were therefore appointed to aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of the paſtoral care. 1534.

In this Parliament ſubſidies were granted, payable in three years, with the higheſt preamble of their happineſs under the King's government, all thoſe twenty-four years in which he had reigned, that flattery could dictate. Fiſher and More, by two ſpecial acts, were attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refuſing to ſwear the oath of ſucceſſion. The ſee of Rocheſter was declared void; yet it ſeems few were willing to ſucceed ſuch a man, for it continued vacant two years. This ſeverity againſt them was cenſured by ſome as extreme, ſince they were willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion in other terms; ſo that it was merely a point of conſcience, in which the common ſafety was not concerned, at which they ſtuck; and it was thought the proſecuting them in this manner would ſo raiſe their credit, that it might endanger the government more than any oppoſition which they could make.

The progreſs the new doctrines made in England.

But now that the King entered upon a new ſcene, it will be neceſſary to open the progreſs that the new opinions had made in England all the time of the King's ſuit of divorce. During Wolſey's miniſtry, thoſe preachers were gently uſed; and it is probable the King ordered the Biſhops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to uſe him ill; for the progreſs of hereſy was always reckoned up at Rome among the miſchiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King deſires. But More coming into favour, he offered new counſels; he thought the King's proceeding ſeverely againſt heretics would be ſo meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatenings had done: ſo a ſevere proclamation was iſſued out both againſt their books and perſons, ordering all the laws againſt them to be put in execution. Tindall and ſome others at Antwerp were

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every year either tranſlating or writing books againſt ſome of the received errors, and ſending them over to England: but his tranſlation of the New Teſtament gave the greateſt wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of errors. Tonſtall, then Biſhop of London, being a man of great learning and virtue, which is generally accompanied with much moderation, returning from the treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were ſent in the King's name, as he came through Antwerp, dealt with an Engliſh merchant that was ſecretly a friend of Tindall's, to procure him as many of his New Teſtaments as could be had for money. Tindall was glad of this; for being about a more correct edition, he found he would be better enabled to ſet about it, if the copies of the old were ſold off; ſo he gave the merchant all he had, and Tonſtall paying the price of them, got them in his hands, and burnt them publicly in Cheapſide. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was ſaid, the Clergy had reaſon to revenge themſelves on it, for it had done them more miſchief than all other books whatſoever. But a year after this, the ſecond edition being finiſhed, great numbers were ſent over to England, and Conſtantine, one of Tindall's partners, happened to be taken; ſo More believing that ſome of the merchants of London furniſhed them with money, promiſed him his liberty, if he would diſcover who they were that encouraged and aſſiſted them: ſo he told him the Biſhop of London did more than all the world beſides; for he had bought up the greateſt part of a faulty impreſſion. The Clergy, when they condemned Tindall's tranſlation, promiſed a new one: but a year after, in a long condemnation of ſeveral books that were publiſhed by Warham, Tonſtall, and other Canoniſts and Divines, they added this, That it was not neceſſary to publiſh the Scripture in Engliſh, and that the King did well not to ſet about it.

1534.

The Supplication of the Beggars.

There came out a book writ by one Fiſh of Gray's-Inn, that took mightily, called the *Supplication of the Beggars*, by which they complained, that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant Friars, that were an uſeleſs burden to the government; they alſo taxed the Pope of cruelty, for taking no pity on the poor, ſince none but thoſe that could pay for it were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was ſo pleaſed with this, that he would not ſuffer any thing to be done againſt the author. More anſwered it by another ſupplication in behalf of the ſouls in Purgatory, ſetting forth the miſeries they were in, and the

the relief which they received by the maſſes that were ſaid for them; and therefore they called on their friends to ſupport the religious orders, that had now ſo many enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take ſo much as the other; for ſuch is the ill nature of mankind, that ſatires are always better received than apologies, and no ſatires are more acceptable than thoſe againſt Churchmen. 1534.

Frith writes againſt Purgatory.

Frith anſwered More in a book more gravely written, in which he ſhewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture; that it was inconſiſtent with the merits of Chriſt, by which, upon ſincere repentance, all ſins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be puniſhed: and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections, or for giving warning to others, do ſometimes fall even on true penitents; yet terrible puniſhments in another ſtate cannot conſiſt with a free pardon, and the remembering of our ſins no more. In expounding many paſſages of the New Teſtament, he appealed to More's great friend, Eraſmus; and ſhewed, that the fire which was ſpoken of by St. Paul, as that which would conſume *the wood, hay, and ſtubble*, could only be meant of the fiery trial of perſecution. He ſhewed, that the primitive Church received it not; Ambroſe, Jerome, and Auſtin did not believe it: the laſt had plainly ſaid, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought it in, and, by many wonderful ſtories, poſſeſſed the world of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful trade of it. This book provoked the Clergy ſo much, that they reſolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguiſh their imaginary one. More objected poverty, and want of learning, to the new preachers: but it was anſwered, the ſame thing was made uſe of to diſgrace Chriſt and his Apoſtles; but a plain ſimplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good diſpoſition for men that were to bear a croſs; and the glory of God appeared more eminently, when the inſtruments ſeemed contemptible.

A perſecution ſet on by More.

But the pen proving too feeble, and too gentle a tool, the Clergy betook themſelves to that, on which they relied more: many were vexed with impriſonments for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh, for harbouring the preachers, and for ſpeaking againſt the corruptions in the worſhip, or the vices of the Clergy; but theſe generally abjured. One Hinton, that had been a Curate, and went over to Tindall, was taken coming back

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back with ſome books, and was by Warham condemned and burnt.

1530. Bilney's martyrdom.

Bilney, after his abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to Cambridge, and fell under great horror of mind; but overcame it, and reſolved to expiate his apoſtaſy by a public acknowledgment: and that he might be able to do that on ſurer grounds, he followed his ſtudies cloſe two years; but then he left the Univerſity, and went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition; exhorting the people to live well, to give much alms, to believe in Chriſt, and to offer up their ſouls and wills to him in the Sacrament. He openly confeſſed his own ſin of denying the faith; and uſing no precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Biſhop's officers, and was condemned as a relapſe, and degraded. More not only ſent down the writ to burn him, but, to make him ſuffer another way, he affirmed in print that he had abjured; but no paper ſigned by him was ever ſhewed, and little credit was due to the Prieſts who gave it out, that he did it by word of mouth: but Parker (afterwards Archbiſhop) was an eye-witneſs of his ſufferings. He bore all the hardſhips he was put to patiently; and continued very cheerful after his ſentence; and eat up the poor proviſion that was brought him, heartily; for he ſaid, he muſt keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had thoſe words often in his mouth, *When thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt:* and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himſelf for the fire, and ſaid, it would only conſume the ſtubble of his body, but would purify his ſoul.

Iſaiah.

On the 10th of November he was burnt. At the ſtake he repeated the Creed, to ſhew he was a true Chriſtian; for the Clergy made ſtrange repreſentations of his doctrine: then he prayed earneſtly, and with a deep ſenſe repeated thoſe words, *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant.* Dr. Warner, that waited on him, embraced him, ſhedding many tears, and wiſhed that he might die in as good a ſtate as that in which he then was. The Friars deſired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death, and he did it; ſo the laſt act of his life was full of charity to his enemies. His ſufferings animated others. Byfield, that had formerly abjured, was taken diſperſing Tindall's books, and he with one Tewkeſbury were condemned by Stokeſly, and burnt. Two men and a woman were alſo burnt at York. Upon theſe proceedings, the Parliament that ſate that year complained to the King; but

but that did not cool the heat of the Clergy. One Bainham, a counſellor of the Temple, was taken on ſuſpicion of hereſy, and whipped in More's preſence, and afterwards racked in the Tower: yet he could not be wrought on to accuſe any, but through fear he abjured. After that, being diſcharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publicly to church, and openly confeſſed his ſins; and declared the torments he felt in his conſcience for what he had done. Upon this he was again ſeized on, and condemned, for having ſaid, "that Thomas Becket was a murderer, and was damned "if he did not repent: and that in the Sacrament Chriſt's "body was received by faith, and not chewed with the "teeth." Sentence paſſed upon him by Stokeſly, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the Great Seal, ſo the preachers had ſome eaſe. Crome and Latimer were accuſed, but abjured. Tracy (anceſtor to the preſent Lord Tracy) made a will, by which he left his ſoul to God, in hopes of mercy through Chriſt, without the help of any other ſaint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for ſoul maſſes. This will being brought to the Biſhop of London's court to be proved, after his death, provoked them ſo much, that he was condemned as an heretic; and an order was ſent to the Chancellor of Worceſter, to raiſe his body; but he went further, and burnt it, which could not be juſtified, ſince he was not a relapſe. Tracy's heir ſued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in four hundred pounds. The Clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days' pardon to any that carried a faggot to the burning of an heretic, that ſo cruelty might ſeem the more meritorious. And an aged man (Harding) being condemned by Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the ſtake, one flung a faggot with ſuch force at him, that it daſhed out his brains. 1530.

After an intermiſſion of two years, Gardiner repreſented to the King, that it would give him great advantages againſt the Pope, if he would take hold of ſome occaſion to ſhew his hatred of hereſy. So Frith ſeemed a fit perſon to offer as a ſacrifice, to demonſtrate his zeal: he was a young man much famed for learning, and was the firſt that wrote againſt the corporal preſence in the Sacrament, in England. He followed Zuinglius's doctrine on theſe grounds; Chriſt received in the Sacrament gave eternal life; but this was given only to thoſe that believed; from which he inferred, that he was received only by faith. 1533. Frith's ſufferings.

St.

BOOK I. 1533. St. Paul ſaid, that the Fathers before Chriſt eat the ſame ſpiritual food with Chriſtians; from which it appears, that Chriſt is now no more corporally preſent to us than he was to them: and he argued from the nature of Sacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet upon theſe premiſes he built no other concluſion, but that Chriſt's preſence was no article of faith. Frith put theſe reaſons in writing, which falling into More's hands, were anſwered by him; but Frith never ſaw that till he was put in priſon: and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed him, he replied. He inſiſted much on that argument, that the Iſraelites did eat the ſame food, and drank of the ſame rock, that was Chriſt; and ſince Chriſt was only myſtically and by faith received by them, he concluded, that he was now received only by faith. He ſhewed, that Chriſt's words, *This is my body*, were accommodated to the Jewiſh phraſe of calling the lamb the Lord's Paſſover; and confirmed his opinion with many paſſages out of the Fathers, in which the elements were called ſigns and figures of Chriſt's body; and they ſaid, that upon conſecration they did not ceaſe to be bread and wine, but remained ſtill in their own proper natures. He alſo ſhewed, that the Fathers were ſtrangers to all the conſequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a ſpirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a ſpeculation, ſo that adoration were not offered to the elements, it might be well tolerated; but that he condemned as groſs idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent ſuch heats in England as were raiſed in Germany, between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reaſon of their different opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was ſeized on in May, 1533, and brought before Stokeſly, Gardiner, and Longland. They objected to him his not believing purgatory nor tranſubſtantiation. He gave his reaſons that determined him to look on neither of theſe as articles of faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined poſitively. The Biſhops ſeemed unwilling to proceed to ſentence; but he continuing reſolute, Stokeſly pronounced it; and ſo delivered him to the ſecular arm, obteſting, that his puniſhment might be moderated, ſo that the rigour might not be too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſs of it too much mitigated. This obteſtation by the bowels of Chriſt was thought a mockery, when all the world knew, that it was intended

that

that he ſhould be burnt. One Hewit, a prentice of London, was alſo condemned with him, on the ſame account. When they were brought to Smithfield, Frith expreſſed great joy, and hugged the faggots with ſome tranſport: Cook, a Prieſt, that ſtood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog. Frith ſmiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him: the fire was kindled, which conſumed them to aſhes. This was the laſt inſtance of the cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the act formerly mentioned, regulating their proceedings, followed ſoon after. Philips, at whoſe complaint that bill was begun, was committed upon ſuſpicion of hereſy; a copy of Tracy's will was found about him, and butter and cheeſe were alſo found in his chamber in Lent: but he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as *ſupreme Head*, and upon that he was ſet at liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon record. 1533.

A ſtop put to further cruelties.

The act that was paſſed gave the new preachers and their followers ſome reſpite. The King was alſo empowered to reform all hereſies and idolatries: and his affairs did now oblige him to unite himſelf to the Princes of Germany, that by their means he might ſo embroil the Emperor's affairs, as not to give him leiſure to turn his arms againſt England; and this produced a ſlackening of all ſeverities againſt them: for thoſe Princes, in that firſt fervor of the Reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none ſhould be perſecuted for favouring their doctrine. The Queen did alſo openly protect them; ſhe took Latimer and Shaxton to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the biſhoprics of Worceſter and Saliſbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the neceſſity of a reformation, and, that he might carry it on with true judgment, and juſtify it by good authorities, he made a great collection of the opinions of the ancient Fathers and later doctors, in all the points of religion; of which I have ſeen two volumes in folio: but by a letter of the Lord Burleigh's it appears, there were then ſix volumes of his collections in his hands. He was a man of great candour, and much patience and induſtry; and ſo was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of God did now call him: and though he was in ſome things too much ſubject to the King's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the ſix articles he ſhewed that he wanted not the courage that became a Biſhop in ſo critical an affair as that was. Cromwell was his great and

The intereſt the reformers had at Court.

BOOK I. and conſtant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his maſter Wolſey, after his fall; a rare demonſtration of gratitude in a court, to a diſgraced favourite: and in his greateſt height, he happening to ſee a merchant of Lucca, who had pitied and relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not ſo much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the ſmall favours he had formerly ſhewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition, treated him with ſuch acknowledgments, that it became the ſubject of ſeveral pens, which ſtrove who ſhould celebrate it moſt.

1534.

Others oppoſe it much.

As theſe ſet themſelves to carry on a reformation, there was another party formed that as vigorouſly oppoſed it, headed by the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almoſt all the Clergy went into it. They perſuaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperor ſuch advantages, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ ſo learnedly for the faith ſhould in ſpite to the Pope make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes ſo much to follow his example, nor keep his ſubjects ſo much in their duty to him, as his continuing ſtedfaſt in the ancient religion. Theſe things made great impreſſions on him. But, on the other hand, Cranmer repreſented to him, that if he rejected the Pope's authority, it was very abſurd to let ſuch opinions or practices continue in the Church, that had no other foundation but Papal decrees: and therefore he deſired that this might be put to the trial; he ought to depend on God, and hope for good ſucceſs if he proceeded in this matter according to the duty of a Chriſtian Prince. England was a complete body within itſelf; and though in the Roman empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were eaſily aſſembled, yet now that was not to be ſo much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his dominions by a national ſynod; and if in the ancient Church ſuch ſynods condemned hereſies, and reformed abuſes, that might be much more done, when Europe was divided into ſo many kingdoms. It was viſible, that though both the Emperor and the Princes of Germany had for twenty years deſired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an illuſion.

The opinion of ſome Biſhops of a General Council.

Upon that, the King deſired ſome of his Biſhops to give their opinion concerning the Emperor's power of calling Councils: ſo Cranmer, Tonſtall, Clark of Bath and

and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made anſwer, that though ancient Councils were called by the Roman Emperors, yet that was done by reaſon of the extent of their monarchy, that was now ceaſed; but ſince other Princes had an entire monarchy within their dominions: yet if one or more of thoſe Princes ſhould agree to call a Council to a good intent, and deſire the concurrence of the reſt, they were bound by the rule of charity to agree to it: they were alſo of opinion, that none but Biſhops and Prieſts had right to a definitive voice in matters of doctrine. 1534.

Heads of a ſpeech of Cranmer's.

Cranmer alſo made a long ſpeech at that time, ſetting forth the neceſſity of a reformation. It is probable it was in the Houſe of Peers, for it begins, *My Lords*—"He "begun with the impoſtures and deceit uſed by the "Canoniſts, and other courtiers at Rome. Then he ſpake "to the authority of a General Council; he ſhewed that "it flowed not from the number of the Biſhops, but from "the matter of their deciſions, which were received with "an univerſal conſent, for there were many more Biſhops "at the Council of Arimini, which was condemned, than "either at Nice or Conſtantinople, which were received. "Chriſt had named no head of the whole Church, as "God had named no head of the world; but that grew "up for order's ſake, as there were Archbiſhops ſet over "provinces; yet ſome Popes were condemned for hereſy, "as Liberius, and others. If faith muſt be ſhewed by "works, the ill lives of moſt Popes of late ſhewed, that "their faith was to be ſuſpected; and all the privileges "which Princes or Synods granted to that ſee might be "recalled. Popes ought to ſubmit themſelves to General "Councils, and were to be tried by them: he ſhewed "what were the preſent corruptions of the Pope and his "court, which needed reformation. The Pope, according "to the decree of the Council of Baſil, was the Church's "Vicar, and not Chriſt's, and ſo was accountable to it. "The Churches of France declared the Council to be "above the Pope, which had been acknowledged by "many Popes themſelves. The power of Councils had "alſo bounds, nor could they judge of the rights of "Princes, or proceed to a ſentence againſt a King; nor "were their canons of any force till Princes added their "ſanctions to them. Councils ought alſo to proceed "moderately, even againſt thoſe that held errors, and "ought not to impoſe things indifferent too ſeverely. "The Scriptures, and not men's traditions, ought to be "the

BOOK I. 1534. "the ſtandards of their definitions. The Divines of Paris "held, that a Council could not make a new article of "faith that was not in the Scriptures, and all Chriſt's "promiſes to the Church were to be underſtood with "this condition, *if they kept the faith:* therefore there "was great reaſon to doubt concerning the authority of a "Council; ſome of them had contradicted others, and "many others were never received. The Fathers had "always appealed to the Scriptures, as ſuperior in autho- "rity to Councils, by which only all controverſies ought "to be decided; yet, on the other hand, it was dangerous "to be wiſe in one's own conceit; and he thought, when "the Fathers all agreed in the expoſition of any place of "Scripture, that ought to be looked on as flowing from "the Spirit of God. He ſhewed how little regard was "to be had to a Council, in which the Pope preſided, and "that if any common error had paſſed upon the world, "when that came to be diſcovered, every one was at "liberty to ſhake it off, even though they had ſworn to "maintain that error: this he applied to the Pope's au- "thority." In concluſion, he promiſed to entertain them with another diſcourſe of the authority that all Biſhops had in their ſees, and that Princes had within their dominions. But I could never recover that, and probably it is loſt.

The ſtate of England.

This was the ſtate of the Court after King Henry had ſhaken off the Pope's power, and aſſumed a ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The nobility and gentry were generally well ſatisfied with the change; but the body of the people was more under the power of the prieſts; and they ſtudied to infuſe in them great fears of a change in religion. It was ſaid the King was now joining himſelf to heretics; that both the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, favoured them. It was left free to diſpute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of Popes; and changes would be made under this pretence, that they only rejected thoſe opinions which were ſupported by the Papal authority. The Monks and Friars ſaw themſelves left at the King's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer uſeful to them. The trade of new ſaints, or indulgences, was now at an end; they had alſo ſome intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for ſuppreſſing them; ſo they thought it neceſſary for their own preſervation to embroil the King's affairs as much as was poſſible: therefore, both in confeſſions and diſcourſes, they were infuſing into the people a diſlike of the King's pro-

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proceedings; and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperor's affairs had been in such a condition, that he could have made war on the King, he might have done it with great advantage, and found a strong party in England on his side. But the practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal Pole abroad, the libels that were published, and the rebellions that were afterwards raised in England, wrought so much on the King's temper, that was naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too apt to commit acts of the highest severity, and to bring his subjects into trouble upon the slightest grounds; and his new title of Head of the Church seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them. He had now reigned twenty-five years; in all which time none had suffered for crimes against the state, but Pole Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford Duke of Buckingham; (the former was executed in obedience to his father's last commands; the latter fell by Cardinal Wolsey's malice; he had also been inveigled by a priest to imagine he had a right to the crown;) but in the last ten years of his life, instances of severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's supremacy. The first act of it was the making Cromwell Vicar General, and visitor of all the monasteries and churches of England, with a delegation of the King's supremacy to him: he was also empowered to give commissions subaltern to himself; and all wills, where the estate was in value above two hundred pounds, were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and had the precedence of all next the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the Kings came in the Pope's room, so the Vicegerent was what the Legates had been. Pains were taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the supremacy. At Oxford a public determination was made, to which every member assented, that the Pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign Bishop. The Franciscans at Richmond made some more opposition; they said, by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy see. The Bishop of Litchfield told them, that all the Bishops in England, all the

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the Heads of houſes, and the moſt learned Divines had ſigned that propoſition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the Biſhop of Rome was Metropolitan; but that ought not to extend to England: and it was ſhewed that the chapter cited by them was not written by him, but added ſince; yet they continued poſitive in their refuſal to ſign it.

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A general viſitation propoſed.

It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, though they complied with the time, yet they hated this new power of the King's; the people were alſo ſtartled at it; ſo one Dr. Leighton, that had been in the Cardinal's ſervice with Cromwell, propoſed a general viſitation of all the religious houſes in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation ſo much to the King's ſupremacy, as to ſee ſome good effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a ſtep, and that it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of ſuch diſorders, that nothing could ſo effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into theſe. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitical viſitation, for which he obtained the King's licence; he took care to ſee that the Pope's name was ſtruck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's ſupremacy was generally acknowledged.

Inſtructions and injunctions for it.

In October the general viſitation of the monaſteries was begun; which was caſt into ſeveral precincts: inſtructions were given them, directing them what things to enquire after; as, whether the houſes had the full number according to their foundation, and if they performed divine worſhip in the appointed hours; what exemptions they had, what were their ſtatutes? how their heads were choſen? and how their vows were obſerved? whether they lived according to the ſeverities of their orders? how the maſter and other officers did their duties? how their lands and their revenues were managed? what hoſpitality was kept? and what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift, and how they diſpoſed of them? how the incloſures of the nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they employed their time, and what prieſts they had for their confeſſors? They were alſo ordered to give them ſome injunctions in the King's name, that they ſhould acknowledge his ſupremacy, and maintain the act of ſucceſſion, and declare all to be abſolved from any rules or oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their ſtatutes tending to that

that ſhould be raſed out of their books: that the Abbots ſhould not have choice diſhes, but plain tables for hoſpitality; and that the Scriptures ſhould be read at meals; that they ſhould have daily lectures of divinity, and maintain ſome of every houſe at the Univerſity. The Abbots were required to inſtruct the Monks in true religion, and to ſhew them that it did not conſiſt in outward ceremonies, but in cleanneſs of heart, and purity of life, and the worſhipping of God in ſpirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and againſt admitting any under twenty years of age. The viſitors were empowered to puniſh offenders, or to bring them to anſwer before the Viſitor General. 1535.

The ſtate of the monaſteries in England.

What the ancient Britiſh Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the rules of the Monks of Egypt or France, is matter of conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Biſhops, as all the Monks of the primitive times were. But, upon the confuſions which the Gothic war brought upon Italy, Benedict ſet up a new order with more artificial rules for its government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raiſed the credit of that order much, by his books of Dialogues; and Auſtin the Monk being ſent by him to convert England, did found a monaſtery at Canterbury, that carried his name, which both the King and Auſtin exempted from the Archbiſhop's juriſdiction. But there is great reaſon to ſuſpect that moſt of thoſe ancient charters were forged. After that, many other abbeys were founded and exempted by the Kings of England, if credit is due to the leger-books or chartularies of the monaſteries. In the end of the eighth century the Danes made deſcents upon England, and finding the moſt wealth and the leaſt reſiſtance in the monaſteries, they generally plundered them, inſomuch that the Monks were forced to quit their ſeats, and they left them to the ſecular Clergy; ſo that in King Edgar's time there was ſcarce a Monk left in all England. He was a lewd and cruel prince; and Dunſtan and other Monks, taking advantage from ſome horrors of conſcience that he fell under, perſuaded him that the reſtoring the monaſtic ſtate would be matter of great merit; ſo he converted many of the chapters into monaſteries: and by the foundation of the priory of Worceſter, it appears he had then founded forty-ſeven, and intended to raiſe them to fifty, the number of pardons; though the invention of jubilees being ſo much later gives occaſion to believe this was

BOOK I. 1535. alſo a forgery. He only exempted his monaſteries from all payments to the Biſhops; but others were exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction. In ſome only the precinct was exempted, in others the exemption was extended to all the lands or churches belonging to them. The lateſt exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction granted by any King, is that of Battle, founded by William the Conqueror: after this the exemptions were granted by the Popes, who, pretending to an univerſal juriſdiction, aſſumed this among other uſurpations. Some abbeys had alſo the privilege of being ſanctuaries to all that fled to them. The foundation of all their wealth was the belief of purgatory, and of the virtue that was in maſſes to redeem ſouls out of it; and that theſe eaſed the torments of departed ſouls, and at laſt delivered them out of them; ſo it paſſed among all for a piece of piety to parents, and of care for their own ſouls and families, to endow thoſe houſes with ſome lands, upon condition that they ſhould have maſſes ſaid for them, as it was agreed on more or leſs, frequently according to the meaſure of the gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole wealth of the nation into thoſe houſes, if the ſtatute of mortmain had not put ſome reſtraint to that ſuperſtition. They alſo perſuaded the world, that the ſaints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great offerings to their ſhrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earneſtly for them. The credulous vulgar, meaſuring the court of heaven by thoſe on earth, believed preſents might be of great efficacy there, and thought the new favourites would have the moſt weight in their intereceſſions: ſo upon every new canonization there was a new fit of devotion towards the laſt ſaint, which made the elder to grow almoſt out of requeſt. Some images were believed to have an extraordinary virtue in them, and pilgrimages to theſe were much extolled. There was alſo great rivalry among the ſeveral orders, and different houſes of the ſame orders, every one magnifying their own ſaints, their images and relics, moſt. The wealth of theſe houſes brought them under great corruptions. They were generally very diſſolute, and groſsly ignorant. Their privileges were become a public grievance, and their lives gave great ſcandal to the world: ſo that, as they had found it eaſy to bear down the ſecular Clergy, when their own vices were more ſecret; the begging Friars found it as eaſy to carry the eſteem of the world from them.

them. Theſe, under the appearance of poverty, and coarſe diet and clothing, gained much eſteem, and became almoſt the only preachers and confeſſors then in the world. They had a general at Rome, from whom they received ſuch directions as the Popes ſent them; ſo that they were more uſeful to the Papacy than the Monks had been. They had alſo the ſchool learning in their hands, ſo that they were generally much cheriſhed. But they living much in the world could not conceal their vices ſo artificially as the Monks had done; and though ſeveral reformations had been made of their orders, yet they had all fallen under great ſcandal, and a general diſeſteem. The King intended to erect new biſhoprics; and in order to that it was neceſſary to make uſe of ſome of their revenues. He alſo apprehended a war from the Emperor, and for that end he intended to fortify his harbours, and to encourage ſhipping and trade; upon which the balance of the world began then to turn: and in order to that he reſolved to make uſe of the wealth of thoſe houſes, and thought the beſt way to bring that into his hands, would be to expoſe their vices, that ſo they might quite loſe the eſteem they might yet be in with ſome, and ſo it might be leſs dangerous to ſuppreſs them. Cranmer promoted this much, both becauſe theſe houſes were founded on groſs abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them; and theſe were neceſſary to be removed, if a reformation went on. The extent of many dioceſes was alſo ſuch, that one man could not overſee them; ſo he intended to have more biſhoprics founded, and to have houſes at every cathedral for the education of thoſe who ſhould be employed in the paſtoral charge. The viſitors went over England, and found in many places monſtrous diſorders. The ſin of Sodom was found in many houſes; great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in ſome they found tools for coining. The report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: ſome of theſe were printed, but the greateſt part is loſt; only a report of one hundred and forty-four houſes is yet extant. 1535.

The firſt houſe that was ſurrendered to the King was Langden, in Kent; the Abbot was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay-brother: this perhaps made him more willing to give an example to the reſt; ſo he and ten of his Monks ſigned a reſignation of their houſe to the King. Two other houſes in the ſame county, Folkſtone and Dover, followed their example. Some houſes ſurrendered.

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And in the following year, four other houſes made the like ſurrender; and theſe were all that I find before the act of parliament paſſed, for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries.

1536. Queen Catharine's death.

Queen Catharine was put to much trouble for keeping the title, Queen; but bore it reſolutely, and ſaid, that ſince the Pope had judged that her marriage was good, ſhe would die, rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her ſufferings begat compaſſion in the people; and all the ſuperſtitious Clergy ſupported her intereſts zealouſly. But now her troubles ended with her life. She deſired to be buried among the Obſervant Friars; for they had ſuffered moſt for her. She ordered five hundred maſſes to be ſaid for her ſoul; and that one of her women ſhould go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walſingham, and give two hundred nobles, on her way, to the poor. When ſhe found death coming on her, as ſhe wrote to the Emperor, recommending her daughter to his care, ſo ſhe wrote to the King with this inſcription, *My dear Lord, King, and Huſband.* She forgave him all the injuries he had done her, and wiſhed him to have regard to his ſoul. She recommended her daughter to his care, and deſired him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her ſervants a year's wages; and ended thus, *Mine eyes deſire you above all things.* She died on the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after ſhe came to England. She was a devout and exemplary woman: ſhe uſed to work with her own hands, and kept her women at work with her. The ſeverities and devotions that were known to her prieſts, and her alms-deeds, joined to the troubles ſhe fell in, begat a high eſteem of her in all ſorts of people. The King complained often of her peeviſhneſs; but that was perhaps to be imputed as much to the provocations he gave her, as to the ſourneſs of her temper. He ordered her to be buried in the abbey of Peterborough, and was ſomewhat touched with her death. But Queen Anne did not carry this ſo decently as became a happy rival.

In Parliament, the leſſer monaſteries ſuppreſſed.

In February a Parliament met, after a prorogation of fourteen months. The act impowering thirty-two to reviſe the eccleſiaſtical laws was confirmed; but no time was limited for finiſhing it; ſo it had no effect. The chief buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the ſuppreſſing of the monaſteries under two hundred pounds a year. The report the viſitors made was read in the two Houſes, and diſpoſed them to great eaſineſs in this matter. The act ſets forth the great diſorders of thoſe houſes, and the many

many unſucceſsful attempts that had been made to reform them; ſo the religious that were in them were ordered to be put into the greater houſes, where religion was better obſerved, and the revenues of them were given to the King. Thoſe houſes were much richer than they ſeemed to be; for an abuſe that had run over Europe, of keeping the rents of the Church at their firſt rates, and, inſtead of raiſing them, the exacting great fines for the incumbent, when the leaſes were renewed, was ſo groſs in thoſe houſes, that ſome rated but at two hundred pounds were in real value worth many thouſands. By another act, a new Court was erected, with the title of *The Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, conſiſting of a chancellor, a treaſurer, ten auditors, ſeventeen receivers, beſides other officers. The King was alſo empowered to make new foundations of ſuch of thoſe houſes now ſuppreſſed as he pleaſed, which were in all three hundred and ſeventy, and ſo this Parliament, after ſix years continuance, was now diſſolved. 1536.

A tranſlation of the Bible deſigned.

A Convocation ſate at this time, in which a motion was made for tranſlating the Bible into Engliſh, which had been promiſed when Tindall's tranſlation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aſide by the Clergy, as neither neceſſary nor expedient: ſo it was ſaid, that thoſe whoſe office it was to teach people the Word of God did all they could to ſuppreſs it. Moſes, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles, wrote in the vulgar tongue: Chriſt directed the people to ſearch the Scriptures; and as ſoon as any nation was converted to the Chriſtian religion, the Bible was tranſlated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the Chriſtian religion was ſo corrupted, that it was not ſafe to truſt them with ſuch a book, which would have ſo manifeſtly diſcovered thoſe errors; and the Legends, as agreeing better with thoſe abuſes, were read inſtead of the Word of God. So Cranmer looked on the putting the Bible in the people's hands, as the moſt effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give order for it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, oppoſed this vehemently. They ſaid, all the extravagant opinions then in Germany roſe from the indiſcreet uſe of the Scriptures. Some of thoſe opinions were at this time diſſeminated in England, both againſt the divinity and incarnation of Chriſt, and the uſefulneſs of the Sacra-

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ments, for which nineteen Hollanders had been burnt in England the former year. It was therefore ſaid, that during theſe diſtractions the uſe of the Scriptures would prove a great ſnare: ſo it was propoſed, that, inſtead of them, there might be ſome ſhort expoſition of the Chriſtian religion put in the people's hands, which might keep them in a certain ſubjection to the King and the Church: but it was carried in the Convocation for the affirmative. At Court, men were much divided in this point; ſome ſaid, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many diviſions. But on the other hand, it was ſaid, that nothing would make the difference between the Pope's power and the King's ſupremacy appear more eminently, than if the one gave the people the free uſe of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in darkneſs, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would be alſo a great mean to extinguiſh the intereſt that either the Pope or the Monks had in England, to put the Bible in the people's hands, in which it would appear, that the world had been long deceived by their impoſtures, which had no foundation in the Scriptures. Theſe reaſons, joined with the intereſt that the Queen had in the King, prevailed ſo far with him, that he gave order for ſetting about this with all poſſible haſte; and within three years the impreſſion of it was finiſhed. At this time the King was in ſome treaty with the German princes, not only for a league in temporal concerns, but likewiſe in matters of religion. The King thought the Germans ſhould have in all things ſubmitted to him; and the opinion he had of his own learning, which was perhaps heightened a little with his new title of *Head of the Church*, made him expect, that they ſhould in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his ambaſſador in France, and diſſuaded him much from any religious league with them, as that which would alienate the world abroad, and his people at home, from him.

Q. Anne's fall.

The Popiſh party ſaw the intereſt the Queen had in him was the great obſtacle of their deſigns: ſhe grew not only in the King's eſteem, but in the love of the nation. The laſt nine months of her life ſhe gave above fourteen thouſand pounds in alms to the poor, and was much ſet on doing good. Soon after Queen Catharine's death, ſhe bore a dead ſon, which was believed to have made ſome impreſſion on the King's mind.

It

It was also considered, that now, Queen Catharine being dead, the King might marry another, and be set right again with the Pope and the Emperor: and the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned; whereas, while Queen Anne lived, the ground of the controversy still remained, and her issue would be illegitimated, her marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these reasons of state the King's affections joined, for he was now in love with Jane Seymour, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the gravity of Queen Catharine, and the pleasantness of Queen Anne. The poor Queen used all possible arts to reinflame a dying affection; but the King was changed, and instead of being wrought on by her caresses, he came to look on them as artifices to cover some other criminal affection. Her cheerfulness was not always governed with decency and discretion: and her brother's wife being jealous of her husband and her, possessed the King with her own apprehensions, and filled his head with many stories. Norris, Weston, and Brereton, the King's servants, and Smeton a musician, were observed to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been sworn by the Lady Wyngfield at her death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judge of that matter. The King was at justs at Green- May 1. wich, where it was reported, that he was displeased with the Queen, for letting her handkerchief fall to one for wiping his face; but this seems to be a fiction: for a Parliament was summoned the day before that, and then it was resolved to destroy her. The King left her, upon which she was confined to her chamber, and the five before mentioned were seized on, and sent to the Tower, and the next day she was carried thither. On the river, some privy counsellors came to examine her; but she made deep protestations of her innocence; and as she landed at the Tower, she fell down on her knees, and prayed God so to assist her, as she was free of the crimes laid to her charge. After this she fell into fits of the mother; sometimes she laughed, and at other times she wept excessively: she was also devout and light by turns; and sometimes she stood upon her vindication, and at other times she confessed some indiscretions, which she afterwards denied. All the people about her made the most of every word that fell from her, and sent it immediately to Court. The others, that were imprisoned on her account, denied every thing, only Smeton confessed

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All the Court was now turned againſt her, and ſhe had no friend about the King but Cranmer; and therefore her enemies procured an order for him not to come to Court: yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long letter upon this critical juncture; "He acknowledged that if the things reported of the Queen were "true, it was the greateſt affliction that ever befel the "King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with "patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of God: he con-"feſſed, he never had a better opinion of any woman "than of her; and that, next the King, he was more "bound to her than to all perſons living; and therefore "he begged the King's leave to pray that ſhe might be "found innocent: he loved her not a little, becauſe of "the love which ſhe ſeemed to bear to God, and his "Goſpel; but if ſhe was guilty, all that loved the Goſpel "muſt hate her, as having given the greateſt ſlander "poſſible to the Goſpel; but he prayed the King not to "entertain any prejudice to the Goſpel on her account, "nor give the world reaſon to ſay, that his love to it "was founded on the power that ſhe had with him." The King's jealouſy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any cure, but an extreme one: the indictments were laid in the counties of Kent and Middleſex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded

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ed Guilty, and confeſſed he had known the Queen carnally three times; the reſt pleaded Not guilty; but they were all condemned. BOOK I.

Three days after that, the Queen and her brother (who was then a Peer) were tried before the Duke of Norfolk, as High Steward, and a Court of twenty-ſeven Peers. It has been often given out, to defame her the more, that her own father ſate and condemned her: but the record of the attainder ſhews that is falſe, for he was not of the number. The crime charged on her was, that ſhe had procured her brother and four others to lie with her; and had often ſaid to them, that the King never had her heart; and this was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the King and her, which was treaſon by the act that confirmed her marriage: ſo that act that was made for the marriage was now turned on her to ruin her. They would not now acknowledge her the King's lawful wife, and therefore they did not found the treaſon on the known ſtatute 25th Edward III. It does not appear what evidence was brought againſt her; for Smeton being already condemned could not be made uſe of; and his never being brought face to face againſt her, gave great ſuſpicion that he was perſuaded to confeſs by baſe practices. The evidence, as appears by Spelman's account of it, that was then a judge, was only the declaration of a dead woman; but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great day diſcovers it. The judgment, in caſe of treaſon, for a woman, is burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading, at the King's pleaſure. The judges complained of this as contrary to law; but there was a ſecret reaſon for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of Northumberland was one of the judges: he had been once in love with the Queen; and either ſome return of that, or ſome other accident, made that he fell ſuddenly ſo ill, that he could not ſtay out the trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the court before her brother was tried, who was condemned upon the ſame evidence. Yet all this did not ſatisfy the enraged King; he reſolved to illegitimate his daughter, and, in order to that, to annul his marriage with the Queen. It was remembered that the Earl of Northumberland had ſaid to Cardinal Wolſey, that he had engaged himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by ſome promiſe conceived in words of the future tenſe; but no promiſe, unleſs in the words of the preſent tenſe, could annul the ſubſequent

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ſubſequent marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not underſtand that difference; or, probably, the fear of ſo terrible a death as burning wrought ſo much on her, that ſhe confeſſed a contract; but the Earl denied it poſitively, and took the Sacrament upon it, wiſhing that it might turn to his damnation, if there was ever either contract or promiſe of marriage between them. She was ſecretly carried to Lambeth, and confeſſed a pre-contract, upon which her marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was ſo little known at that time, that Spelman writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was publiſhed in the next Parliament. Theſe two ſentences contradicted one another; for if ſhe was never the King's wife, ſhe could not be guilty of adultery, for there could be no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was reſolved both to be rid of her, and to declare his daughter by her a baſtard.

Her execution.

When ſhe had intimations given her to prepare for death, among other things ſhe reflected on her carriage to Lady Mary, to whom ſhe had been too ſevere a ſtepmother: ſo ſhe made one of her women ſit down, and ſhe fell on her knees before her, and charged her to go to Lady Mary, and in that poſture, and in her name, to aſk her forgiveneſs for all ſhe had done againſt her. This tenderneſs of conſcience ſeemed to give much credit to the continual proteſtations of her innocence, which ſhe made to the laſt. The day before her death, ſhe ſent her laſt meſſage to the King, aſſerting her innocence, recommending her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her, firſt to be a Marchioneſs, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raiſe her no higher on earth, for ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. The day ſhe died, the Lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publiſh the time of her execution, for the fewer that were preſent, it would be the better; ſince he believed ſhe would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning ſhe had made great proteſtations of it, when ſhe received the Sacrament, and ſeemed to long for death, and had great joy and pleaſure in it: ſhe was glad to hear the executioner was good, for ſhe ſaid ſhe had a very ſhort neck, at which ſhe laughed heartily. A little before noon ſhe was brought to the place of execution; there were preſent ſome of the chief officers and great men of the Court: ſhe was, it ſeems, prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the hard meaſure ſhe met with, nor to ſay any

any thing touching the grounds on which ſentence paſſed againſt her, only ſhe deſired that all would judge the beſt. She commended the King highly, and ſo took her leave of the world: ſhe was for ſome time in her private devotions, and concluded, "To Chriſt I commend my "ſoul;" upon which the executioner, who was brought from Calais on that occaſion, cut off her head; and ſo little regard was had to her body, that it was put in a cheſt of elm-tree, made to ſend arrows into Ireland, and was buried in the chapel in the Tower. Norris was much dealt with to accuſe her, and his life was promiſed him if he would do it; but he ſaid he knew ſhe was innocent, and would die a thouſand times rather than defame her: ſo he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the laſt to vindicate her. Smeton was hanged, and it was ſaid, that he retracted all before he died; but of that there is no certainty. BOOK I. 1536.

When this was done, it was very variouſly cenſured. The Popiſh party obſerved, that ſhe who had ſupplanted Queen Catharine did now meet with harder meaſure: her faint way of ſpeaking concerning her innocence at laſt was judged too high a compliment to the King in a dying woman, and ſhewed more regard to her daughter than to her own honour; yet ſhe wrote a letter to the King, in ſo high a ſtrain both of wit and natural eloquence, in her own juſtification, that it may be reckoned one of the beſt compoſed pieces of that time. In her carriage, it ſeems, there were ſome freedoms that became not her quality, and had encouraged thoſe unfortunate perſons to make ſome addreſſes to her, which is never done when there is ſuch difference of conditions, without ſome encouragement is firſt given. It was ſaid on the other hand, that the King, of all men, had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect her, ſince, after ſix years courtſhip, he gained nothing from her before he married her: but the particulars ſhe confeſſed gave much matter for jealouſy, eſpecially in ſo violent a man to work upon; and ſo it was no wonder if it tranſported him out of meaſure. Others condemned Cranmer as too obſequious for paſſing the ſentence annulling the marriage: yet when ſhe came and confeſſed a pre-contract, he could not avoid the giving ſentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation inſulted, and ſaid, it now appeared how bad that cauſe was which was ſupported by ſuch a patron. But it was anſwered, that her faults could not reflect on thoſe who, being ignorant of them, had deſired her protection. Gregory the Great had Cenſures paſſed upon it.

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had courted and magnified Phocas and Brunichild, after he knew their villainies; and Irene, after her barbarous cruelties, was not a little extolled for her zeal in the matter of images. It has ſeemed ſtrange to ſome, that during her daughter's long and glorious reign, none wrote in vindication of her mother, which officious courtiers are apt to do often without any good grounds; ſo that ſilence was made an argument of her guilt, and that ſhe could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the wiſdom of the miniſters of that time, who would not ſuffer ſo nice a point, upon which the Queen's legitimation depended, to be brought into diſpute. The day after Anne Boleyn's death, the King married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did: but ſhe was happy that ſhe did not outlive his love to her.

Lady Mary's ſubmiſſion to the King.

Lady Mary was adviſed, upon this turn of affairs, to make her ſubmiſſion to the King: ſhe offered to confeſs the fault of her former obſtinacy, and, in general, to give up her underſtanding entirely to the King; but that would not ſatisfy, unleſs ſhe would be more particular; ſo at laſt ſhe was prevailed with, to do it in the fulleſt terms that could be deſired: "ſhe acknowledged the "King to be the ſupreme head on earth, under Chriſt, of "the Church of England, and did renounce the Biſhop of "Rome's authority, and promiſed in all things to be "obedient to the laws that were made; which, ſhe ſaid, "flowed from her inward belief and judgment, and in "which ſhe would for ever continue; and ſhe did alſo ac-"knowledge that the King's marriage with her mother "was by God's law and man's law unlawful and inceſtu-"ous." All this ſhe wrote with her own hand, and ſubſcribed it; upon which ſhe was again received into favour; and an eſtabliſhment was made for a family about her, in which forty pounds a quarter was all the allowance for her privy purſe, ſo great was the frugality of that time. Lady Elizabeth continued to be educated with great care, and was ſo forward, that before ſhe was four years old ſhe both wrote a good hand, and underſtood Italian; for there are letters extant written by her in that language to Queen Jane, when ſhe was with child, in which ſhe ſubſcribed, *Daughter*.

A Parliament meets.

On the 8th of June the Parliament met, which ſhews that it was ſummoned before the juſts at Greenwich. The Chancellor told them, that the King had called them to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown, in caſe he ſhould die without

without children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the act made concerning his marriage with Queen Anne. It seems the Parliament was not at first easily brought to comply with these things; and that it was necessary to take some pains to prepare them to it. For the bill of succession was not put in till the 30th of June, but then it was quickly dispatched without any opposition: "By "it the attainder of Queen Anne and her complices is "confirmed; both the sentences of divorces passed upon "the King's two former marriages were also confirmed; "and the issue by both was illegitimated, and for ever "excluded from claiming the Crown by lineal descent: "and the succession was established on the King's issue by "his present Queen, or any whom he might afterwards "marry. But it not being fit to declare who should suc- "ceed in default of that, lest the person so named might "be thereby enabled to raise commotions, in confidence "of the King's wisdom, and affection to his people, they "left it to him to nominate his successors, either by "letters patents, or by his last will signed by his hand, "and promised to obey the persons so nominated by him. "It was declared treason to maintain the lawfulness of "his former marriages, or of his issue by them; and it was "made not only treason, but a forfeiture of the right of "succession, if any of those whom the King should name, "in default of others, should endeavour to get before "them." The Scots complained of this act, and said, their Queen Dowager, being King Henry's eldest sister, could not be put by her right, after the King's lawful issue. But by this the King was now made master indeed, and had the Crown put entirely in his hands, to be disposed of at his pleasure; and his daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it also in his power, in a great measure, to pacify the Emperor, by providing, that his kinswoman might succeed to the Crown.

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Pope Clement the Seventh was now dead, and Farnese succeeded by the name of Paul the Third, who, after an unsuccessful attempt, which he made for reconciling himself with the King, when that was rejected, and Fisher was beheaded, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against him: yet now, since both Queen Catharine and Queen Anne, upon whose account the breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered Casali to let the King know, that he had always favoured his cause when he was a Cardinal; that he was driven very much

Pope Paul the Third proposes a reconciliation with the King.

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much againſt his mind to paſs ſentence againſt him; and that now it would be eaſy for him to recover the favour of the Apoſtolic ſee.

1536. Acts againſt the Pope's power.

But the King, inſtead of hearkening to the propoſition, got two acts to be paſſed; "the one was for the utter "extinguiſhing the Pope's authority; and it was made "a *præmunire* for any to acknowledge it, or to perſuade "others to it: and a ſtrict charge was given to all ma- "giſtrates, under ſevere penalties, to enquire after all "offenders. By another, all bulls, and all privileges "flowing from them, were declared null and void; only "marriages, or conſecrations made by virtue of them, "were excepted. All who enjoyed privileges by theſe "bulls were required to bring them into the Chancery; "upon which the Archbiſhop was to make them a new "grant of them, and that, being confirmed under the "Great Seal, was to be of full force in law."

Another act paſſed, explaining an exception that was in the act for the reſidence of all incumbents, by which thoſe who were at the Univerſities were diſpenſed with; upon which many went and lived idly there. It was therefore now declared, that none above the age of forty, except heads and public readers, ſhould have the benefit of that proviſo, and that none under that age ſhould be comprehended in it, except they performed their exerciſes. Another act paſſed in favour of the King's heirs, if they ſhould reign before they were of full age, that they might, any time before they were twenty-four, repeal by letters patents all acts made during their minority. All theſe things being concluded, the Parliament, after it had ſate ſix weeks, was diſſolved.

The Convocation examines ſome points of religion.

The Convocation ſate at the ſame time, and was much employed: for the Houſe of Lords was oft adjourned, becauſe the ſpiritual Lords were buſy in the Convocation. Latimer preached the Latin ſermon: he was the moſt celebrated preacher of that time; the ſimplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expreſſing it, being preferred to more elaborate compoſures. They firſt confirmed the ſentence of the divorce of the King's marriage with Queen Anne. Then the lower Houſe made an addreſs to the upper Houſe, complaining of ſixty-ſeven opinions that they found were much ſpread in the kingdom: they were either the tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptiſts; and many of them were only unſavoury and indiſcreet expreſſions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of ſome raſh zealots,

who

who by petulant jeers, and an affectation of wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They also complained of some Bishops, who were wanting in their duty to suppress such abuses; which was understood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by Queen Anne's fall; and the other two who were raised by her would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be their supreme head; and they were resolved to obey his laws, and they renounced the Pope's authority with all his laws. All these projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the King's favour; and Cromwell was sent to them with a message from the King, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the rules set down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of Popes. There was one Alexander Alane, a Scotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his house; and he being appointed to deliver his opinion, largely shewed that there were no sacraments instituted by Christ but Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Stokesly answered him in a long discourse upon the principles of the School-divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to shew the vanity of that sort of learning, and the uncertainty of tradition; and that religion had been so corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth, but by resting in the authority of the Scriptures. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, seconded him, and told them, the world was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the niceties and dark terms of the Schools; for the laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but searched the originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the times of ignorance. Among the Bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, pressed a reformation; but Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstal, Gardiner, Longland, and several others, opposed it as much: but the contest had been sharper, if the King had not sent some articles to them to be considered of by them; so they whose chief design it was to recommend themselves to preferment by the easiness of their compliance with him in all points, did agree on the following particulars.

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Articles of religion agreed on.

"1. That the Bishops and Preachers ought to instruct "the

BOOK I. "the people according to the Scripture, the three Creeds, "and the four firſt General Councils.

"2. That Baptiſm was neceſſary to ſalvation, and that
1536. "children ought to be baptized for the pardon of original "ſin, and obtaining the Holy Ghoſt.

"3. That penance was neceſſary to ſalvation, and that "it conſiſted in confeſſion, contrition, and amendment of "life, with the external works of charity, to which a "lively faith ought to be joined; and that confeſſion to "a prieſt was neceſſary where it might be had.

"4. That in the Euchariſt, under the forms of bread "and wine, the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt was re-"ceived.

"5. That juſtification was the remiſſion of ſins, and a "perfect renovation in Chriſt, and that not only outward "good works, but inward holineſs was abſolutely neceſ-"ſary. As for the outward ceremonies, the people were "to be taught, that it was meet to have images in "churches, but they ought to avoid all ſuch ſuperſtition "as had been uſual in time paſt, and not to worſhip the "image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour "the ſaints, but not to expect thoſe things from them "which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to "them for their interceſſion; but all ſuperſtitious abuſes "were to ceaſe; and if the King ſhould leſſen the number "of ſaints' days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the "uſe of the ceremonies was good, and that they con-"tained many myſtical ſignifications that tended to raiſe "the mind towards God; ſuch were veſtments in divine "worſhip, holy water, holy bread, the carrying of can-"dles, and palms, and aſhes, and creeping to the croſs, "and the hallowing the font, with other exorciſms. "5. That it was good to pray for departed ſouls, and "to have maſſes and exequies ſaid for them; but the "Scriptures having neither declared in what place they "were, nor what torments they ſuffered, that was uncer-"tain, and to be left to God: therefore all the abuſes of "the Pope's pardons, or ſaying maſſes in ſuch or ſuch "places, or before ſuch images, were to be put away." Theſe articles were ſigned by Cromwell, the two Arch-biſhops, ſixteen Biſhops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the Lower Houſe: to them the King added a pre-face, declaring the pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the differences in religion that were in the nation, and that he approved of theſe articles, and required all his ſubjects to accept them with the like unanimity

unanimity with which they were consented to: and he would be thereby encouraged to take further pains in the like matters for the future.

1536. They are variously censured.

When these things were published, those that desired a reformation, though they did not approve of every particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under examination; and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more changes would follow: they were glad that the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds were made the standards of the faith, without adding tradition, and that the nature of justification and the Gospel covenant were rightly stated; that the immediate worship of images and saints was condemned, and that purgatory was left uncertain; but the necessity of auricular confession, and the corporal presence, the doing reverence to images, and praying to saints, were of hard digestion to them: yet they were glad to see some grosser abuses removed, and a reformation once set on foot. The Popish party were sorry to see four sacraments passed over in silence, and the trade about purgatory put down; and were very apprehensive of the precedent of bringing matters of religion under debate, which would bring on other alterations. When these things were known beyond sea, the Court of Rome made great use of them, to let all princes see the necessity of adhering to the holy see; for no sooner did England depart from that, than it began to change the doctrine likewise. The Germans on the other hand said, this was a political daubing, for satisfying all parties; and that it savoured not of the sincerity that became the professors of true religion, to allow of so many errors. To this it was answered, that our Saviour did not deliver all things to his disciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apostles did not abolish all the rites of Judaism at once, but by a gentle progress intended to wean those that were converted to the Christian religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easy steps out of their ignorance and superstition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haste might spoil the whole design, and alienate those who by slower methods might be gained; and it might also much endanger the peace of the nation.

Other alterations proposed.

At the same time other things were in consultation, although not finished. Cranmer offered some queries, to shew the cheats that had been put on the world: as, that priestly absolution without contrition was of more efficacy

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than contrition was without it: and that the people truſted wholly to outward ceremonies; in which the prieſts encouraged them, becauſe of the gain they made by them: that the exemption of Clergymen was without good ground; that Biſhops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Clergy miſapplied their revenues, and did not reſide on their benefices: he alſo deſired that the other four ſacraments might be enquired into. But theſe things were not at this time taken under any further conſideration. It is true, confirmation ſeems to have been examined: the method in which they made their enquiries was this; the point to be examined was brought under ſo many heads, in the form of queries; and to theſe every one gave his anſwer with his reaſons: ſo I find two papers, the one of Cranmer's, the other of Stokeſly's, on this head: the former runs wholly on Scripture authority, and he thinks it was not inſtituted by Chriſt, but was done by the Apoſtles, by that extraordinary effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, that reſted on them: the other founds his opinion for its being a ſacrament, on the tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this point. Cranmer did at this time offer another paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further reformation, and that nothing ſhould be determined without clear proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that rule had been the occaſion of all the errors that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be errors, for which ſome, not long before, had ſuffered death. He therefore propoſed ſeveral points to be diſcuſſed; as, whether there was a purgatory? whether departed ſaints ought to be invocated, or tradition be believed? whether images ought to be conſidered only as repreſentations of hiſtory? and whether it was lawful for the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King not to give judgment in theſe points, till he heard them well examined: and for the laſt, he offered, that if thoſe who would defend the lawfulneſs of it ſhould not in the opinion of indifferent judges prove their opinion to be true, they ſhould be willing to ſuffer death; but if they proved it, all that they deſired was, that the King would leave them to the liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: but all this was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had iſſued out a ſummons for a General Council at Mantua, and had cited the King to it: from this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly con-

conſtituted. So a motion being made by Fox, that the Convocation ſhould deliver their ſenſe in this particular, they drew up a paper, in which they ſet forth the great good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more miſchievous, than one called on private malice, according to what Nazianzen obſerved of the Councils in his time; and they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had ſufficient authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and ſupreme government over all their ſubjects, ought to concur to it. This was ſigned by them all on the 20th of July, and ſo was the Convocation diſmiſſed. Two days before it brake up, Cromwell was made the King's vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters, of which ſome account was formerly given.

The King proteſts againſt a Council called by the Pope.

Soon after this the King publiſhed a long and ſharp proteſtation againſt the Council ſummoned by the Pope: he denied that he had any authority to ſummon any of his ſubjects: he ſhewed that the place was neither proper nor ſafe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope preſided, ſince the regulating his power was one of the chief occaſions that the world had for a Council: and while Chriſtendom was in ſuch diſtractions, and the Emperor and the King of France were engaged in war, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refuſed it long, and this conjuncture was choſen, in which the Biſhops could not come to it, that ſo a packed meeting of Italian Biſhops might do what they pleaſed, under the name of a General Council: but the world would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's ſafe conduct, for they had often broken their oaths, as to himſelf in particular: and notwithſtanding his former kindneſs to that ſee, they had been for three years ſtirring up all the Princes in Chriſtendom againſt him. He proteſted againſt all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, he would be ready to concur with other Chriſtian princes for calling one, when it ſhould be convenient; and in the mean while he would maintain all the articles of the faith, and loſe his life and crown ſooner than ſuffer any of them to be put down. Three years after this the King made a new proteſtation to the ſame effect, when the Council was ſummoned to meet at Vincenza.

Cardinal Pole writes againſt the King.

Reginald Pole began at this ſame time to raiſe that oppoſition to the King, which proved ſo fatal to all his family. He was by his mother deſcended from the Duke

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of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, and was by his father likewiſe the King's near kinſman. To this high quality, there was joined a great ſweetneſs of temper, and a diſpoſition for letters, which the King cheriſhed much, and gave him the deanery of Exeter, and ſome other preferments, in order to the carrying on of his ſtudies, being reſolved to advance him to the higheſt dignities in the Church. He lived many years both at Paris and Padua. In the latter of theſe he joined himſelf to a ſociety of learned men, that gave themſelves much to the ſtudy of eloquence, and of the Roman authors; among whom were Contareno, Bembo, Caraffa, and Sadoletti, all afterwards honoured with the ſcarlet; but Pole was eſteemed the moſt eloquent of them all. When he was at Paris, he firſt incurred the King's diſpleaſure, for he refuſed to join with thoſe whom he employed, in order to the procuring the determinations of the French Univerſities for the divorce. Yet after that, he came to England, and was preſent when the Convocation declared the King to be their ſupreme Head: and it is probable that he joined in it, for he kept his deanery ſome years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King ſuffered him after that to go beyond ſea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his divorce, and his ſeparation from the Apoſtolic ſee. The King upon that ſent him a book wrote by Sampſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, in defence of theſe things; and that ſet him on writing his book, *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, which was printed this year. It was full of ſharp reflections on the King, whom he compared to Nebuchadnezzar: it tended much to depreſs the regal, and to exalt the papal authority. And in concluſion, he addreſſed himſelf to the Emperor, praying him, rather to turn his arms againſt the King, than the Turk. It was very eloquently wrote; but there was little learning or reaſoning in it; and it was full of indecencies in the language, that he beſtowed not only on Sampſon, but on the King. The King required him to come over; but that was not to be expected, after he had made ſuch a ſtep. So he diveſted him of all his dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's hat. Stokeſly and Tonſtal wrote him a long and learned letter, in the King's vindication. Gardiner wrote alſo his book *De vera Obedientia*; to which Bonner prefixed a vehement preface againſt the Pope's power, and for juſtifying the King's ſupremacy.

supremacy. The King's anger at Pole could not reach him, but it fell heavy on his kindred.

1536. The lesser monasteries seized on.

Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries: they were required to carry along with them the concurrence of the gentry near them, and to examine the estate of their revenues and goods, and take inventories of them; and to take their seals into their keeping: they were to try how many of the religious would take capacities, and return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lord Chancellor for them; and an allowance was to be given them for their journey: but those who intended to continue in that state were to be sent to some of the great monasteries that lay next. A pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during life: and of all this they were to make their report by Michaelmas; and they were particularly to examine what leases had been made all the last year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the money they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill bargains. There were great complaints made of the proceedings of the visitors, of their violences and briberies; and perhaps not without reason. Ten thousand of the religious were set to seek for their livings, with forty shillings and a gown a man. Their goods and plate were estimated at one hundred thousand pounds, and the valued rents of their houses was thirty-two thousand pounds; but was really above ten times so much. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold.

Which gave a general discontent.

This gave a general discontent, and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought strange to see the King devour what his ancestors had dedicated to the honour of God and his saints. The nobility and gentry, who provided for their younger children, or friends, by putting them in those sanctuaries, were sensible of their loss. The people who had been fed at the Abbots' tables, and, as they travelled over the country, found the abbeys to be places of reception to strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the more superstitious, who thought their friends must now lie still in purgatory, without that relief which the masses procured them, were out of measure offended at these proceedings. The books that were published of the disorders in these houses had no great effect on the people: for it was said, there was no reason to destroy whole

BOOK I. houſes for the ſake of ſome vicious perſons, who ought to have been driven out of them and puniſhed. But to remove this general diſcontent, Cromwell adviſed the King 1536. to ſell theſe lands at very eaſy rates to the nobility and gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted hoſpitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to aſſiſt the Crown in the maintenance of the changes that had been made, ſince their own intereſts would be interwoven with the rights of the Crown; and the commoner ſort, whoſe grudges lay chiefly in their ſtomachs, for the want of the good dinners they uſed to find, would be eaſily pacified if theſe were ſtill kept up. And upon a clauſe in the act, impowering the King to found anew ſuch houſes as he ſhould think fit, there were fifteen monaſteries and ſixteen nunneries new founded. It ſeems theſe had been more regular than the reſt; ſo that for a while they were reprieved, till the general ſuppreſſion came, that they fell with the reſt. They were bound to obey ſuch rules as the King ſhould ſend them; and to pay him tenths and firſt-fruits. But all this did not ſo pacify the people, but there was ſtill a great outcry. The Clergy ſtudied much to inflame the nation, and built much on this, that an heretical prince, depoſed by the Pope, was no more to be acknowledged; which had been for five hundred years received as an article of faith, and was decreed in the ſame Council that eſtabliſhed tranſubſtantiation; and had been received and carried down from Gregory the Seventh's time, who pretended, that it was a part of the papal power to depoſe Kings, and give away their dominions, and it had been oft put in practice in almoſt all the parts of Europe, and ſome that had been raiſers of great ſeditions had been canonized for it. The Pope had ſummoned the King to appear at Rome, and anſwer for putting away his Queen, and taking another wife, for the laws he had made againſt the Church, and for putting the Biſhop of Rocheſter and others to death, for their not obeying them: if he did not appear, nor reform theſe things, he excommunicated and deprived him, abſolved his ſubjects from their obedience, diſſolved his leagues with foreign Princes, and put the kingdom under an interdict. But though the force of theſe thunders was in this age much abated, yet they had not quite loſt their ſtrength, and the Clergy reſolved to make the moſt of them that could be.

Injunctions given by the King.

Some injunctions which were given by Cromwell increaſed this ill diſpoſition. They were to this effect: all

all Churchmen were required every Sunday, for a quarter of a year, and twice every quarter after that, to preach againſt the Pope's power, and aſſert the King's ſupremacy, and to explain the articles lately ſet forth by the Convocation, and to publiſh the abrogation of ſome holy-days in harveſt-time: they were no more to extol images, relics, or pilgrimages, but to exhort the people to do works of charity inſtead of them; and they were required to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh, and to explain theſe carefully, and inſtruct the children well in them. They were to perform the divine offices reverently, and to have good curates to ſupply their rooms when they were abſent. They were charged not to go to ale-houſes, or ſit too long at games; but to ſtudy the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their lives: thoſe that did not reſide were to give the fortieth part of their income to the poor, and for every 100*l.* a year that any had, they were to maintain a ſcholar at ſome grammar-ſchool, or the univerſity; and if the parſonage-houſe was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their benefice for repairing it. Such as did not obey theſe injunctions were to be ſuſpended, and their mean profits were to be ſequeſtered. The Clergy deteſted this precedent of the King's giving injunctions without the concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they ſaid, they ſhould be made ſlaves to his Vicegerent: they alſo complained of thoſe heavy taxes that were laid on them, and that images, relics, and pilgrimages, would be now brought under great contempt. Both the ſecular and regular Clergy were ſo ſenſibly concerned in theſe things, that they inflamed the people all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their ſhare to ſet that on; they were now oppreſſed with the crowds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſſed houſes, and they expected to fall next; nor were their fears removed by a letter that was ſent about in the King's name for ſilencing all reports that were given out, of his intentions to ſuppreſs them; this rather increaſed than leſſened their jealouſy. 1536.

A rebellion in Lincolnſhire.

The people continued quiet till they had reaped their harveſt; but in the beginning of October, twenty thouſand roſe in Lincolnſhire, led by a prieſt diſguiſed into a cobler. They took an oath to be true to God, the King, and the commonwealth, and ſent a paper of their grievances to the King. "They complained of ſome acts of "parliament,

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"parliament, of the ſuppreſſing of many religious houſes, "of mean and ill counſellors, and bad Biſhops; and pray- "ed the King to redreſs their grievances by the advice "of the nobility; but yet they acknowledged him to be "their ſupreme head, and that the tenths and firſt-fruits "of livings belonged to him of right." The King ſent the Duke of Suffolk to raiſe forces againſt them, and give an anſwer to their petition. "He ſaid it belonged not to "the rabble to direct princes what counſellors they "ſhould chooſe. The religious houſes were ſuppreſſed "by law, and the heads of them had under their hands "confeſſed ſuch horrid ſcandals, that they were a re- "proach to the nation; and ſince in many of them there "were not above four, and that they waſted their rents "in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to "the common good of the nation, than leave them in "ſuch hands. He required them to ſubmit to his mercy, "and to put two hundred of their leaders into the hands "of his lieutenants." The Clergy having brought ſo many together, did all they could to put heat and ſpirit in them; they perſuaded them, that if they did not maintain their faith and their liberties, both would be loſt. Some of the gentry were forced to join with them for their own preſervation; and they ſent advices to the Duke of Suffolk, to procure from the King the offer of a general pardon, which would effectually diſſipate them.

Another in Yorkſhire.

At the ſame time there was a more formidable riſing in Yorkſhire, which being in the neighbourhood of Scotland, was like to draw aſſiſtance from that kingdom; though their King was then gone into France to marry Francis's daughter: this inclined the King to make more haſte to ſettle matters in Lincolnſhire; he ſent them ſecret aſſurances of mercy, which wrought on the greateſt part; ſo they diſperſed themſelves, and the moſt obſtinate went over to them in Yorkſhire. The cobler and ſome others were taken and executed. The diſtance that thoſe in the North were at from the Court gave them time to riſe, and form themſelves into ſome method: one Aſk commanded in chief, and performed his part with great dexterity; their march was called the *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; they had in their banners, and on their ſleeves, the five wounds of Chriſt; they took an oath, that they would reſtore the Church, ſuppreſs heretics, preſerve the King and his iſſue, and drive baſe-born men and ill counſellors from him. They became forty thouſand ſtrong in a few days, and met with no oppoſition; they forced the Archbiſhop of York,

York, and the Lord Darcy, to ſwear their covenant, and to go along with them. They beſieged Skipton, but the Earl of Cumberland made it good againſt them: Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough caſtle, though for twenty days he and his men had no proviſions but bread and water. There was alſo a riſing in all the other northern counties, againſt whom the Earl of Shrewſbury made head; and the King ſent ſeveral of the nobility to his aſſiſtance, and within a few days the Duke of Norfolk marched with ſome troops, and joined him. They poſſeſſed themſelves of Doncaſter, and reſolved to keep that paſs till the reſt of the forces that the King had ordered to be ſummoned ſhould come up to them; for they were not in a condition to engage with ſuch numbers of deſperate men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill accident, the people might have riſen about them every where; ſo the Duke of Norfolk reſolved to keep cloſe at Doncaſter, and let the proviſions and rage of the rebels ſpend, and then, with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into factions, and melt away. They had now fallen to thirty thouſand, but the King's army was not above five thouſand. The Duke of Norfolk propoſed a treaty, and made ſome go among them as deſerters, and ſpread reports that their leaders were making terms for themſelves. They were perſuaded to ſend their petitions to the Court; and the King, to make them more ſecure, diſcharged a rendezvous that he had appointed at Northampton, and ſent them a general pardon, excepting ſix by name, and reſerving four to be afterwards named: but this put them all in ſuch apprehenſions, that it made them more reſolved and deſperate: yet the King, to give his people ſome content, put out injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the uſe of all the ceremonies of the Church. Three hundred were employed to carry the rebels' demands to the King "which were a general pardon, a parliament to be held "at York, and that courts of juſtice ſhould be ſet up "there: they deſired that ſome acts of parliament might "be repealed; that the Princeſs Mary might be reſtored "to her right of ſucceſſion, and the Pope to his wonted "juriſdiction; that the monaſteries might be again ſet "up; that Audley and Cromwell might be put from the "King, and that ſome of the viſitors might be impri-"ſoned for their bribery and extortion." But theſe being rejected, the rebels took heart again; upon which, the Duke of Norfolk adviſed the King to gentle methods; he in

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BOOK I. in his heart wiſhed that all their demands might be granted; and the Lord Darcy did accuſe him afterwards, as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King ſent him a general pardon without any exceptions, to be made uſe of as he ſaw cauſe. The rebels, finding that with the loſs of time they loſt heart, reſolved to fall upon him and beat him from Doncaſter; but at two ſeveral times, in which they had reſolved to paſs the river, ſuch rains fell out as made it unpaſſable, which was magnified as next to a miracle, and made great impreſſions on the rebels' minds. The King ſent a long anſwer to their demands; "he aſſured them he would live and die in the defence "of the Chriſtian faith: but the rabble ought not to pre- "ſcribe to him and to the Convocation in that matter. "He anſwered that which concerned the monaſteries, as "he had done to the men of Lincolnſhire. For the laws, a "multitude muſt not pretend to alter what was eſtabliſh- "ed; he had governed them now twenty-eight years, his "ſubjects had enjoyed great ſafety, and been very gently "uſed by him in all that time. It was given out, that, "when he began to reign, he had many of the nobility "in his council, and that he had then none but men "meanly born: this was falſe, for he found but two "noblemen of his council, and at preſent there were "ſeven temporal Lords and four Biſhops in it. It was "neceſſary to have ſome that knew the laws of England, "and treaties with foreign princes, which made him call "Audley and Cromwell to the Board. If they had any "complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to "hear them; but he would not ſuffer them to direct him "what counſellors he ought to employ, nor could they "judge of the Biſhops that were promoted, who were "not known to them. He charged them not to believe "lies, nor be governed by incendiaries, but to ſubmit to "his mercy." On the 9th of December, he ſigned a proclamation of pardon without any reſtrictions.

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They are every where quieted.

When this was known, and the rage of the people cooled, they were willing to lay hold on it, and all the artifices, that ſome of the Clergy and their leaders could uſe, had no other effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit of the King's pardon. Many came in and renewed their oaths of allegiance, and promiſing all obedience for the future. Aſk was invited to the Court, and well uſed by the King, on deſign to learn from him all the ſecret correſpondences they had in the other parts of the kingdom;

kingdom; for the diſpoſition to rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed, that the great Abbots cherished it, for which ſome of them were afterwards attainted. Darcy pleaded his great age, being then fourſcore, and the eminent ſervice he had done the Crown for fifty years together, and that he was forced, for his own preſervation, to go along with the rebels; but yet he was put in priſon. This gave the Clergy advantages to infuſe it in the people, that the pardon would not be well kept: ſo eight thouſand run together again, and thought to have ſurpriſed Carliſle; but the Duke of Norfolk fell on them and routed them, and by martial law hanged their captains, and ſeventy other perſons. Others thought to have ſurpriſed Hull, but were likewiſe routed, and many of them were hanged. Many other little riſings were quickly diſperſed; and ſuch was the Duke of Norfolk's vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any number. And before the end of January, the country was abſolutely quieted. Aſk left the Court without leave, but was ſoon retaken and hanged at York. The Lord Darcy and Huſſy were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned by their peers; the one for the Yorkſhire, and the other for the Lincolnſhire inſurrections. Darcy was beheaded on Tower-hill: his old age and former ſervices made him to be much lamented. Huſſy was beheaded at Lincoln. Darcy accuſed the Duke of Norfolk, but he deſired a trial by combat upon it; yet the ſervices he had lately done were ſuch, that the King would not ſeem to have any jealouſy of him. After theſe and ſeveral other executions were over, the King proclaimed a general oblivion in July, by which the nation was again put in a quiet condition, and this threatening ſtorm was now quite diſſipated. 1537.

As ſoon as it was over, the King went on more reſolutely in his deſign of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries; for he was now leſs apprehenſive of any new commotions, after ſo many had been ſo happily quelled, and that the chief incendiaries had ſuffered.

A new viſitation was appointed to enquire into the converſation of the Monks, to examine how they ſtood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's ſupremacy. They were likewiſe ordered to examine what impoſtures might be among them, either in images or relics, by which the ſuperſtition of the credulous people was wrought on. Some few houſes of greater value The great- er monaſteries re ſigned to the King.

were

BOOK I. were prevailed with the former year to ſurrender to the King. Many of the houſes that had not been diſſolved, though they were within the former act, were now ſuppreſſed, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to ſurrender by ſeveral motives: ſome had been faulty during the rebellion, and ſo, to prevent a ſtorm, offered a reſignation. Others liked the reformation, and did it on that account; ſome were found guilty of great diſorders in their lives, and, to prevent a ſhameful diſcovery, offered their houſes to the King; and others had made ſuch waſtes and dilapidations, that having taken care of themſelves, they were leſs concerned for others. At St. Alban's the rents were let ſo low, that the Abbot could not maintain the charge of the abbey. At Battel, the whole furniture of the houſe and chapel was not above one hundred pounds in value, and their plate was not above three hundred pounds. In ſome houſes there was ſcarce any plate or furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a penſion for life, and that was proportioned to the value of their houſe, and to their innocence. The Abbots of St. Alban's and Tewkeſbury had four hundred marks a year: the Abbot of St. Edmondſbury was more innocent and more reſolute: the viſitors wrote that they found no ſcandals in that houſe; but at laſt he was prevailed with, by a penſion of five hundred marks, to reſign. The inferior governors had ſome thirty, twenty, or ten pounds penſions, and the Monks had generally ſix pounds, or eight marks apiece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being choſen as the Biſhops were, upon a *congé d'élire*, and a miſſive letter) was named for that purpoſe, only to reſign the houſe. And all were made to hope for advancement, that ſhould give good example to others by a quick and cheerful ſurrender: by theſe means one hundred and twenty-one of thoſe houſes were this year reſigned to the King. In moſt houſes the viſitor made the Monks ſign a confeſſion of their former vices and diſorders, of which there is only one original extant, that eſcaped a general raſure of all ſuch papers in Queen Mary's time, in which they acknowledged, in a long narrative, "their former idleneſs, "gluttony, and ſenſuality, for which the pit of hell was "ready to ſwallow them up. Others acknowledged, "that they were ſenſible that the manner of their former "pretended religion conſiſted in ſome dumb ceremonies, "by which they were blindly led, having no true know-"ledge of God's laws, but that they had procured ex-

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"emption

" emption from their dioceſans, and had ſubjected them- BOOK
" ſelves wholly to a foreign power, that took no care I.
" to reform their abuſes; and therefore ſince the moſt
" perfect way of life was revealed by Chriſt and his 1537.
" Apoſtles, and that it was fit they ſhould be governed by
" the King, their ſupreme head, they reſigned to him."
Of this ſort I have ſeen ſix. Some reſigned in hopes that the King would found them anew; theſe favoured the reformation, and intended to convert their houſes to better uſes, for preaching, ſtudy, and prayer; and Latimer preſſed Cromwell earneſtly, that two or three houſes might be reſerved for ſuch purpoſes in every county. But it was reſolved to ſuppreſs all, and therefore neither could the interceſſions of the gentry of Oxfordſhire, nor of the viſitors, preſerve the nunnery at Godſtow, though they found great ſtrictneſs of life in it, and it was the common place of the education of young women of quality in that county. The common preamble to moſt ſurrenders was, "that upon full deliberation, and of their
" own proper motion, for juſt and reaſonable cauſes mov-
" ing their conſciences, they did freely give up their
" houſes to the King." Some ſurrendered without any preamble to the viſitors, as feoffees in truſt for the King. In ſhort, they went on at ſuch a rate, that one hundred and fifty-nine reſignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of theſe the originals of one hundred and fifty-four are yet extant. Some thought that theſe reſignations could not be valid, ſince the Incumbents had not the property, but only the truſt for life of thoſe houſes. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in law. It was alſo ſaid, that they being of the nature of corporations, all deeds under their ſeals were valid; and that at leaſt, by their reſignation and quitting their houſes, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to ſubſiſt rather on a nicety in law, than natural equity.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of Wooburn was ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to ſubmit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was never eaſy in it, nor fixed to it: " He complained
" that the new preachers detracted from the honour due
" to the Virgin and ſaints; he thought the religion was
" changed, and wondered that the judgments of God on
" Queen Anne had not terrified others from going on
" to ſubvert the faith." When the rebellion broke out, he

Some Abbots attainted.

BOOK I. he joined in it, as did also the Abbots of Whaley, Garvaux, and Sawley, and the Prior of Burlington; all these were taken, and attainted of treason, and executed. The 1539. Abbots of Glassenbury and Reading had also sent a great deal of their plate to the rebels; the former, to disguise it the better, had made one break into the house where the plate was kept: so he was convicted both of burglary and treason, and at his execution he confessed his crime, and begged both God's and the King's pardon for it. The Abbot of Colchester was also attainted, and executed; but the grounds of it are not known: for the records of their attainders are lost. These had over and over again taken the oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be supreme Head of the Church, and were present in those Parliaments in which the several acts about it were passed, and did not dissent to them; and since they made no opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: so that all those who have represented them as having suffered for denying the King's supremacy, have therein shewed their unacquaintedness with the journals of Parliament. The Abbot of Reading had complied so far, that he was grown into favour with Cromwell; so that in some contests between Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured man, complained that Cromwell supported the Abbot against him, and wrote upon that a very insolent expostulatory letter to him, which Cromwell answered with great strength of reason and decency of style; by which it appears that the height of his condition had no other effect on him, but to make him know himself and others better. Upon the attainders of those Abbots, their abbeys were seized on; and this was thought a great stretch both in law and equity: for it seemed not reasonable, if an incumbent was faulty, for that to seize on his benefice, which upon his attainder ought to continue entire, and pass to the next successor, as if he were really dead. But a clause was put in the act of treason, 26 Hen. VIII. that "whatsoever lands of estate of inheritance, any "that should be convicted of treason had in use, or "possession, by any right or manner, should be forfeited "to the King." By which, as entailed estates were certainly comprehended, so it seems they applied it likewise to Church benefices; yet when the Bishop of Rochester was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, "estate

"of

"of inheritance," seemed to exclude church-lands; but the mention that was made of traitors' successors, that were cut off as well as their heirs, seemed on the other hand to include estates, to which successors might come in a traitor's room, as well as those which descended by inheritance. The words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those seizures; and therefore in an act of treasons made in the next reign, this was more cautiously worded; for it was provided, that traitors should forfeit the estates which they possessed in their own right. But whatsoever illegality there might be in these proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a special proviso made concerning those abbeys that were seized on by any attainders of treason. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the King's supremacy: others were also suspected of favouring them, and of receiving books sent from beyond sea against the King's proceedings, and were shut up in their cells, in which most of them died. The Prior was a man of extraordinary charity and good works, as the Visitor reported: but he was made to resign with this preamble, "That many of the house had offended the King, and deserved that their lives should be taken, and their goods confiscated; and therefore to avoid that they surrendered their houses." Great complaints were made of the visitors, as if they had used undue practices to make the abbots and monks surrender: and it was said, that they had in many places embezzled much of the plate to their own uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. London had corrupted many nuns. They, on the other hand, published many of the vile practices that they found in those houses, so that several books very indecently writ were printed upon this occasion; but on so foul a subject it is not fit to stand long. No story became so public as that of the Prior of the Crossed Friars in London, who was found in bed with a whore at noon-day. He fell down on his knees, and begged that they who surprised him would not discover his shame: they made him give them thirty pounds, which he protested was all he had, and he promised them as much more: but he not keeping his word to them, a suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal blemishes did not work much on the people. It seemed unreasonable to extinguish noble foundations, for the fault of some individuals: therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

The impostures of images discovered

They discovered many impostures about relics and wonderful

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wonderful images, to which pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an angel's wing, which brought over the ſpear's point that pierced our Saviour's ſide: as many pieces of the croſs were found, as, joined together, would have made a big croſs. The Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent had been much eſteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it: it was obſerved to bow, and roll its eyes, and look at times well pleaſed, or angry; which the credulous multitude imputed to a divine power: but all this was diſcovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's Croſs; and all the ſprings were openly ſhewed, that governed its ſeveral motions. At Hales in Glouceſterſhire the blood of Chriſt was ſhewed in a vial; and it was believed, that none could ſee it who were in mortal ſin: and ſo, after good preſents were made, the deluded pilgrims went away well ſatisfied if they had ſeen it. This was the blood of a duck renewed every week, put in a vial very thick of one ſide, as thin on the other; and either ſide turned towards the pilgrim, as the prieſts were ſatisfied with their oblations. Several other ſuch like impoſtures were diſcovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the people.

Becket's ſhrine broken.

The richeſt ſhrine in England was Thomas Becket's at Canterbury, whoſe ſtory is well known. After he had long embroiled England, and ſhewed that he had a ſpirit ſo turned to faction, that he could not be at quiet, ſome of Henry the Second's officious ſervants killed him in the church of Canterbury. He was preſently canonized, and held in greater eſteem than any other ſaint whatſoever; ſo much more was a martyr for the Papacy valued, than any that ſuffered for the Chriſtian religion: and his altar drew far greater oblations than thoſe that were dedicated to Chriſt, or the bleſſed Virgin, as appears by the accounts of two of their years. In one, three pounds two ſhillings and ſix pence: and in another not a penny was offered at Chriſt's altar. There was in the one, ſixty-three pounds five ſhillings and ſix pence; and in the other four pounds one ſhilling and eight pence offered at the bleſſed Virgin's altar. But in theſe very years there was eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and three pence, and nine hundred and ſixty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and three pence, offered at St. Thomas's altar. The ſhrine grew to be of ineſtimable value. Lewis the Seventh of France came over in pilgrimage to viſit it, and offered a ſtone, valued to be the richeſt in Europe. He had not only one holy day, the 29th of December, called his martyrdom; but alſo the day

day of his tranſlation, the 7th of July, was alſo a holy day; and every fiftieth year there was a jubilee, and an indulgence granted to all that came and viſited his tomb: and ſometimes there were believed to be one hundred thouſand pilgrims there on that occaſion. It is hard to tell whether the hatred to his ſeditious practices, or the love of his ſhrine, ſet on King Henry more to unſaint him. His ſhrine was broken, and the gold of it was ſo heavy that it filled two cheſts, which took eight men apiece to carry them out of the church; and his ſkull, which had been ſo much worſhipped, was proved to be an impoſture; for the true ſkull was with the reſt of his bones in his coffin; his bones were either burnt, as it was given out at Rome, or ſo mixed with other bones, as our writers ſay, that it had been a miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſhed them afterwards. The King called at this time a meeting of the Clergy, of ten Biſhops, eight Archdeacons, and ſeventeen Divines and Canoniſts, and made them finiſh an explanation of the Chriſtian religion. But this was afterwards digeſted into a better form, as ſhall be told in its proper place.

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The Pope thunders againſt the King.

When all theſe things were known at Rome, all the eloquent pens there were employed to repreſent King Henry as the moſt ſacrilegious tyrant that ever was; that made war with Chriſt's vicar on earth, and his ſaints in heaven; and he was compared to the worſt princes that ever reigned; to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belſhazzar, Nero, and Diocleſian; but the parallel with Julian the apoſtate was moſt inſiſted on. It was ſaid, he copied after him in all things, ſave only that his manners were worſe. In many of theſe, Cardinal Pole's ſtyle was pretended to be known; and they were all at leaſt much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him moſt implacably. The Pope went further; for now he publiſhed all thoſe thunders, with which he had threatened him three years before. "He pretended, that, as "God's vicar, he had power to root out and to deſtroy; and "had authority over all the kings in the world: and "therefore, after he had enumerated all the King's crimes, "he required himſelf to appear within ninety days at "Rome, either in perſon, or by proxy, and all his com- "plices within ſixty days; and if he and they did not "appear, he declared him to have fallen from his crown, "and them from their eſtates. He put the kingdom "under an interdict, and abſolved his ſubjects from their "oaths of allegiance. He declared him and his complices

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"infamous, and put their children under incapacities. "He required all the Clergy to go out of England, within five days after the time prefixed ſhould expire, leaving only ſo many as might ſerve for baptizing children, "or giving the Sacrament to ſuch as died in penitence. "He charged all his ſubjects to riſe in arms againſt him, "and that none ſhould aſſiſt him. He abſolved all other "princes from their confederacies with him, and obteſted "them to have no more commerce with him. He re-"quired all Chriſtians to make war on him, and to "ſeize on the perſons and goods of all his ſubjects, and "make ſlaves of them. He charged all Biſhops to "publiſh the ſentence with due ſolemnities; and ordain-"ed it to be affixed at Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk." This was firſt given out the 30th of Auguſt, 1535; but it had been all this while ſuſpended, till the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, and the burning of Becket's bones, did ſo inflame the Pope, that he reſolved to forbear going to extremities no longer. So on the 17th of December this year the Pope publiſhed the bull, which he ſaid he had ſo long ſuſpended at the interceſſion of ſome princes, who hoped that King Henry might have been reclaimed by gentler methods; and therefore ſince it appeared that he grew ſtill worſe and worſe, he was forced to proceed to his fulminations. By this ſentence it is certain, that either the Pope's infallibility muſt be confeſſed to be a cheat put upon the world; or if any believe it, they muſt acknowledge that the power of depoſing princes is really lodged in that chair: for this was not a ſudden fit of paſſion, but was done *ex cathedra*, with all the deliberation they ever admit of. The ſentence was in ſome particulars without a precedent; but as to the main points of depoſing the King, and abſolving his ſubjects from their obedience, there was abundance of inſtances to be brought in theſe laſt five hundred years, to ſhew that this had been all along aſſerted as the right of the Papacy. The Pope wrote alſo to the Kings of France and Scotland, with deſign to inflame them againſt King Henry: and if this had been an age of cruſades, no doubt there had been one undertaken againſt him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make war on him, than on the Turk. But now the thunders of the Vatican had loſt their force.

The Biſhops of England aſſert the King's power, and the nature of eccleſiaſtical offices.

The King got all the Biſhops and eminent Divines of England to ſign a declaration againſt all Churchmen who pretended to the power of the ſword, or to authority over

over Kings; and that all that assumed such powers were subverters of the kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another paper, declaring the limits of the regal and ecclesiastical power; that both had their authority from God, for several ends and different natures; and that princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their laws. There was also another declaration made, signed by Cromwell, the two Archbishops, eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines, asserting the distinction between the power of the keys, and the power of the sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by prayer, and imposition of hands: and that in the New Testament no mention was made of any other ranks, but of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the inferior degrees of lectures, acolyths, &c. was laid down. These were set up about the beginning of the third century; for in the middle of that age mention is made of them, both by Cornelius and Cyprian; and they were intended to be degrees of probation, through which men were to ascend to the higher functions. But the Canonists had found out so many distinctions of benefices, and that a simple tonsure qualified a man for several of them, that these institutions became either a matter of form only, or were made a colour for laymen to possess ecclesiastical benefices. In this, and several other books of that time, Bishops and Priests are spoken of, as being both one office. In the ancient Church there were different ordinations, and different functions belonging to these offices, though the superior was believed to include the inferior. But in the latter ages, both the Schoolmen and Canonists seemed on different grounds to have designed to make them appear to be the same office, and that the one was only a higher degree in the same order. The Schoolmen, to magnify transubstantiation, extolled the office by which that was performed so high, and the Canonists, to exalt the Pope's universal authority, depressed the office of Bishops so low, (to make them seem only the Pope's delegates, and that their jurisdiction was not from Christ,) that by these means these two offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in degree: and this was so well observed at Trent, that the establishing the episcopal jurisdiction, as founded on a divine right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest blows that could

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have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time ſo commonly received, it is no wonder if, before that matter came to be more exactly enquired into, ſome of the Reformers wrote more carelеſsly in the explanations they made of theſe Offices; which is ſo far from being an argument, that they were, upon due enquiry, of another mind, that it is to be looked on as a part of the dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of tranſubſtantiation and the Pope's ſupremacy, of which all the conſequences were not ſo early obſerved.

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The Bible in Engliſh, and new injunctions.

This year the Engliſh Bible was finiſhed. The tranſlation was ſent over to Paris to be printed there, for the workmen in England were not thought able to go about it. Bonner was then ambaſſador in France, and he obtained a licence of Francis for printing it; but upon a complaint made by the French Clergy, the preſs was ſtopped, and many of the copies were ſeized on and burnt. So it was brought over to England, and was undertaken, and now finiſhed by Grafton. Cromwell procured a general warrant from the King, allowing all his ſubjects to read it; for which Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwell; "and rejoiced to ſee the day of reformation now riſen in "England, ſince the Word of God did ſhine over it all, "without a cloud. Not long after this, Cromwell gave "out injunctions, requiring the Clergy to ſet up Bibles "in their churches, and to encourage all to read them. "He alſo exhorted the people not to diſpute about the "ſenſe of difficult places, but to leave that to men of "better judgments. Incumbents were required to in-"ſtruct the people, and teach them the Creed, the Lord's "Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh: and "that once every quarter there ſhould be a ſermon, to de-"clare the true Goſpel of Chriſt, and to exhort the people to "works of charity, and not to truſt to other men's works, "to pilgrimages, or relics, or the ſaying their beads, "which tended to ſuperſtition. Images, abuſed by pil-"grimages made to them, were ordered to be taken away. "No candle was to be before any image but the cruci-"fix: and they were to teach the people, that it was "idolatry to make any other uſe of images, but merely "to put them in mind of thoſe whom they repreſented: "and ſuch as had formerly magnified images or pilgrim-"ages were required openly to recant and confeſs, that "they had been led into an error, which covetouſneſs "had brought into the Church. All incumbents were "required to keep regiſters for chriſtenings and marriages,

"and

"and to teach the people that it were good to omit the "suffrages to the saints in the Litany." These struck at some of the main points of the former superstition, both about images, pilgrimages, and the invocation of saints: but the free use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest blow of all: yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any murmuring. 1538.

Prince Edward was this year born, and this very much blasted the hopes of the Popish party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady Mary's succeeding to the crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both Lee, Gardiner, and Stokesly, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other party, which of them should most zealously execute the injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves most into the King's esteem and favour. Gardiner was some years ambassador in France; but Cromwell got Bonner to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be the most zealous promoter of the Reformation that was then in England. After that, Gardiner was sent to the Emperor's court with Sir Henry Knevet; and there he gave some occasion to suspect that he was treating a reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the Italian that managed it being sent with a message to the ambassador's secretary, he mistook Knevet's secretary for Gardiner's, and told his business to him. Knevet tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far; for the Italian was disowned, and put in prison upon it; and Gardiner complained of it, as a trepan laid to ruin him. The King continued still to employ him; but rather made use of him, than trusted him: yet Gardiner's artifices and flatteries were such, that he was still preserved in some degrees of favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him so well, that he neither named him one of his executors, nor one of his son's council, when he made his will. Gardiner used one topic which prevailed much with the King, that his zeal against heresy was the greatest advantage that his cause could have over all Europe; and therefore he pressed him to begin with the Sacramentaries, (so were those of the Helvetian Confession called,) and those being condemned by the German Princes, he had the less reason to be afraid of embroiling his affairs by his severities against them. Prince Edward born.

This meeting so well with the King's own persuasions about the corporal presence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion did quickly offer itself to him, to declare his zeal in that matter. Lambert was at that time accused I. comic and burn. for denying the corporal presence.

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1538. cuſed before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: he had been Chaplain to the factory of Antwerp, and there he aſſociated himſelf to Tindal: afterwards he was ſeized on coming over to England; but upon the changes that followed, he was ſet at liberty. Dr. Taylor had preached on the corporal preſence in his hearing: this offended him, and he drew up his reaſons againſt it, and gave them to Taylor. He communicated it to Barns, who was a hot man, and a fierce Lutheran: and they thought that the venting that opinion would ſtop the progreſs of the Reformation, give prejudice to the people, and divide them among themſelves: and therefore they brought this matter before Cranmer, who was at that time likewiſe a Lutheran. He dealt with Lambert to retract his paper; but he took a fatal reſolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King reſolved to judge him in perſon, and to manage the trial with great ſolemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Biſhops were ſent for. When the day came, there was a vaſt appearance. The King's guards and cloth of ſtate were all in white, to make it look the liker a divine ſervice. Lambert begun with a compliment, acknowledging the King's great learning, and his goodneſs in hearing the cauſes of his ſubjects. The King ſtopped him, and bade him forbear flatteries, and ſpeak to the matter: and he argued againſt him from Chriſt's words, that the Sacrament muſt be his body. Lambert anſwered in St. Auſtin's words, that it "was his body in a certain man-"ner," but that a body could not be in two places at once. To this the King commanded Cranmer to ſpeak; and he argued, that ſince Chriſt is ſtill in heaven, and yet he appeared to St. Paul, that therefore he may be in different places at once. Lambert ſaid, that was but a viſion, and was not the very body of Chriſt. Tonſtal argued, that the divine Omnipotence was not to be meaſured by our notions of what was impoſſible. Stokeſly argued, that one ſubſtance may be changed into another, and yet the accidents remain: ſo water, when it boiled, did evaporate in air, and yet its moiſture remained. This was received with great applauſe; though it was an ill inference, that becauſe there was an accidental converſion, therefore there might be a ſubſtantial one, in which one ſubſtance was annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another, diſputed; and their arguments, with the ſtern words and looks that the King interpoſed, together with the length of the action, in ſo public an aſſembly, put Lambert in ſome confuſion; and upon his ſilence a great ſhout

shout of applause followed. In conclusion, the King asked him if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he continued firm to his opinion: so Cromwell was commanded to read the sentence of his condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner in Smithfield: for there was not fire enough put under him to consume him suddenly; so that his legs and thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ.* He was a man of considerable learning, and of a very good judgment. The Popish party improved this, and persuaded the King of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this see his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender of the Faith, and supreme Head of the Church.* All this wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the monasteries, and the new opinions. 1538.

Treaties with the German Princes.

Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died at this time: he had been much employed in Germany, and had settled a league between the King and the German Princes. The King was acknowledged the patron of their league; and he sent them over one hundred thousand crowns a year for the support of it. There was a religious league also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen Anne's death, that fell to the ground; and all that was put in their league relating to religion was, that they should join against the Pope as the common enemy, and set up the true religion according to the Gospel. But the treaty about other points was afterwards set on foot. The King desired Melancthon to come over; and several letters passed between them: but he could not be spared out of Germany, though he was then invited both to France and England. The Germans sent over some to treat with the King; the points they insisted most on were, the granting the chalice to the people, and the putting down private masses, in which the institution seemed express; the having the worship in a known tongue, which both common sense, and the authority of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, seemed to justify much. The third was the marriage of the Clergy; for they being extreme sensible of the honour of their families, reckoned that could not be secured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their ambassadors gave a long and

BOOK I. and learned memorial to the King; to which an anſwer was made, penned by Tonſtal, in which the things they complained of were juſtified by the ordinary arguments.

1538. Upon Fox's death, Bonner was promoted to Hereford, and Stokeſly dying not long after, he was tranſlated to London. Cromwell thought that he had raiſed a man that would be a faithful ſecond to Cranmer in his deſigns of reformation, who indeed needed help, not only to balance the oppoſition made him by other Biſhops, but to leſſen the prejudices he ſuffered by the weakneſs and indiſcretion of his own party, who were generally rather clogs than helps to him. Great complaints were brought to the Court of the raſhneſs of the new preachers, who were flying at many things not yet aboliſhed. Upon this letters were writ to the Biſhops, to take care that as the people ſhould be rightly inſtructed, ſo they ſhould not be offended with too many novelties. Thus was Cranmer's intereſt ſo low, that he had none to depend on but Cromwell. There was not now a Queen in the King's boſom to ſupport them, and therefore Cromwell ſet himſelf to contrive how the King ſhould be engaged in ſuch an alliance with the Princes of Germany, as might prevail with him, both in affection and intereſt, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the beauty of Anne of Cleves was ſo repreſented to him, that he ſet himſelf to bring about that match.

The act of the ſix Articles.

A Parliament was ſummoned to meet the 28th of April, in which twenty of the abbots ſate in perſon. On the 5th of May a motion was made, that ſome might be appointed to draw a bill againſt diverſity of opinions in matters of religion; theſe were Cromwell, Cranmer, the Biſhops of Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Bangor, Carliſle, and Worceſter: they were divided in their minds, and though the Popiſh party were five to four, yet the authority that Cromwell and Cranmer were in turned the balance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that, the Duke of Norfolk propoſed the ſix Articles: the firſt was for the corporal preſence. 2. For communion in one kind. 3. For obſerving the vows of chaſtity. 4. For private maſſes. 5. For the celibate of the Clergy. And the ſixth was for auricular confeſſion. Againſt moſt of theſe Cranmer argued ſeveral days. It is not like he oppoſed the firſt, both becauſe of that which he had declared in Lambert's caſe ſo lately, and in his own opinion he was then for it; but he had the words of the inſtitution, and the conſtant practice of the

Duke of Norfolk propoſeth the ſix Articles.

the Church for twelve ages, to object to the ſecond: and for the third, ſince the monks were ſet at liberty to live in the world, it ſeemed hard to reſtrain them from marriage, and nothing did ſo effectually cut off their pretenſions to their former houſes, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private maſſes were uſeful, then the King had done very ill to ſuppreſs ſo many houſes, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was alſo by its firſt inſtitution, and the practice of the primitive Church, to be a Communion, and all thoſe private maſſes were invented to cheat the world. For the fifth, it touched Cranmer in the quick; for it was believed that he was married; but the arguments uſed for that will be found in the next book. For auricular confeſſion, Lee, Gardiner, and Tonſtal, preſſed much to have it declared neceſſary by the law of God. Cranmer argued againſt this, and ſaid, it was only a good and profitable thing. The King came often to the Houſe in perſon, and diſputed in theſe points: for the greateſt part he was againſt Cranmer; but in this particular he joined with him. Tonſtal drew up all the quotations brought from ancient authors for it, in a paper which he delivered to the King. This the King anſwered in a long letter, written with his own hand; in which he ſhewed, that the Fathers did only adviſe confeſſion, but did not impoſe it as neceſſary: and ſo it was concluded in general, that it was expedient and neceſſary. On the 24th of May the Parliament was prorogued a few days; but by a vote it was provided that the bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were then in. At their next meeting, two committees were appointed to draw the bill of religion: Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other. Both their draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own hand; and in ſome parts he wrote whole periods anew. That which Lee drew was more agreeable to the King's opinion; ſo it was brought into the Houſe. Cranmer argued three days againſt it; and when it came to the vote, the King, who was much ſet on having it paſſed, deſired him to go out: but he excuſed himſelf; for he thought he was bound in conſcience to vote againſt it: but the reſt that oppoſed it were more compliant; and it alſo paſſed without any conſiderable oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, and was aſſented to by the King. 1538.

The ſubſtance of it was, "that the King, being ſenſible "of the good of union, and of the miſchief of diſcord, in "points of religion, had come to the Parliament in per-"ſon,

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"ſon, and opened many things of high learning there; "and that, with the aſſent of both Houſes, he ſet forth "theſe articles.

1539. "1. That in the ſacrament there was no ſubſtance of "bread and wine, but only the natural body and blood of "Chriſt.

"2. That Chriſt was entirely in each kind, and ſo "communion in both was not neceſſary.

"3. That Prieſts by the law of God ought not to "marry.

"4. That vows of chaſtity taken after the age of "twenty-one ought to be kept.

"5. That private maſſes were lawful and uſeful.

"6. That auricular confeſſion was neceſſary, and ought "to be retained. Such as did ſpeak or write againſt the "firſt of theſe were to be burned without the benefit of "abjuration; and it was made felony to diſpute againſt "the other five: and ſuch as did ſpeak againſt them were "to be in a *præmunire* for the firſt offence; the ſecond "was made felony. Married Prieſts that did not put away "their wives were to be condemned of felony; in thoſe "that lived incontinently, the firſt offence was a *præmu-* "*nire*, and the ſecond felony. Women that offended "were to be puniſhed as the Prieſts were. Thoſe that "condemned confeſſion and the ſacrament, and abſtained "from it at the accuſtomed times, were for the firſt of- "fence in a *præmunire*, the ſecond was felony. Proceed- "ings were to be made in the forms of common law, by "preſentments and a jury, and all Churchmen were "charged to read the act in their churches once a quar- "ter."

Cenſures paſſed upon it.

This act was received with great joy by all the Popiſh party; they reckoned that now hereſy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged againſt it, as he was when he wrote againſt Luther: this made the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries paſs much the eaſier. The poor Reformers were now expoſed to the rage of their enemies, and had no comfort from any part of it but one, that they were not delivered up to the cruelty of the eccleſiaſtical courts, or the trials *ex officio*, but were to be tried by juries: yet the denying the benefit of abjuration was a ſeverity without a precedent, and was a forcing martyrdom on them, ſince they were not to be the better for their apoſtaſy. It was ſome ſatisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Prieſts were to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed; which Cromwell put in, and the Clergy knew not

not how they could decently oppoſe it. Upon the paſſing the act, the German ambaſſadors being ſet on to it by thoſe that favoured their doctrine in England, deſired an audience of the King, and told him of the grief with which their maſters would receive the news of this act; and therefore earneſtly preſſed him to ſtop the execution of it. The King anſwered, that he found it neceſſary to have the act made, for repreſſing the inſolence of ſome people; but aſſured them, it ſhould not be put in execution, except upon great provocation. When the Princes heard of the act, they wrote to the King to the ſame purpoſe: they warned him of many Biſhops that were about him, who in their hearts loved Popery, and all the old abuſes, and took this method to force the King to return back to the former yoke, hoping that if they once made him cruel to all thoſe they called heretics, it would be eaſy to bring him back to ſubmit to that tyranny which he had ſhaken off; and therefore they propoſed a conference between ſome Divines of both ſides, in order to an agreement of doctrine. The King was only concerned upon ſtate maxims, to keep up their league in oppoſition to the Emperor; but they ſtill preſſed a religious as well as a civil league. 1539.

An act for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries.

After the act of the ſix Articles, the act for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries was brought in; and though there were ſo many Abbots ſitting in the Houſe, none of them proteſted againſt it: "By it no monaſtery was ſuppreſſed, but only "the reſignations made or to be made were confirmed; "and the King's right founded either on their ſurrenders, "forfeitures, or attainders of treaſon, was declared good "in law. Houſes ſurrendered were to be managed by the "Court of Augmentations; but thoſe ſeized on by attainders were to come to the Exchequer. All perſons, "except the founders and donors, were to have the ſame "rights to the lands belonging to theſe houſes, that they "had before this act was made. All deeds and leaſes made "for a year before this, to the prejudice of theſe houſes, "were annulled; and all the churches belonging to them, "and formerly exempted, were put under the juriſdiction "of the Biſhop, or of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the "King." This laſt proviſo has produced a great miſchief in this Church; for many that purchaſed abbey-lands had this clauſe put in their grants, that they ſhould be the viſitors of the churches, and by this they continue ſtill exempted from the epiſcopal juriſdiction; and this has emboldened many to break out into great ſcandals, which have been made uſe of by prejudiced men to caſt an obloquy

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quy on the Church; though this diſorder proceeds only from the want of authority in the Biſhops to cenſure them.

1539. A queſtion was raiſed upon this ſuppreſſion, whether the lands ſhould have reverted to the donors, or been eſcheated to the Crown. By a judgment of the Roman Senate in Theodoſius's time, all the endowments of the Heatheniſh temples were given to the fiſc; and though the heirs of the donors pretended to them, yet it was ſaid, that, by the gifts that their anceſtors made, they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. When the order of the Templers was ſuppreſſed, their lands went to the lord by an eſcheat. This might ſeem reaſonable in endowments that were ſimple gifts, without any conditions: but the grants to religious houſes were of the nature of covenants, given in conſideration of the maſſes that were to be ſaid for them and their families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the cheat of redeeming ſouls out of purgatory was diſcovered, and theſe houſes were ſuppreſſed, then the lands ought to revert to the heirs of the donors; and upon that account it was thought neceſſary to exclude them by a ſpecial proviſo.

An act for new biſhoprics.

Another bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new biſhoprics by his letters patents; it was read three times in one day in the Houſe of Lords. The preamble ſet forth, "that the ill lives of thoſe that were "called religious made it neceſſary to change their "houſes to better uſes, for teaching the Word of God, "inſtructing of children, educating of clerks, relieving of "old infirm people, the endowing of readers for Greek, "Latin, and Hebrew, mending of high-ways, and the bet-"tering the condition of the pariſh prieſts; and for this "end the King was empowered to erect new ſees, and to "aſſign what limits and diviſions, and appoint them what "ſtatutes he pleaſed." I have ſeen the firſt draught of this preamble all written with the King's own hand; and indeed he uſed extraordinary care in correcting both acts of Parliament and proclamations with his own hand: all papers in matters of religion, that were ſet out by public authority in this reign, were reviſed by him; and in many places large corrections are to be ſeen, made with his own hand, which ſhew both his great judgment in thoſe matters, and his extraordinary application to buſineſs: but as he was fond of his two acquired titles, of *Defender of the Faith*, and *ſupreme Head of the Church*, and loved to ſhew that he did not carry them in vain; ſo there was nothing which he affected more, than to diſcover his learning and underſtanding

ſtanding in matters of religion. He wrote alſo a liſt of all the new ſees which he intended to found; which were, Waltham for Eſſex, St. Alban's for Hertford, another for Bedfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire, out of the monaſteries of Dunſtable, Newenham, and Clowſtown; another for Oxfordſhire and Berkſhire, out of the rents of Oſney and Tame; one for Northampton and Huntington, out of Peterborough; one for Middleſex, out of Weſtminſter; one for Leiceſter and Rutland, out of Leiceſter; one for Glouceſterſhire, out of St. Peter's in Glouceſter; one for Lancaſhire, out of Fountain, and the Archdeaconry of Richmond; one for Suffolk, out of Edmondſbury; one for Stafford and Salop, out of Shrewſbury; one for Nottingham and Derby, out of Welbeck, Warſop, and Thurgarton; and one for Cornwall, out of the rents of Launceſton, Bodmyn, and Wardreth. Over theſe he wrote, *Biſhoprics to be made*; and in another part of the ſame paper he wrote, *Places to be altered which have Sees in them*, and names Chriſt Church in Canterbury, St. Swithin's, and ſeveral others; a little under that he wrote, *Places to be altered into Colleges and Schools*, but mentions only Burton upon Trent. Neither Cheſter nor Briſtol are named here, though epiſcopal ſees were afterwards erected in them. The King had formed a great deſign of endowing many ſees, and making many other noble foundations; yet the great change that was made in the councils and miniſtry before this took effect, made that only a ſmall part of that which he now intended was accompliſhed. Another act was brought in concerning the obedience due to the King's proclamations, which ſet forth, "that great exceptions "had been made to the legality of the King's proclama- "tions, by ſome who did not conſider what a King might "do by his royal power; which the King took very ill: "and ſince many occaſions called for ſpeedy remedies, "and could not admit of delays till a Parliament might "be called; therefore it was enacted, that ſuch proclama- "tions as the King ſet out by advice of his Council, with "pains upon offenders, ſhould be obeyed as if they were "acts of Parliament: yet it was provided that no laws nor "cuſtoms might be taken away by them, and that the "ſubjects ſhould not ſuffer in their eſtates, liberties, or "perſons, by them. If any offended againſt them, and "fled out of the kingdom, that was made treaſon. It was "alſo provided, that if the King's heirs ſhould reign be- "fore they were of age, the proclamations ſet out by the "Privy Council ſhould have the like force in law." By this

An act for proclamations.

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this the injunctions that had been given, or ſhould be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The ſtatute of precedence paſſed in this Parliament. The King's Vicegerent was to take place of all after the royal family; and next him, among the Clergy, came the two Archbiſhops; then the Biſhops of London and Durham; after them the Biſhop of Winchester, as Prelate of the Garter; and all the other Biſhops were to take place according to the date of their conſecrations.

1539. The ſtatute of precedence of the Biſhops.

A bill of attainder paſſed, not only confirming the ſentences that had been given againſt the Marquis of Exeter, the Lord Montacute, and others, that had been condemned at common law; but of ſome that were of new attainted without a trial: of theſe ſome were abſent, and others were in priſon; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their anſwers: the chief of theſe were the Marchioneſs of Exeter, and the Counteſs of Sarum, (mother to Cardinal Pole:) it was queſtioned whether this could be done in law or not. The Judges delivered their opinion, that it was againſt natural juſtice to condemn any without hearing them; and that, when the Parliament proceeded as a court, they were obliged to follow the common rules of equity; but if they did otherwiſe, yet ſince they were the ſupreme court of the nation, whatſoever they did could not be reverſed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, ſo that act paſſed. This counſel was aſcribed to Cromwell, and he being the firſt that was executed upon ſuch a ſentence, gave occaſion to many to obſerve the juſtice of God in making ill counſels turn upon thoſe that gave them.

Some attainted without being heard.

When the Parliament was prorogued, the King ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the arguments he had uſed againſt the ſix Articles, and bring them to him. He ſent alſo both Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and to aſſure him of the conſtancy of his kindneſs to him. At table they expreſſed great eſteem for him, and acknowledged that he had oppoſed the ſix Articles with ſo much learning and gravity, that thoſe who differed moſt from him could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the King. Cromwell ſaid, the King made that difference between him and the reſt of his Council, that he would not ſo much as hearken to any complaints that were made of him; and made a parallel between him and Cardinal Wolſey; the one loſt his friends by his pride, and the other gained on his enemies by his humility and mildneſs. The Duke of Norfolk ſaid, he

The King's kindneſs to Cranmer.

he could ſpeak beſt of the Cardinal, having been his man ſo long. This heated Cromwell, who anſwered, that he never liked his manners; and though Wolſey had intended, if he had been choſen Pope, to have carried him with him to Italy; yet he was reſolved not to have gone, though he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of Norfolk ſwore he lied, and gave him foul language. This put all the company in great diſorder: they were in ſome ſort reconciled, but were never hearty friends after this. Cranmer put his reaſons againſt the ſix Articles together, and gave them to his ſecretary to be written out in a fair hand for the King's uſe: but he croſſing the Thames with the book in his boſom, met with ſuch an adventure on the water as might have at another time ſent the author to the fire. There was a bear baited near the river, which breaking looſe run into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which Cranmer's ſecretary was; and he being in danger of his life took no care of the book, which, falling from him, floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-ward, and put in the hand of a prieſt that ſtood by, to ſee what it might contain. He preſently found it was a confutation of the ſix Articles, and ſo told the bear-ward, that the author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the ſecretary came to aſk for it, and ſaid it was the Archbiſhop's book, the other, that was an obſtinate Papiſt, refuſed to give it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined: but the ſecretary acquainting Cromwell with it, he called for him next day, and chid him ſeverely for preſuming to keep a Privy Counſellor's book, and ſo he took it out of his hands: thus Cranmer was delivered out of this danger. Shaxton and Latimer not only reſigned their biſhoprics, but being preſented for ſome words ſpoken againſt the ſix Articles, they were put in priſon, where they lay till a recantation diſcharged the one, and the King's death ſet the other at liberty. There were about five hundred others preſented on the ſame account; but, upon the interceſſions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were ſet at liberty, and there was a ſtop put to the further execution of the act till Cromwell fell.

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The Biſhops of the Popiſh party took ſtrange methods to inſinuate themſelves into the King's confidence; for they took out commiſſions by which they acknowledged, "that all juriſdiction, civil and eccleſiaſtical, flowed from "the King, and that they exerciſed it only at the King's "courteſy; and as they had of his bounty, ſo they would

Biſhops hold their ſees at the King's pleaſure.

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" be ready to deliver it up when he ſhould be pleaſed to " call for it; and therefore the King did empower them " in his ſtead to ordain, give inſtitution, and do all the " other parts of the epiſcopal function, which was to laſt " during his pleaſure: and a mighty charge was given " them to ordain none but perſons of great integrity, good " life, and well learned; for ſince the corruption of reli- " gion flowed from ill paſtors, ſo the reformation of it was " to be expected chiefly from good paſtors." By this they were made indeed the King's Biſhops: in this Bonner ſet an example to the reſt, but it does not appear that Cranmer took out any ſuch commiſſion all this reign.

All the monaſteries ſuppreſſed.

Now came on the total diſſolution of the abbeys; fifty-ſeven ſurrenders were made this year, (of which thirty are yet extant,) of theſe thirty-ſeven were monaſteries, and twenty were nunneries; and among them twelve were parliamentary abbeys; which were in all twenty-eight; Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Auſtin's, Canterbury, Battell, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirenceſter, Colcheſter, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmondſbury, Eveſham, Glaſſenbury, Glouceſter, Hide, Malmſbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramſey, Reading, Selby, Shrewſbury, Taviſtock, Tewkeſbury, Thorney, Waltham, Weſtminſter, and Winchelcomb. When all had thus reſigned, commiſſioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to ſeize on the revenues and goods belonging to theſe houſes, to eſtabliſh the penſions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the churches, or ſuch other parts of the fabric as they thought ſuperfluous, and to ſell the materials of them. When this was done, others began to get hoſpitals to be ſurrendered to the King: Thirleby, being maſter of St. Thomas's hoſpital in Southwark, was the firſt that ſet an example to the reſt; he was ſoon after made a Biſhop, and turned with every change that followed, till Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he refuſed to comply, though he had gone along with all the changes that were made in King Edward's time. The valued rents of the abbey-lands, as they were then let, was one hundred thirty-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds, ſix ſhillings and four pence; but they were worth above ten times ſo much in true value. The King had now in his hand the greateſt advantage that ever King of England had, both for enriching the Crown, and making royal foundations. But ſuch was his eaſineſs to his courtiers, and his laviſhneſs, that all this melted away in a few years, and his deſigns were never accompliſhed.

The yearly rents of the abbey-lands.

accompliſhed. He intended to have founded eighteen new biſhoprics, but he founded only ſix: other great projects did alſo become abortive. In particular, one that was deſigned by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a ſeminary for ſtateſmen: he propoſed the erecting a houſe for perſons of quality, or of extraordinary endowments, for the ſtudy of the civil law, and of the Latin and French tongues; of whom, ſome were to be ſent with every ambaſſador beyond ſea, to be improved in the knowledge of foreign affairs, in which they ſhould be employed as they grew capable of them: and others were to be ſet to work, to write the hiſtory of the tranſactions abroad, and of affairs at home. This was to ſupply one loſs that was like to follow on the fall of abbeys; for in moſt of them there was kept a chronicle of the times. Theſe were written by men that were more credulous than judicious; and ſo they are often more particular in the recital of trifles, than of important affairs; and an invincible humour of lying, when it might raiſe the credit of their order, or houſe, runs through all their manuſcripts. All the ground that Cranmer gained this year, in which there was ſo much loſt, was a liberty that all private perſons might have Bibles in their houſes, the managing of which was put in Cromwell's hands by a ſpecial patent. Gardiner oppoſed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without tradition it was impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of the Scriptures; and one day, before the King, he challenged Cranmer to ſhew any difference between the Scriptures and the Apoſtles' Canons. It is not known how Cranmer managed the debate; but the iſſue of it was this, the King judged in his favours, and ſaid, he was an old experienced captain, and ought not to be troubled by freſh men and novices. The King was now reſolved to marry again, and both the Emperor and the King of France propoſed matches to him, but they came to no effect. The Emperor endeavoured by all means poſſible to ſeparate the King from the Princes of the Smalcaldick league; and the act of the ſix Articles had done that already in a great meaſure; for they complained much of the King's ſeverity in thoſe points, which were the principal parts of their doctrine; ſuch as communion in both kinds, private maſſes, and the marriage of the Clergy. Gardiner ſtudied to animate the King much againſt them; he often told him, it was below his dignity to ſuffer dull Germans to dictate to him; and he ſuggeſted, that they who would not acknowledge the Emperor's ſupremacy in the matters of religion,

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1539.

BOOK I. could not be hearty friends to the authority which the King had aſſumed in them. But the Germans did not look on the Emperor as their ſovereign, but only as the 1539. head of the empire; and they did believe, that every Prince in his dominions, and the Diet for the whole empire, had ſufficient authority for making laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs; but what other conſiderations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the match with Anne of Cleves, which was now ſet on foot.

A treaty for a match with Anne of Cleves. There had been a treaty between her father and the Duke of Lorrain, for the Prince of Lorrain and her; but it had gone no farther than a contract between the fathers. Hans Holbein, the famous painter of that age, took her picture very much to her advantage; for the King never liked the original ſo well as he had done the picture. The Duke of Saxe diſſuaded the match, becauſe the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation; but Cromwell ſet it on vigorouſly. It was ſaid, the lady had great charms in her perſon; but ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, which the King underſtood not; nor was ſhe bred to muſic: and ſhe had a ſtiffneſs in her breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's inclinations. The match was at laſt agreed on; and in the end of December ſhe was brought over. The King was impatient, and ſo went *incognito* to Rocheſter, but was ſtruck when he ſaw her. There was a rudeneſs in her, which did not at all pleaſe him: he ſwore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him, and took up an incurable averſion to her. He reſolved to break the match if it were poſſible: but his affairs made the friendſhip of the German Princes to be then very neceſſary to him; ſo that he did not think it adviſable to put any affront on the Duke of Saxe and Cleves, her brother, and her brother in law. The Emperor had at this time made a haſty journey through France; and Francis and he had an interview, where, as the King was informed, a project was laid down againſt him, which was chiefly ſet on by the Pope. Francis was thinking how to take Calais, and the other places the King had in France, from him; it had been alſo eaſy for him to have engaged the King of Scotland againſt him: and the people in the North were thought to retain their former diſpoſition to riſe ſtill; ſo that a war made on the King in ſuch circumſtances was like to find him at a great diſadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the Germans: but he tried if that precontract with the

the Duke of Lorrain's ſon could furniſh him with a fair excuſe to break the match. The King expreſſed the great trouble he was in, both to Cromwell, and many of his other ſervants; and one of them pleaſantly told him, that ſubjects had this advantage over Princes, that they choſe wives for themſelves, whereas Princes were obliged to take ſuch as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that precontract, which was only an agreement between the fathers, their children being under age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the parents. So Cranmer and Tonſtal being required to give their opinions as divines, ſaid, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's marrying the lady. 1540.

The King marries her, but never liked her.

On the 6th of January the King married her; but expreſſed his diſlike of her ſo viſibly, that all about him took notice of it: and the day after that, he told Cromwell that he had not conſummated his marriage, and he believed he ſhould never do it: he ſuſpected ſhe was not a virgin; and ſhe had ill ſmells about her; ſo that his averſion to her was increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he believed he ſhould never be able to change it. Cromwell did what he could to overcome theſe inclinations; but that was not to be done: and though the King lived five months with her, and lay often in the bed with her, yet his averſion to her rather increaſed than abated. She ſeemed little concerned at it, and expreſſed a great readineſs to concur in any thing that might diſengage him from a marriage that was ſo unacceptable to him. Inſtruments were brought over, to ſhew that the contract between her and the Prince of Lorrain was void: but they took ſome advantage, becauſe it was not declared whether the contract was in the words of the preſent, or of the future tenſe.

A new Parliament.

In April there was a ſeſſion of Parliament; and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellor declared the matters relating to the ſtate, for which the King had called them; ſo the Vicegerent ſpake to them concerning the matters of religion: he told them there was nothing which the King deſired ſo much as an entire union among all his ſubjects; but ſome incendiaries oppoſed it as much as he promoted it; and between the raſhneſs on the one hand, and inveterate ſuperſtition on the other, great diſſenſions had ariſen. Theſe were inflamed by the reproachful names of Papiſt and Heretic: and though they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they ſtudied rather to juſtify their paſſions out of it, than to govern their lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King re-

BOOK I. 1540.

ſolved to ſet forth an expoſition of the doctrine of Chriſt, without any corrupt mixtures, and to retain ſuch ceremonies as might be of good uſe; and that being done, he was reſolved to puniſh all tranſgreſſors, of what ſide ſoever they might be: for that end, he had appointed the two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rocheſter, Hereford, and St. David's; and eleven Divines, Thirleby, Robertſon, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Treſham, for ſettling the doctrine: and the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chicheſter, Worceſter, and Landaff, for the ceremonies. Theſe committees for religion ſate as often as the affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, Cromwell was made Earl of Eſſex, which ſhews it was not the King's diſlike of the Queen that wrought his ruin, otherwiſe he had not now raiſed his title.

The Knights of Saint John ſuppreſſed.

A bill was brought into the Parliament for ſuppreſſing the Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Theſe were at firſt only an hoſpital for entertaining the pilgrims that went to viſit the holy grave: and after that, they became an order of knights; and they and the Knights Templers conducted and guarded the pilgrims. It was thought for ſome ages one of the higheſt expreſſions of devotion to Chriſt, to go and viſit the places where he was crucified, buried, and aſcended to heaven: and it was looked on as highly meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the holy land out of the hands of infidels; ſo that almoſt every one that died, either vowed to go to the holy war, or left ſomewhat to ſuch as ſhould go. If they recovered, they bought off their vow, by giving ſome lands for the entertainment of thoſe Knights. There were great complaints made of the Templers; but whether it was their wealth that made them a deſirable prey, or their guilt that drew ruin on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a council, and all of them that could be found were cruelly put to death. But the other order was ſtill continued; and being beaten out of Judea, they ſettled at Rhodes, out of which they were lately driven, and were now ſettled in Malta. They were under a great maſter, who depended on the Pope and the Emperor: but ſince they could not be brought to ſurrender of their own accord, as others had done, it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs them by act of Parliament. Another houſe which they had in Ireland was alſo ſuppreſſed, and penſions were reſerved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14th of May the Parliament was prorogued

rogued to the 25th, a vote having paſſed, that the bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were in.

1540. Cromwell's fall.

On the 12th of June there was a ſudden turn at Court, for the Duke of Norfolk arreſted Cromwell of high treaſon, and ſent him priſoner to the Tower. He had many enemies: the meanneſs of his birth made the nobility take it ill, to ſee the ſon of a blackſmith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; beſides his being Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain of England, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before he had alſo the Maſterſhip of the Rolls. All the Popiſh Clergy hated him violently. They imputed the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his counſels; and it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperor continued to be in ſuch ill terms. The King did now underſtand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperor and Francis, for it ſtuck at the matter of the Dutchy of Milan, in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was ſure, they would both court his friendſhip in caſe of a war, and this made him leſs concerned for the favour of the German Princes. So, now Cromwell's counſels became unacceptable: with this a ſecret reaſon concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be in love with Catharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk; which both raiſed his intereſt, and depreſſed Cromwell, who had made the former match. The King was alſo willing to caſt upon him all the errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a ſacrifice he hoped he ſhould regain the affections of his people. The King had alſo informations brought him, that he ſecretly encouraged thoſe that oppoſed the ſix Articles, and diſcouraged thoſe who went about the execution of it. His fall came ſo ſuddenly, that he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of it before the ſtorm brake on him. He had the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters; his friends forſook him, and his enemies inſulted over him; only Cranmer ſtuck to him, and wrote earneſtly to the King in his favours. "He ſaid, he found that he had always loved "the King above all things, and had ſerved him with ſuch "fidelity and ſucceſs, that he believed no King of Eng-"land had ever a faithfuller ſervant: and he wiſhed the "King might find ſuch a counſellor, who both could and "would ſerve him as he had done." So great and generous a ſoul had Cranmer, that was not turned by changes in his friends' fortunes, and would venture on the diſ-

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pleaſure of ſo imperious a prince, rather than fail in the duties of friendſhip. But the King was now reſolved to ruin Cromwell; and that unjuſt practice of attainting, without hearing the parties anſwer for themſelves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himſelf. He had ſuch enemies in the Houſe of Lords, that the bill of attainder was diſpatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer was abſent, and no other would venture to ſpeak for him. But he met with more juſtice in the Houſe of Commons; for it ſtuck ten days there. And in concluſion, a new bill was drawn againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords, to which they conſented, and it had the royal aſſent.

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His attainder.

"In it they ſet forth, that though the King had raiſed "him from a baſe ſtate, to great dignities; yet it ap- "peared by many witneſſes, that were perſons of honour, "that he had been the moſt corrupt traitor that ever was "known: that he had ſet many at liberty that were con- "demned, or ſuſpected of miſpriſion of treaſon: that he "had given licenſes for tranſporting out of the king- "dom things prohibited by proclamation: and had grant- "ed many paſſports without ſearch made: that he had "ſaid, *He was ſure of the King:* that he had diſperſed "many erroneous books, contrary to the belief of the "Sacrament: and had ſaid, that every man might admin- "iſter it as well as a prieſt: that he had licenſed many "preachers ſuſpected of hereſy; and had ordered many "to be diſcharged that were committed on that account; "and had diſcharged all informers: that he had many "heretics about him: that above a year before he had "ſaid, the preaching of Barnes and others was good: and "that he would not turn, though the King did turn; but "if the King turned, he would fight in perſon againſt "him, and all that turned: and drawing out his dagger, "he wiſhed that might pierce him to the heart, if he "ſhould not do it: he had alſo ſaid, if he lived a year or "two longer, it ſhould not be in the King's power to "hinder it. He had likewiſe been found guilty of great "oppreſſion and bribery: and when he heard that ſome "lords were taking counſel againſt him, he had threaten- "ed, that he would raiſe great ſtirs in England: for theſe "things he was attainted both of high treaſon and hereſy." A proviſo was added, for ſecuring the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean.

Cenſures paſſed upon it.

This was looked on as very hard meaſure. It was believed, that he had at leaſt verbal orders from the King for

for the licenſes and orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have ſhewed ſome in writing, if he had been heard to make his anſwers. Bribery ſeemed to be caſt on him, only to render him odious; but no particulars were mentioned; nor was it credible, that he could have ſpoken ſuch words of the King as were alleged, eſpecially when he was in the height of his favour; and if he had ſpoken them above a year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſo long kept ſecret; and what was ſaid of his drawing out a dagger, looked like a deſign to affix an overt act to them.

The King's marriage annulled.

This being done, the King went on to move for a divorce. An addreſs was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would ſuffer his marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were ſent down to deſire the concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their deſire, the matter being concerted before. So a commiſſion was ſent to the Convocation to diſcuſs it: Gardiner opened it to them, and they appointed a committee for the examination of witneſſes. The ſubſtance of the whole evidence amounted to theſe particulars: that the matter of the precontract with the Prince of Lorrain was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, that it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the words of the preſent time or not: that the King had married her againſt his will; and had not given an inward and complete conſent; and that he had never conſummated the marriage; ſo that they ſaw he could have no iſſue by the Queen. Upon theſe grounds the whole Convocation, with one conſent, annulled the marriage, and declared both parties free. This was the groſſeſt piece of compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole reign: for as they knew that there was nothing in the pretended precontract, ſo by voiding the marriage, becauſe the conſent was not internal and free, they made a moſt pernicious precedent for breaking all public treaties; for ſince none can know men's hearts, it would be eaſy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect conſent; and that being allowed, there could be no confidence nor ſafety among men any more. And in the proceſs for the King's firſt divorce, they had laid it down as a principle, that a marriage was complete, though it were never conſummated. But in a word, the King was reſolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were reſolved not to offend him: and they rather ſought out

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1540. out reaſons to give a colour to their ſentence, than paſs it on the force of thoſe reaſons. Cromwell was required to ſend a declaration of all he knew concerning the marriage; which he did; but ended in theſe moſt abject words, "Written with the heavy heart and trembling hand of "your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable priſoner, "and poor ſlave, *Tho. Cromwell*;" and under his ſubſcription he wrote, "Moſt ſacred prince, I cry for mercy, "mercy, mercy." The judgment of the Convocation was reported to the Houſe of Lords by Cranmer, and the reaſons were opened by Gardiner. They were ſent down to the Commons to give them the ſame account, and both Houſes were ſatisfied with it. Next day ſome Lords were ſent to the Queen, who had retired to Richmond: they told her, the King was reſolved to declare her his adopted ſiſter, and to ſettle four thouſand pounds a year on her, if ſhe would conſent to it, which ſhe cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in England, or to return to her brother, ſhe preferred the former. They preſſed her to write to her brother, that all this matter was done with her good will; that the King uſed her as a father; and that therefore he, and the other allies, ſhould not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averſe to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the act confirming the judgment of the Convocation paſſed without any oppoſition. An act paſſed, mitigating one clauſe in the act of the ſix Articles; by which the pains of death for the marriage or incontinence of the Clergy were changed into a forfeiture of their goods and benefices. Another act paſſed, authorizing thoſe committees of Biſhops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the doctrine and ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing that what ſhould be agreed on by them, and publiſhed with the King's approbation, ſhould bind the ſubjects as much as if every particular in it had been enumerated in that act, any law or cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding: but a proviſo was added, that nothing might be done by them contrary to the laws then in force: which contradiction in the proviſos ſeems to have been put in on deſign to keep all eccleſiaſtical proceedings under the inſpection of the ſecular courts, ſince they are the only expounders of acts of Parliament. Another act paſſed, that no pretence of a precontract ſhould be made uſe of to annul a marriage duly ſolemnized and conſummated: and that no degrees of kindred but thoſe enumerated in the Law

Law of Moſes might hinder a marriage. This laſt was added, to enable the King to marry Catharine Howard, that was couſin german to Anne Boleyn, which was one of the degrees prohibited by the canon law; but the reaſon of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's divorce of Anne of Cleves, grounded on a pretended precontract. 1540.

The province of Canterbury gave the King a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in two years, with a preamble of high acknowledgments of their happineſs under his protection. A ſubſidy was alſo aſked of the laity, but in the Houſe of Commons it was much oppoſed: many ſaid, they had given the King the abbey-lands, in hopes that no ſubſidies ſhould have been any more demanded; and it ſhewed a ſtrange profuſeneſs, that now, within a year after that, a ſubſidy was demanded. But it was anſwered, that the King had been at great charge in fortifying his coaſts, and in keeping up ſuch leagues beyond ſea, as preſerved the nation in ſafety: a tenth and four fifteenths were granted. Several bills of attainder were paſſed: and in concluſion, the King ſent a general pardon, out of which Cromwell and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was diſſolved. Cromwell's mean addreſſes could not preſerve him: ſo he was executed on the 28th of July. He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was juſt, on the account of his "ſins againſt God, and his offences "againſt his Prince. He declared, that he doubted of no "article of the catholic faith, nor of any ſacrament of the "Church. He ſaid he had been ſeduced, but now he "died in the catholic faith; and denied he had ſupport-"ed the preachers of ill opinions." He deſired all their prayers, and prayed very fervently for himſelf; and thus did he end his days. Cromwell's death.

He roſe merely by the ſtrength of his natural parts; for his education was ſuitable to his mean extraction: only he had all the New Teſtament in Latin by heart. He carried his greatneſs with extraordinary moderation, and fell rather under the weight of popular odium, than guilt. At his death he mixed none of the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome with his devotions; ſo it was ſaid, that he uſed the word Catholic Faith in its true ſenſe, and in oppoſition to the novelties of the Church of Rome: yet his ambiguous way of expreſſing himſelf made the Papiſts ſay, that he died repenting of his hereſy. But the Proteſtants ſaid, that he died in the ſame perſuaſions in which he

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he lived. With him fell the office of the King's Vicegerent, and none after him have aſpired to that character, that proved ſo fatal to him who firſt carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his death when it was too late; and the miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk and his family, were looked on as ſtrokes from heaven on them, for their cruel proſecuting this unfortunate miniſter. With his fall, the progreſs of the Reformation ſtopped; for Cranmer could never gain much ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he ſhould be quickly ſent after Cromwell; ſome complained of him in the Houſe of Commons, and informations were brought the King, that the chief encouragement that the heretics had came from him.

A book of religion ſet out by Biſhops.

The eccleſiaſtical committees employed by the King were now at work, and gave the laſt finiſhing to a book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many particulars. They began with the explanation of faith, which, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church propoſed: but the Reformers made it the chief ſubject of their books and ſermons, to perſuade people to believe in Chriſt, and not in the Church; and made great uſe of thoſe places in which it was ſaid, *That Chriſtians are juſtified by faith only:* though ſome explained this in ſuch a manner, that it gave their adverſaries advantages to charge them, that they denied the neceſſity of good works; but they all taught, that though they were not neceſſary to juſtification, yet they were neceſſary to ſalvation. They differed alſo in their notion of good works: the Church of Rome taught, that the honour done to God in his images, or to the ſaints in their ſhrines and relics, or to the prieſts, were the beſt ſort of good works: whereas the Reformers preſſed juſtice and mercy moſt, and diſcovered the ſuperſtition of the other. The opinion of the merit of good works was alſo ſo highly raiſed, that many thought they purchaſed heaven by them. This the Reformers did alſo correct, and taught the people to depend merely upon the death and interceſſion of Chriſt. Others moved ſubtiler queſtions; as, whether obedience was an eſſential part of faith, or only a conſequent of it: this was a nicety ſcarce becoming Divines, that built only on the ſimplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the ſubtilties of the Schools; and it was ſaid, that men of ill lives abuſed this doctrine, and thought that if they could but aſſure themſelves that Chriſt died for them, they were ſafe enough.

So

So now when they ſettled the notion of faith, they divided it into two ſorts: the one was a perſuaſion of the truth of the Goſpel, but the other carried with it a ſubmiſſion to the will of God; and both hope, love, and obedience belonged to it; which was the faith profeſſed in baptiſm, and ſo much extolled by St. Paul. It was not to be ſo underſtood as if it were a certainty of our being predeſtinated, which may be only a preſumption, ſince all God's promiſes are made to us on conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole Goſpel according to our baptiſmal vows. Cranmer took great pains to ſtate this matter right; and made a large collection of many places, all written with his own hand, both out of ancient and modern authors, concerning faith, juſtification, and the merit of good works; and concluded with this, that our juſtification was to be aſcribed only to the merits of Chriſt; and that thoſe who are juſtified muſt have charity as well as faith, but that neither of theſe was the meritorious cauſe of juſtification. After this was ſtated, they made next a large and full explanation of the Apoſtles' Creed with great judgment, and many excellent practical inferences. The definition they gave of the Catholic Church runs thus: "It comprehended all aſſemblies of men in "the world that received the faith of Chriſt, who ought "to hold an unity of love and brotherly agreement to-"gether, by which they became members of the Catho-"lic Church." After this they explained the ſeven ſacraments.

1540. The explanation of faith:

In opening theſe there were great debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method uſed was to open the point enquired into by propoſing many queries, and every one was to give in his anſwer to theſe, with the reaſons of it; and then others were appointed to make an abſtract of thoſe things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The original papers relating to theſe points are yet preſerved, which ſhew with how great conſideration they proceeded in the changes that were then made. Cranmer had at this time ſome particular opinions concerning eccleſiaſtical offices; that they were delivered from the King as other civil offices were, and that ordination was not indiſpenſably neceſſary, and was only a ceremony that might be uſed or laid aſide; but that the authority was conveyed to churchmen only by the King's commiſſion; yet he delivered his opinion in this matter with great modeſty; and he not only ſubſcribed the book in which the contrary doctrine was eſtabliſhed, but afterwards publiſhed

And of the ſacraments.

BOOK I. liſhed it in a book which he wrote in King Edward's days; from whence it appears that he changed his mind in this particular. Baptiſm was explained as has been done formerly: penance was made to conſiſt in the abſolution of the prieſts, which had been formerly declared only to be deſirable where it could be had. In the Communion, both tranſubſtantiation, private maſſes, and communion in one kind, were aſſerted: they aſſerted the obligation of the Levitical law about the degrees of marriage, and the indiſſolubleneſs of that bond. They ſet out the divine inſtitution of Prieſts and Deacons; and that no Biſhop had authority over another. They made a long excurſion againſt the Pope's pretenſions, and for juſtifying the King's ſupremacy. They ſaid, confirmation was inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and was profitable, but not neceſſary to ſalvation: and they aſſerted extreme unction to have been commanded by the Apoſtles, for the health both of ſoul and body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained; the ſecond was added to the firſt, but the words, *For I am the Lord thy God, &c.* were left out. It was declared, that no godly honour was to be done unto images, and that they ought only to be reverenced for their ſakes whom they repreſented: therefore the preferring of one image to another, and the making pilgrimages and offerings to them, was condemned; but the cenſing them, or kneeling before them, was permitted; yet the people were to be taught that theſe things were done only to the honour of God. Invocation of ſaints, as interceſſors, was allowed; but immediate addreſſes to them for the bleſſings that were prayed for was condemned. The ſtrict reſt from labour on the ſeventh day was declared to be ceremonial; but it was neceſſary to reſt from ſin and carnal pleaſure, and to follow holy duties. The other commandments were explained in a very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained; and it was aſſerted, that the people ought only to pray in their vulgar tongues for exciting their devotion the more. The Angel's ſalutation to the Virgin was alſo paraphraſed. They handled free-will, and defined it to be a power by which the will, guided by reaſon, did without conſtraint diſcern and chooſe good and evil; the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of itſelf. Grace was ſaid to be offered to all men, but was made effectual by the application of the free-will to it: and grace and free-will did conſiſt well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore preachers were warned not

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not to depreſs either of them too much, in order to the exaltation of the other. Men were juſtified freely by the grace of God, but that was applied by faith, in which both the fear of God, repentance, and amendment of life, were included. All curious reaſonings about predeſtination were condemned; for men could not be aſſured of their election, but by feeling the motions of God's holy Spirit appearing in a good and virtuous life, and perſevering in that to the end. Good works were neceſſary, which were not the ſuperſtitious inventions of monks and friars, nor only moral good works done by the power of nature; but were the works of charity flowing from a pure heart, and faith unfeigned: faſting, and the other fruits of penance, were alſo good works; but of an inferior nature to juſtice and the other virtues: good works were meritorious; yet ſince they were wrought in men by God's Spirit, all boaſting was excluded. They ended with an account of prayer for ſouls departed, almoſt the ſame that was in the Articles publiſhed before. 1540.

The book was writ in a plain and maſculine ſtyle, fit for weak capacities, and yet ſtrong and weighty; and the parts of it that related to practice were admirable. To this they added a preface, declaring the care they had uſed in examining the Scriptures and ancient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this book. The King added another preface, in which he condemned the hypocriſy and ſuperſtition of one ſort, and the preſumption of another ſort: to correct both, he had ordered this book to be made and publiſhed; and he required his people to read and print it in their hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the ſpirit of humility for receiving it aright; and he charged the inferior people to remember that their office was not to teach, but to be taught; and to practiſe what they heard, rather than diſpute about it. But this preface was not added till two years after the book was put out; for it mentions the approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the reſtraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards. The book is publiſhed.

The Reformers were diſſatisfied with many things in the book, yet were glad to find the morals of religion ſo well opened; for the purity of ſoul, which that might effect, would diſpoſe people to ſound opinions; many ſuperſtitious practices were alſo condemned, and the Goſpel covenant was rightly ſtated. One article was alſo aſſerted in it, which opened the way to a further reformation; for every national Church was declared to be a complete body,

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body, with power to reform hereſies, and do every thing that was neceſſary for preſerving its own purity, or governing its members. The Popiſh party thought they had recovered much ground that ſeemed loſt formerly: they knew the Reformers would never ſubmit to all things in this book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were ſafe, being reſolved to comply with him in every thing; and without doing that, it was like to be ſomewhat uneaſy to live in England; for the King's peeviſhneſs grew upon him with his age. Now the correſpondence between the King and the German Princes fell upon the change that was made in the miniſtry, and a ſecret treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Emperor. All the changes that the committee appointed for the ceremonies made, was only the raſure of ſome offices and collects, and the ſetting out of a new primer, with the vulgar devotions for the common people: but the changes were not ſo great, as that it was neceſſary to reprint the miſſals or breviaries; for the old books were ſtill made uſe of. Yet theſe raſures were ſuch, that in Queen Mary's time the old books were all called in, and the nation was put to the charge of buying new ones, which was conſiderable, ſo great was the number of books of offices.

Barnes and others fall into trouble.

The Popiſh party ſtudied now to engage the King into new ſeverities againſt the Reformers; the firſt inſtances of theſe fell on three preachers, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, who had been early wrought on by Luther's books. Barnes had, during Wolſey's greatneſs, reflected much on him in a ſermon which he preached at Cambridge; but Gardiner was then his friend, and brought him off, he having abjured ſome articles that were objected to him; yet upon new complaints he was again put in priſon; but he made his eſcape, and fled to Germany, and became ſo conſiderable, that he was ſent over to England by the King of Denmark, as chaplain to his ambaſſadors; but he went back again. The Biſhop of Hereford meeting him at Smalcald, ſent him over to England, with a ſpecial recommendation to Cromwell: he was after that much employed in the negociations which the King had with the Germans; and had the misfortune to be the firſt that was ſent with the propoſition for Anne of Cleves. In Lent this year, Bonner appointed thoſe three to have their turns at St. Paul's Croſs; Gardiner preached alſo there, and fell on juſtification, which he handled according to the notions of the Schools: but Barnes and the other two did directly

rectly refute his ſermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent reflections on his perſon. This was repreſented to the King as a great inſolence, he being both a Biſhop and a Privy-Counſellor; ſo the King commanded them to go and give him ſatisfaction: he ſeemed to carry the matter with much moderation, and readily forgave all that was perſonal, though it was believed that it ſtuck deep in him. In concluſion, they confeſſed their indiſcretion, and promiſed for the future to be more cautious, and renounced ſome articles of which it was thought their ſermons favoured; as that God was the author of ſin, that good works were not neceſſary to ſalvation, and that princes ought not to be obeyed in all their juſt laws. Some other niceties were in diſpute concerning juſtification; but the King thought theſe were not of ſuch conſequence, that it was neceſſary to make them abjure them. Barnes and his friends were required to preach a recantation-ſermon at the Spittle, and to aſk Gardiner's pardon; but though they obeyed this, yet it was ſaid that in one place they juſtified what they recanted in another; at which the King was ſo much provoked, that, without hearing them, he ſent them to the Tower. At that time Cromwell either could not protect them, or would not interpoſe in a matter which gave the King ſo great offence. When the Parliament came, they were attainted of hereſy, without being brought to make their anſwers: no particular errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as deteſtable heretics, in general words. In the ſame act, by which they were condemned, four others were attainted of treaſon, for being confederated with Reginald Pole, and for intending to ſurpriſe Calais; and as there was a ſtrange mixture in their condemnation, ſo the like was in their executions; for Abel, Featherſton, and Powell, that were attainted in the ſame Parliament for owning the Pope's ſupremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the hurdles in which they were carried to Smithfield; the King in this affecting an extravagant appearance of impartiality in his juſtice.

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Barnes being tied to the ſtake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his belief of them all, and that he abhorred the impious opinions of ſome German Anabaptiſts. He aſſerted the neceſſity of good works, but aſcribed juſtification wholly to the merits of Chriſt; he profeſſed all due reverence to the ſaints, but ſaid he ſaw no warrant to pray to them; he aſked the ſheriff and the people, if they

And burnt.

BOOK I. 1540.

knew for what they were condemned, and what hereſies they were accuſed of; but none made anſwer: he prayed God to forgive all that ſought their death, and in particular, Gardiner, if he had done it; then prayed for the King and the Prince, and expreſſed his loyalty to the King; that he believed all his juſt laws were to be obeyed for conſcience ſake, and that in no caſe it was lawful to reſiſt him: he ſent ſome deſires to the King, as that he would apply the abbey lands to good uſes, and the relief of his poor ſubjects; that he would puniſh the contempt of marriage that was ſo common, and would put a ſtop to the liberty many took of caſting off their wives, and living in whoredom; that ſwearers might be puniſhed, and that ſince the King had begun to ſet forth the Chriſtian religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal yet remained to be done: he aſked the forgiveneſs of all people whom he might have at any time offended, and ſo turned and prepared himſelf for death. Then the other two ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; they declared their faith, and exhorted the people to a good life, and mutual love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the fire was ſet to. The conſtancy they expreſſed, together with the gentleneſs of their deportment towards their enemies, made great impreſſions on the ſpectators, and caſt a heavy imputation on Gardiner, as the procurer of their deaths, though he juſtified himſelf in an apology which he printed, in which he denied any other acceſſion to it, but giving his vote to the bill of attainder. Bonner began now to ſhew himſelf in his own colours: he had courted Cromwell more than any perſon whatſoever; yet the very day after his diſgrace, he ſhewed his ingratitude; for Grafton that had printed the Bible, and was much in Cromwell's favour upon that account, meeting Bonner, expreſſed his ſorrow for Cromwell's being ſent to the Tower; but the other anſwered, that it had been good he had been there much ſooner. Grafton ſaw his error in ſpeaking ſo freely, and went from him: but ſome verſes being printed in Cromwell's praiſe, Bonner informed the Council what Grafton had ſaid to him, and ſo thought it was probable he had printed them; yet he had ſo many friends, that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the act of the ſix Articles; but an order came from the King to ſtop further proceedings; yet he picked out one inſtance which did equally diſcover his brutal cruelty, and his want of judgment. One Mekins, not above fifteen years old, had ſaid ſomewhat againſt

againſt the corporal preſence, and in commendation of Dr. Barnes: the witneſſes differed in their evidence; one ſwore he had ſaid, the Sacrament was only a ceremony; the other ſwore he had ſaid, it was only a ſignification: ſo two grand juries returned an *ignoramus* on the bill; upon which he fell into a fit of curſing and violent rage, and he made the ſecond grand jury go aſide and conſider better of it; they being terrified, found the bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but, hoping to be preſerved by what he ſhould ſay at the ſtake, he railed at Barnes, and praiſed Bonner much; yet that did not ſave him. Two were burnt at Saliſbury, and two at Lincoln, upon the ſame ſtatute, beſides great numbers that were put in priſon. BOOK I. 1540.

In the end of this year the King began to endow the new biſhoprics: Weſtminſter was the firſt, in which he endowed a biſhopric, a deanery, twelve prebendaries, a quire, and other officers. The year after this, he endowed Cheſter, Glouceſter, and Peterborough; but in theſe cathedrals he only endowed ſix prebendaries; two years after he likewiſe endowed Oxford and Briſtol. The foundations had preambles almoſt the ſame with that of the act of Parliament that empowered him to erect them; he promoted the Biſhops to thoſe ſees by a ſpecial writ, though that was to go thereafter in the way of election, as it was in the other ſees: he alſo converted the priories of Canterbury, Wincheſter, Durham, Worceſter, Ely, Rocheſter, and Carliſle, into collegiate churches, conſiſting of deans and prebendaries. But as all this came far ſhort of what the King had firſt intended, ſo the channel in which thoſe foundations run, differed much from what Cranmer had projected, whoſe intereſt was ſo low at Court, that his opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have reſtored the cathedrals to what they had been at firſt, to be colleges and nurſeries for the dioceſe, and to have ſet up readers of the learned tongues, and of divinity in them, that ſo a conſiderable number of young clerks might have been trained up under the Biſhop's eye, both in their ſtudies, and in a courſe of devotion, to be by him put afterwards in livings, according to their merit and improvements. The want of ſuch houſes for the ſtrict education of thoſe who are to ſerve in the Church, has been the occaſion of many fatal conſequences ſince that time, by the ſcandals which men initiated to the ſacred functions (before they were well prepared for them) have given the world. The Popiſh New ſees founded.

BOOK I.

party beyond ſea cenſured theſe endowments, both as being a very defective reſtitution of the lands that had been invaded, and as an invaſion on the ſpiritual authority, when
1540. the King divided dioceſes, and removed churches from one juriſdiction, and put them under another. To which it was anſwered, that as their practices againſt the King had put him to ſuch a charge, that he could not execute what he at firſt intended; ſo both the Roman Emperors, and other Chriſtian Kings, had regulated and divided the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleaſed. Ely in England was taken out of Lincoln only by the King and his Parliament, though P. Nicolaus did officiouſly ſend a confirmation of it; that being an art of the Papacy to offer confirmations unſought, and afterwards to found a right on ſuch a precedent; ſo that the receiving a confirmation, was made to paſs for an acknowledgment of an authority in that ſee to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that ſuch things could not be done without their conſent. Here the ſeries of the King's advances towards a reformation ends; what he did after this was by ſtarts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: nor was he ſteady in his councils in ſtate affairs: he had no miniſter about him that had an aſcendant over him. Sickneſs and years increaſed his imperious temper, ſo that his counſellors had a hard taſk to pleaſe him, and many errors were committed by him.

1541. The Bible ſet up in churches.

A new impreſſion of the Bible was at this time finiſhed: and the King required all pariſhes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowtide, under the pain of forty ſhillings a month after that, till they had got one. The people were alſo charged not to diſpute about it, nor to diſturb divine ſervice by reading it during the maſs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their inſtruction and edification. Six of theſe were ſet up in divers places of St. Paul's: but Bonner, being afraid of the miſchief they might do, poſted up near them, as admonition to the people, that none ſhould read them with vainglory and corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about thoſe that read; and ſuch as had good voices uſed to be reading them aloud a great part of the day. Many ſent their children to ſchool, and, when they had learned to read, they carried them to Church to read their Bibles; ſome began likewiſe to argue from them, particularly againſt taking away the chalice in the communion, and the worſhip in

an unknown tongue; upon which Bonner set up a new advertisement, and threatened to remove them, if these abuses were not corrected: and upon the complaints made of those things, the free use of the Scriptures was afterwards much restrained. This year the King added to his former foundations two collegiate churches at Burton upon Trent, and Thornton, consisting of a dean and four prebendaries apiece. Cranmer, observing the excesses at Bishops' tables, by which, under the name of hospitality, so much was consumed in great entertainments, that they were disabled from more necessary and profitable acts of charity, made a regulation, that an Archbishop should not have above six dishes of meat, and four of banquet; a Bishop not above five of meat, and four of banquet; a Dean or Archdeacon not above four, and two of the one and the other; and inferior Churchmen might not have above two dishes. But this did not take effect, and sumptuous tables still continued, though the revenues were much impaired; and thus, besides the other ill effects of these, a great part of the Church rents goes for entertaining the rich, which should be applied to the poor.

BOOK I. 1541.

This summer the King went to York, to meet his nephew the King of Scotland, who promised him an interview there. He was an extraordinary prince, a great patron both of learning and justice; but out of measure addicted to his pleasures. The Clergy of Scotland were very apprehensive of his seeing his uncle, left King Henry might have persuaded him to follow the copy he had set to his neighbours; and they used such persuasions, that these, seconded by a message from France, diverted the King from his purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an account of the state of Scotland at this time. The long alliance between Scotland and France, made that Paris was the place where the learned of that nation had their education: yet after the year 1412, learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several episcopal sees. At the same time some of Wickliff's followers began to creep into Scotland; and one Resby, an Englishman, was burned (1407.) for teaching some opinions contrary to the Pope's authority. Some years after that, Paul Craw, an Hussite and Bohemian, was burnt, for infusing the opinions of that party into some at St. Andrew's. About the end of that century, Lollardy, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the diocese in Glasgow; for which several persons of quality were accused; but they answered the Archbishop of that see with

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ſuch aſſurance, that he diſmiſſed them, having admoniſhed them to content themſelves with the faith of the Church, and to beware of new doctrines. The ſame ſpirit of ignorance, immorality, and ſuperſtition, had overrun the Clergy there, that was ſo much complained of in the other parts of Europe; only it may be ſuppoſed, that in nations leſs polite and learned, it was in proportion greater than it was elſewhere. The total neglect of the paſtoral care, and the groſs ſcandals of the Clergy, poſſeſſed the people with ſuch prejudices againſt them, that they were eaſily diſpoſed to hearken to new preachers. Patrick Hamilton, nobly born, nephew by his father to the Earl of Arran, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother, was bred up on deſign to be highly preferred, and had an abbey given him for proſecuting his ſtudies: he went to travel, and in Germany grew acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and being poſſeſſed with their opinions, he returned to Scotland, and laid open the errors and corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. Andrew's to confer concerning theſe points, upon which he was condemned, and put in priſon. Articles were objected to him, and, upon his refuſing to abjure them, Beaton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three Biſhops, and five Abbots, condemned him as an obſtinate heretic, and delivered him to the ſecular power, and ordered the execution to be that afternoon; for the King had gone in pilgrimage to Roſs, and they were afraid leſt, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually for him. He was tied to the ſtake, and expreſſed great joys in his ſufferings, ſince by theſe he was to enter into everlaſting life. A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face; ſo a ſtop was made till more powder was brought: and in that time the friars called oft to him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, and to ſay the *Salve Regina*. One Friar Campbel was very officious among the reſt, who had been oft with him in priſon. He anſwered him, that he knew he was not an heretic, and had confeſſed it to him in private; and he charged him to anſwer for that to God. By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating theſe words, *Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul*. Campbel became ſoon after frantic, and died within a year. Both theſe laid together, made great impreſſions on the people: and now that theſe points began to be enquired into, many received the new opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the King's confeſſor, preaching in Lent, ſet out

out the nature of true repentance, and the method to it, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that ſubject; and when another friar ſhewed the defectiveneſs of what he had taught, he defended himſelf in another ſermon, and reflected on thoſe Biſhops that did not preach, and called them dumb dogs. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill terms with the King; and the freedom he uſed in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they reſolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into England, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to reſtrain it. One Foreſt, an ignorant Benedictine, was accuſed for having ſpoken honourably of Patrick Hamilton, and was put in priſon. In confeſſion to a friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might be defended. The friar diſcovered this, and it was received as evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Biſhops' courts, of whom the greateſt part abjured; but two were more reſolute; one Gourley denied purgatory, and the Pope's authority; another was David Smeton, who being a fiſherman, had refuſed to pay the tithe of his fiſh; and when the Vicar came to take them, he ſaid, the tithe was taken where the ſtock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth fiſh into the ſea: for this and other opinions he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one ſtake. Several others were accuſed, of whom ſome fled to England, and others went over to Germany. The changes made in England raiſed in all the people a curioſity of ſearching into matters of religion, and that was always fatal to ſuperſtition. Pope Clement the Seventh wrote earneſtly to the King of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholic faith: upon which he called a Parliament, and made new laws for maintaining the Pope's authority, and proceeding againſt heretics; yet the Pope could not engage him to make war on England. King Henry ſent Barlow, Biſhop of St. David's, to him, with ſome books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and deſired him to examine them impartially. He alſo propoſed the interview at York, and a match between him and the Lady Mary, the King's eldeſt daughter, and promiſed that he ſhould be made Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and perſuaded him to go in perſon to France, and court the daughter of that King,

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Magdalene. He married her in January 1537; but ſhe died in May. She had been bred in the Queen of Navarre's court, and ſo was well diſpoſed towards the Reformation. Upon her death, the King married Mary of Guiſe; ſhe was a branch of the family, that of all Europe was moſt zealouſly addicted to the old ſuperſtition; and her intereſt, joined with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent perſecutor of all that were of another mind.

A perſecution ſet on foot in Scotland.

The King was very expenſive, both in his pleaſures and buildings, and had a numerous race of baſtards; ſo that he came to want money much. The nobility propoſed to him the ſeizing on the abbey-lands, as his uncle had done. The Clergy, on the other hand, adviſed him to proceed ſeverely againſt all ſuſpected of hereſy: by which means, according to the liſts they ſhewed him, he might raiſe one hundred thouſand crowns a year: they alſo adviſed him to provide his children to abbeys and priories; and repreſented to him, that if he continued ſtedfaſt in the old religion, he would ſtill have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league, which was then in project againſt King Henry. This ſo far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his ſons Abbots and Priors, ſo he gave way to the perſecuting ſpirit of the Clergy; upon which, many were cited to anſwer for hereſy: of theſe many abjured, and ſome were baniſhed. A canon regular, a ſecular prieſt, two friars, and a gentleman, were burnt. Foreſt, the canon regular, had been reproved by his ordinary, the Biſhop of Dunkell, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Teſtament, but contented himſelf with his portoiſe and pontifical; and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himſelf with ſuch fancies. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was a very moderate man, and diſliked cruel proceedings. Ruſſel, a friar, and Kennedy, a young man of eighteen years of age, were brought before him; they expreſſed wonderful joy, and a ſteady reſolution in their ſufferings; and, after a long diſpute between Ruſſel and the Biſhop's Divines, Ruſſel concluded, "This is your hour, "and the power of darkneſs; go on, and fill up the mea- "ſures of your iniquities." The Archbiſhop was unwilling to give ſentence; he ſaid, he thought theſe executions did the Church more hurt than good. But thoſe about him told him, he muſt not take a way different from the reſt of the Biſhops, and threatened him ſo, that he pronounced

nounced ſentence. They were burnt; but they gave ſuch demonſtrations of patience and joy, as made no ſmall impreſſion on all that ſaw it, or heard of it. Among thoſe that were in trouble, George Buchanan was one, who at the King's inſtigations had writ a very ſharp poem againſt the Franciſcans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his eſcape, and lived twenty years in foreign parts, and at laſt returned to do his country honour; and what by his immortal poems, what by his hiſtory of Scotland, he ſhewed both how great a maſter he was in the Roman tongue, and how true a judge he was both in wit, and in the knowledge of human affairs, (if paſſion had not corrupted him towards the end of his hiſtory,) that he is juſtly to be reckoned one of the greateſt and beſt of modern writers. So much of the affairs of Scotland, the author's native country.

1541.

King Henry ſtayed not long at York, ſince his nephew came not to him. He ſet out a proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppreſſed, to come in and make their complaints, and he promiſed to repair them. This was done to caſt the load of all paſt errors upon Cromwell. The King was mightily wrought on by the charms of his wife; ſo that on the firſt of November he gave public thanks to God for the happy choice he had made: but this did not laſt long; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill life, which one Laſſells had revealed to him, as having learned it from his ſiſter. She had been very lewd before her marriage, both with one Deirham, and one Mannock. Cranmer, by the advice of the other Privy Counſellors, put this in writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in diſcourſe. The King was ſtruck with it, and at firſt inclined to believe it was a forgery; yet he ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found proof enough; for the Queen had ſo far caſt off both modeſty, and the fear of a diſcovery, that ſeveral women had been witneſſes to her lewdneſs. It alſo appeared, that ſhe had intended to continue in that ill courſe; for ſhe had brought Deirham into her ſervice; and at Lincoln, by the Lady Rochford's means, one Culpeper was brought to her in the night, and ſtayed many hours with her in a cellar, and at his going away ſhe gave him a gold chain. The Queen, after a ſlight denial which ſhe made at firſt, did at laſt confeſs all. Deirham and Culpeper were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a committee was ſent to examine the Queen: their

The Queen's ill life is diſcovered.

BOOK I. their report is recorded only in general, that she confessed, but no particulars are mentioned. Upon that they passed an act, in the form of a petition. In it they prayed the 1541. King, "that the Queen and her complices, with her "bawd, the Lady Rochford, might be attainted of treason: "and that all those who knew of the Queen's vicious course "before her marriage, might be attainted of misprision of "treason, for not revealing it to the King before he mar-"ried her. Among those were her father and mother, "and her grandmother, the Duchess of Norfolk. It was "also declared treason to know any thing of the incon-"tinence of any Queen for the future, and not to reveal "it. And it was made treason in any whom the King "intended to marry, judging they were maids, not to re-"veal it, if they were not such." The Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the 14th of February. She confessed her incontinence before her marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her wedlock, though the lasciviousness of her former life made the world easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the judgments of God on the Lady Rochford, who had been so instrumental in the ruin of Anne Boleyn, and of her husband: and when she, to whose artifices their fall was in a great measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a woman, it tended much to raise their reputation again. The attainting her kindred and parents, for not discovering her former lewdness, was thought extreme severity: for it had been a hard piece of duty to the King, in them, to have discovered such a secret. Yet though they lay some time in prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his rage was a little qualified. That other proviso, obliging a young woman to discover her own faultiness, if the King should make love to her, was thought a piece of grievous tyranny: and upon this, those that rallied that sex, took occasion to say, that after this, none who was reputed a maid, could be induced to marry the King; so that it was not so much choice as necessity that made him marry a widow two years after. Some hospitals were this year resigned to the King: but there was good ground to question the validity of those deeds, because by their statutes it was provided, that the consent of all the fellows was necessary to make their deeds good in law. So those statutes were now by a special act annulled, and this made way for the dissolution of many hospitals.

A design to suppress the Bible.

The Bishops sitting in convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible; but the King could not be prevailed

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prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the tranſlation then ſet out; and intended to procure a condemnation of that, and then to ſet about a new one, in which it would be eaſy to put ſuch delays, that it ſhould not be finiſhed in many years. Gardiner did alſo propoſe a ſingular conceit, that many of the Latin words ſhould be ſtill retained in the Engliſh; for he thought that they had either ſuch a majeſty, or ſo peculiar a ſignification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He propoſed an hundred of thoſe, and it ſeems hoped, that if this could be carried, the tranſlation would be ſo full of Latin words, that the people ſhould not underſtand it for all its being in Engliſh. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-ſore of that party, and that they were reſolved to ſuppreſs it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the King, referring the correction of the tranſlation to the two Univerſities. The Biſhops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Biſhops of Ely and Saint David's, proteſted againſt it.

Bonner's injunctions.

At this time Bonner gave ſome injunctions to his Clergy, which had a ſtrain in them ſo far different from the other parts of his life, that it is probable he drew them not himſelf. "He required his Clergy to read "every day a chapter in the Bible, with ſome gloſs upon "it; and to ſtudy the book ſet out by the Biſhops: that "they ſhould employ no Curates, but ſuch as he approv-"ed of: that they ſhould take care to inſtruct young "children well in the principles of the Chriſtian religion: "that they ſhould not go to taverns, nor uſe unlawful "games, chiefly on Sundays or holy-days: that they "ſhould perform all the duties of their function decently "and ſeriouſly: that they ſhould ſuffer no plays nor in-"terludes in churches: and that in their ſermons they "ſhould explain the Goſpel and Epiſtle for the day, and "ſtudy to ſtir up the people to good works, and to prayer; "and ſhould explain all the ceremonies of the Church, "but ſhould forbear all railing, or the reciting of fabu-"lous ſtories, and ſhould chiefly ſet forth the excellencies "of virtue, and the vileneſs of ſin: and that none, under "the degree of a Biſhop, ſhould preach without a li-"cence."

The way of preaching in that time.

In the former times there had been few or no ſermons except in Lent; for on holy-days the ſermons were panegyrics on the ſaints, and on the virtue of their relics: but in Lent there was a more ſolemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathe-

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tic ſermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the affections of the people; yet theſe for the moſt part tended to extol ſome of the laws of the Church, as faſting, confeſſion, and other auſterities, with the making pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the people, as little as was poſſible, of the true ſimplicity of Chriſtianity, or the Scriptures; and they ſeemed to deſign rather to raiſe a ſudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had alſo mixed ſo much out of legends with their ſermons, that the people came to diſbelieve all that they ſaid for the ſake of thoſe fabulous things with which their ſermons were embaſed. The Reformers took great care to inſtruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly: this made the nation run after theſe teachers with a wonderful zeal; but they mixed too much ſharpneſs againſt the friars in their ſermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; though their hypocriſy and cheats did in a great meaſure excuſe thoſe heats: and it was obſerved, that our Saviour had expoſed the Phariſees in ſo plain a manner, that it did very much juſtify the treating them with ſome roughneſs; yet it is not to be denied, but reſentments for the cruelties they or their friends had ſuffered by their means, might have too much influence on them. This made it ſeem neceſſary to ſuffer none to preach, at leaſt out of their own pariſhes, without licence, and many were licenſed to preach as itinerants. There was alſo a book of Homilies on all the Epiſtles and Goſpels in the year put out, which contained a plain paraphraſe of thoſe parcels of Scripture; together with ſome practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of thoſe that were licenſed to preach; and, that they might be able to juſtify themſelves, they began generally to write and read their ſermons: and thus did this cuſtom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of delivery, is much made up by the ſtrength and ſolidity of the matter, and has produced many volumes of as excellent ſermons as have been preached in any age. Plays and interludes were a great abuſe in that time; in them mock-repreſentations were made both of the Clergy and of the pageantry of their worſhip. The Clergy complained much of theſe as an introduction to atheiſm, when things ſacred were thus laughed at; and ſaid, they that begun to laugh at abuſes, would not ceaſe till they had repreſented all the myſteries of religion as ridiculous:

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the graver ſort of reformers did not approve of it, but political men encouraged it, and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the abuſes that yet remained, than the expoſing them to the ſcorn of the nation.

A war with Scotland.

A war did now break out between England and Scotland, at the inſtigation of the King of France. King Henry ſet out a declaration, pretending, that the Crown of Scotland owed homage to him; and cited many precedents to ſhew that homage was done not only by their Kings, but by conſent of the States; for which original records were appealed to. The Scots, on the other hand, aſſerted, that they were a free and independent kingdom; that the homages anciently made by their Kings, were only for lands which they had in England; and that thoſe more lately made were either offered by pretenders, in caſe of a doubtful title, or were extorted by force: and they ſaid, their Kings could not give up the rights of a free crown and people. The Duke of Norfolk made an inroad into Scotland, with twenty thouſand men in October: but after he had burnt ſome ſmall towns, and waſted Teviotdale, he returned back to England. In the end of November an army of fifteen thouſand Scots, with a good train of artillery, was brought together: they intended to march into England by the weſtern road. The King went to it in perſon, but he was at this time much diſturbed in his fancy, and thought the ghoſt of one whom he had unjuſtly put to death, followed him continually; he not only left the army, but ſent a commiſſion to Oliver Sinclare, then called his minion, to command in chief. This diſguſted the nobility very much, who were become weary of the inſolence of that favourite: ſo they refuſed to march, and were beginning to ſeparate. While they were in this diſorder, five hundred Engliſh appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore party of the Duke of Norfolk's army, refuſed to fight; ſo the Engliſh fell upon them and diſperſed them: they took all their ordnance and baggage, and one thouſand priſoners, of whom two hundred were gentlemen. The chief of theſe were the Earls of Glencarn and Caſſilis. The news of this ſo overcharged the melancholy King, that he died ſoon after, leaving only an infant daughter newly born to ſucceed him. The lords that were taken were brought up to London, and lodged in the houſes of the Engliſh nobility: Caſſilis was ſent to Lambeth, where he received thoſe ſeeds of knowledge, which produced afterwards a great harveſt in Scotland. The other priſoners were alſo inſtructed

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inſtructed to ſuch a degree, that they came to have very different thoughts of the changes that had been made in England, from what the Scottiſh Clergy had poſſeſſed them with, who had encouraged their King to engage in a war, both by the aſſurance of victory, ſince he fought againſt an heretical prince, and the contribution of fifty thouſand crowns a year. The King's death, and the crown's falling to his daughter, made the Engliſh Council lay hold on this as a proper conjuncture for uniting the whole iſland in one: therefore they ſent for the Scottiſh lords, and propoſed to them the marrying the Prince of Wales to their young Queen: this the Scots liked very well, and promiſed to promote it all they could: and ſo, upon their giving hoſtages for the performing their promiſes faithfully, they were ſent home, and went away much pleaſed both with the ſplendour of the King's Court, and with the way of religion which they had ſeen in England.

A Parliament called.

A Parliament was called, in which the King had great ſubſidies given him, of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. A bill was propoſed for the advancement of true religion, by Cranmer, and ſome other Biſhops; for the ſpirits of the Popiſh party were much fallen ever ſince the laſt Queen's death; yet at this time a treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Emperor, which raiſed them a little: for ſince the King was like to engage in a war with France, it was neceſſary for him to make the Emperor his friend. Cranmer's motion was much oppoſed, and the timorous Biſhops forſook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, though in moſt points things went againſt him. "By it Tindall's tranſlation of "the Bible was condemned as crafty and falſe, and alſo "all other books contrary to the doctrine ſet forth by the "Biſhops. But Bibles of another tranſlation were ſtill "allowed to be kept, only all prefaces or annotations "that might be in them were to be daſhed, or cut out: "all the King's injunctions were confirmed: no books of "religion might be printed without licence; there was "to be no expoſition of Scripture in plays or interludes; "none of the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain "it in any public aſſembly: but a proviſo was made for "public ſpeeches, which then began generally with a "text of Scripture, and were like ſermons. Noblemen, "gentlemen and their wives, or merchants, might have "Bibles; but no ordinary woman, tradeſman, apprentice, "or huſbandman, might have any. Every perſon might

An act about religion.

"have

" have the book set out by the Bishops, and the Psalter " and other rudiments of religion in English. All Church- " men that preached contrary to that book, for the first " offence, were only required to recant; for the second, to " abjure and carry a faggot; but were to be burnt for " the third: the Laity for the third offence were only to " forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to per- " petual imprisonment; but they were to be proceeded " against within a year: the parties accused were not al- " lowed witnesses for their purgation. The act of the six " Articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the King " to change this act, or any proviso in it." There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the King's proclamations, and any nine Privy Counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. To this the Lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only instance of any protestation against any of the public acts that passed in this whole reign. By the act about religion, as the Laity were delivered from the fear of burning, so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third conviction. The act being also put entirely in the King's power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy, for he could bind up the act, or execute it as he pleased; and he affected this much, to have his people depend entirely upon him. The league offensive and defensive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was sworn by the King and the Emperor; and assurances were given, that though the King would not declare Lady Mary legitimate, upon which the Emperor insisted much, yet she should be put in the succession to the Crown next Prince Edward. The Emperor was glad thus to engage the Kings of England and France in a war, by which the Germans were left without support; and so he resolved to carry on his great design of making himself master of Germany.

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In Scotland the Earl of Arran, Hamilton, next in blood to the young Queen, was established in the government during the Queen's minority: he was a man of great virtue, and much inclined to the Reformation, but was soft and easy to be wrought on. King Henry sent Sir Ralph Sadler to him, to induce him to set forward the match, and to offer him Lady Elizabeth to his son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the young Queen should be bred in Scotland till she was ten years old, the King of England sending a nobleman and his Lady, with others, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her; and after that age she was to be sent to England; and in the

Affairs in Scotland.

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1542. the mean while ſix hoſtages were to be given; but all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal Beaton, ſet themſelves much againſt this. The Queen-mother oppoſed it much, and it was alſo ſaid, a match with the French would be more for the intereſt of the nation, who being at ſo great a diſtance, could not oppreſs them ſo eaſily as the Engliſh might; for if the French oppreſſed them, the Engliſh would be ready to protect them; but if they came under the yoke of England, they could expect no protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that antipathy that was then formed between the two nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the people generally to prefer a match with France, to that which was propoſed for the Prince of Wales. The French ſent over the Earl of Lennox to make a party againſt the Governor; they ſent alſo over the Governor's baſe brother, afterwards made Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, to take him out of the hands of the Engliſh; and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his oppoſition to the intereſts of Rome, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a ſecond marriage, while the firſt that was annulled, becauſe of a precontract, did ſubſiſt; for if the annulling the firſt ſhould be reverſed, then the ſecond could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of Lennox, who was next to him in blood, would be preferred to him: theſe threatenings, joined with his brother's artifices, had their full effect on him; for he turned off wholly from the intereſts of England, and gave himſelf up to the French councils. When it was thus reſolved to break the match with England, the Lords that had left hoſtages for their faithful performing the promiſes they made to King Henry, were little concerned either in their own honour, or in the ſafety of their hoſtages: only the Earl of Caſſilis thought it was unworthy of him to break his faith in ſuch a manner; ſo he came into England, and put himſelf in King Henry's hands, who upon that called him another Regulus, but uſed him better, for he gave him his liberty, and a noble preſent, and ſent him back with his hoſtages, but reſolved to take a ſevere reparation of thoſe who had failed him in that kingdom. At the ſame time he began the war with France; one of the reaſons he gave for it was, that Francis had failed in the matter of ſhaking off the Pope's authority, and advancing a reformation, in which he had promiſed to ſecond him.

The King married Catharine Parre, widow to Nevil, Lord

Lord Latimer: ſhe ſecretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a ſtorm which fell then on a ſociety at Windſor. Pearſon a prieſt, Teſtwood and Marbeck, two ſinging-men, and Filmer, one of the town, were informed againſt by Dr. London, who had inſinuated himſelf much into Cromwell's favour, and was eminently zealous in the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries: but now he made his court no leſs dexterouſly to the Popiſh party. Gardiner moved in council, that a commiſſion might be granted for ſearching all ſuſpected houſes, for books written againſt the ſix Articles: ſo the four before mentioned were found to have ſome of them, and upon that account were ſeized on. Sir Philip Hobbey, and Dr. Hains, Dean of Exeter, were alſo put in priſon. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and ſome notes upon it, in Engliſh, found written by Marbeck, which was looked on as the work of ſome learned man, for it was known that he was illiterate. Marbeck ſaid, the notes were his own, gathered by him out of ſuch books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he ſaid he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an Engliſh Bible, though he underſtood little Latin. He had brought it to the letter L. This ſeemed ſo incredible, that it was looked on only as a pretence to conceal the true author; ſo, to try him, they gave him ſome words of the letter M, and ſhut him up, with a Latin Concordance and an Engliſh Bible; and by his performance in that, they clearly ſaw, that the whole work was his own, and were not a little aſtoniſhed at the ingeniouſneſs and diligence of ſo poor a man. When the King heard of it, he ſaid, Marbeck was better employed than they were that examined him: ſo he was preſerved, though the other three were condemned for ſome words which they had ſpoken againſt the maſs, and upon that were burnt. Dr. London, and Simonds an attorney, had taken ſome informations againſt ſeveral perſons of quality at court, and intended to have carried the deſign very high. But a great packet, in which all their project was diſcloſed by them, being intercepted, they were ſent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon oath, not knowing that their letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own hand-writing was ſhewed them. So they were convicted of perjury, and were ſet on a pillory, and made ride about with their faces to the horſes tails, and papers on their breaſts, in three ſeveral places, which did ſo affect Dr. London, that he died ſoon after.

1543. Some burnt at Windſor.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popiſh party

BOOK I.

was Cranmer's ruin: Gardiner employed many to infuſe it into the King, that he gave the chief encouragement to hereſy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root ſtill growing. The King till then would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to penetrate into the depth of this deſign, he was willing to draw out all that was to be ſaid againſt him. Gardiner reckoned, that this point being gained, all the reſt would follow; and judged that the King was now alienated from him; and ſo more inſtruments and artifices than ever were now made uſe of. A long paper of many particulars, both againſt Cranmer and his chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King ſent for him; and after he had complained much of the hereſy in England, he ſaid, he reſolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example. Cranmer wiſhed him firſt to conſider well what hereſy was, that ſo he might not condemn thoſe as heretics, who ſtood for the Word of God againſt human inventions. Then the King told him frankly, that he was the man complained of as moſt guilty; and ſhewed him all the informations that he had received againſt him. Cranmer confeſſed he was ſtill of the ſame mind that he was of when he oppoſed the ſix Articles, and ſubmitted himſelf to a trial: he confeſſed many things to the King, in particular, that he had a wife; but he ſaid he had ſent her out of England, when the act of the ſix Articles paſſed; and expreſſed ſo great a ſincerity, and put ſo entire a confidence in the King, that, inſtead of being ruined, he was now better eſtabliſhed with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint ſome to examine the contrivance that was laid to deſtroy him. He anſwered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cauſe, in which himſelf was concerned: yet the King was poſitive; ſo he named ſome to go about it, and the whole ſecret was found out. It appeared, that Gardiner and Dr. London had been the chief ſticklers, and had encouraged informers to appear againſt him. Cranmer did not preſs the King to give him any reparation; for he was ſo noted for his readineſs to forgive injuries, and to do good for evil, that it was commonly ſaid, that the beſt way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury: of this he gave ſignal inſtances at this time, both in relation to ſome of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly ſpirit, that became all the followers of Chriſt; but more particularly one that was ſo great

1543. Cranmer's ruin is deſigned.

great an inſtrument in reforming the Chriſtian religion; and did in ſuch eminent acts of charity ſhew that he himſelf practiſed that which he taught others to do.

1544.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great act of ſucceſſion to the crown paſſed: "By it the crown was "firſt provided to Prince Edward and his heirs, or the "heirs by the King's preſent marriage; after them to Lady "Mary and Lady Elizabeth; and in caſe they had no iſſue, "or did not obſerve ſuch limitations or conditions as the "King ſhould appoint, then it was to fall to any other "whom the King ſhould name, either by his letters pa-"tents, or by his laſt will ſigned with his hand. An oath "was appointed both againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and "for the maintaining the ſucceſſion according to this act, "which all were required to take, under the pains of "treaſon. It was made treaſon to ſay or write any thing "contrary to this act, or to the ſlander of any of the "King's heirs named in it." By this, though the King did not legitimate his daughters, yet it was made criminal for any to object baſtardy to them. Another act paſſed, qualifying the ſeverity of the act of the ſix Articles: none were to be impriſoned but upon a legal preſentment, except upon the King's warrant. None was to be challenged for words, but within a year; nor for a ſermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent ſuch conſpiracies as had been diſcovered the former year. Another act paſſed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two to reform the eccleſiaſtical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and, to ſet it forward, he drew out of the canon law a collection of many things againſt the regal and for the papal authority, with ſeveral other very extravagant propoſitions, to ſhew how indecent a thing it was to let a book, in which ſuch things were, continue ſtill in any credit in England: but he could not bring it to any good iſſue during this reign. Another act paſſed, diſcharging all the King's debts; and they alſo required ſuch as had received payment, to bring back the money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of groſs injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that, ſince the King had done this once before, he could have the credit to raiſe more money, and be tempted to do it a ſecond time. A general pardon was granted, out of which hereſy was excepted.

The act of the ſucceſſion.

The King was now engaged in a war both with France and Scotland; and to make his treaſure hold out the longer, he embaſed the coin in a very extraordinary manner. The Earl

The King makes war on France and Scotland.

BOOK I.

Earl of Hertford was ſent with an army by ſea to Scotland: he landed at Grantham, a little above Leith. He burned both Leith and Edinburgh; but he neither ſtayed to
1544. take the caſtle of Edinburgh, nor did he fortify Leith, but only waſted the country all the way from that to Berwick. He did too much, if it was intended to gain the hearts of that nation, and too little, if it was intended to ſubdue them; for this did only inflame their ſpirits more, by which they were ſo united in their averſion to England, that the Earl of Lennox, who had been caſt off by France, and was gone over to the Engliſh intereſt, could make no party in the weſt, but was forced, for his own preſervation, to fly into England. Audley the Chancellor dying at this time, Wriotheſly, that was of the Popiſh party, was put in his place, and Dr. Petre, that was hitherto Cranmer's friend, was made Secretary of State, ſo equally did the King keep the balance between both parties; and being to croſs the ſeas, he left a commiſſion for the adminiſtration of affairs, during his abſence, to the Queen, the Archbiſhop, the Chancellor, the Earl of Hertford, and Secretary Petre: and if they ſhould have any occaſion to raiſe any force, he appointed the Earl of Hertford his lieutenant. He gave order alſo to tranſlate the Prayers, and Proceſſions, and Litanies, into the Engliſh tongue; which gave the Reformers ſome hopes again, that he had not quite caſt off his deſigns of reforming ſuch abuſes as had crept into the worſhip of God. And they hoped, that the reaſons which prevailed with the King for this would alſo induce him to order a tranſlation of all the other Offices into the Engliſh tongue.

The King takes Boulogne.

The King croſſed the ſea with great pomp, the ſails of his ſhip being of cloth of gold. He ſat down before Boulogne, and took it after a ſiege of two months. It was ſoon after very near being retaken by a ſurpriſe; but the garriſon being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this ſingle town, as if he had conquered a kingdom. The inroads that were made into Scotland this winter were unſucceſsful.

1545. The King of France ſet out a fleet of above three hundred ſhips, and the King ſet out an hundred ſail: on both ſides they were only merchantmen hired upon this occaſion. The French made two deſcents upon England, but were beat back with loſs. The Engliſh made a deſcent in Normandy, and burned ſome towns. The Princes of Germany ſaw their danger if this war went on; for the Pope

Pope and Emperor had made a league for procuring obedience to the Council that was now opened at Trent. The Emperor was raiſing an army, though he had made peace, both with the King of France and the Turk; and was reſolved to make good uſe of this opportunity, the two Crowns being now in war. So the Germans ſent to mediate a peace between them; but it ſtuck long at the buſineſs of Boulogne. 1545.

Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York, died this year. Holgate was removed from Landaff thither, who in his heart favoured the reformation. Kitchin was put in Landaff, who turned with every change that was made. Heath was removed from Rocheſter to Worceſter, and Holbeach was put in Rocheſter. Day was made Biſhop of Chicheſter. All thoſe were moderate men, and well diſpoſed to a reformation, at leaſt to comply with it.

Wiſhart burnt in Scotland.

This year Wiſhart was burnt in Scotland: he was educated at Cambridge, and went home the former year. In many places he preached againſt idolatry, and the other abuſes in religion. He ſtayed long at Dundee; but by the means that Cardinal Beaton uſed, he was driven out of that town; and at his departure he denounced heavy judgments on them, for rejecting the Goſpel. He went and preached in many other places; and, entrance to the churches being denied him, he preached in the fields. He would not ſuffer the people to open the church doors by violence, for that, he ſaid, became not the Goſpel of peace which he preached to them. He heard the plague had broke out in Dundee, within four days after he was baniſhed; ſo he returned thither, and took care of the ſick, and did all the offices of a faithful paſtor among them. He ſhewed his gentleneſs towards his enemies, by reſcuing a prieſt that was coming to kill him, but was diſcovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the people. He foretold ſeveral extraordinary things, particularly his own ſufferings, and the ſpreading the reformation over the land. He preached laſt in Lothian, and there the Earl of Bothwell took him, but promiſed, upon his honour, that no harm ſhould be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrew's, and called a meeting of Biſhops thither, to deſtroy him with the more ſolemnity. The Governor being much preſſed to it by a worthy gentleman of his name, Hamilton of Preſton, ſent the Cardinal word not to proceed againſt him, till he ſhould come and hear the matter examined himſelf. But the Cardinal went on, and in a public court condemned

BOOK I. him as an heretic, upon ſeveral articles that were objected to him, which he confeſſed, and offered to juſtify. The night after that he ſpent in prayer: next morning he de-
1545. fired he might have the ſacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution in both kinds; but that being denied him, he conſecrated the elements himſelf, and ſome about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the ſtake near the Cardinal's palace; who was ſet in ſtate in a great window, and looked on this ſad ſpectacle. Wiſhart declared, that he felt much joy within himſelf in offering up his life for the name of Chriſt, and exhorted the people not to be offended at the Word of God, for the ſake of the croſs. After the fire was ſet to, and was burning him, he ſaid, "This flame has ſcorched my "body, but hath not daunted my ſpirits;" and he foretold, "that the Cardinal ſhould in a few days be igno-"miniouſly laid out in that very place where he now ſat "in ſo much ſtate." But as he ſpake that, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck ſo ſtraight, that theſe were the laſt words.

The Clergy rejoiced much at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage for proceeding in it againſt the Governor's orders. But the people looked on him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was alſo ſaid that his death was no leſs than murder, ſince no writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a warrant from the ſecular power: ſo it was inferred that the Cardinal deſerved to die for it; and if his greatneſs ſet him above the law, then private perſons might execute that which the Governor could not do: ſuch practices had been formerly too common in that kingdom; and now upon this occaſion ſome gentlemen of quality came to think it would be an heroical action to conſpire his death. His inſolence had rendered him generally very hateful: ſo private and public reſentments concurring, twelve perſons entered into a fatal engagement of killing him privately in his houſe. On the 30th of May they firſt ſurpriſed the gate early in the morning; and though there were an hundred lodged in the caſtle, yet they being aſleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or ſhut them up in their chambers. Having made all ſure, they came to the Cardinal's chamber door: he was faſt aſleep, but by their rudeneſs he was both awakened, and perceived they had a deſign on his life. Upon the aſſurance of life, he opened his door, but they did cruelly and treacherouſly murder him, and laid out his body in the ſame window from which

Cardinal Beaton is murdered.

which he had looked on Wiſhart's execution. Some few juſtified this fact, as the killing of a robber and murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all ſorts of people, even by thoſe who hated him moſt; yet the accompliſhment of Wiſhart's prediction made great impreſſions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards obſerved, that ſcarce any of the conſpirators died an ordinary death. They kept out the caſtle, and about one hundred and forty came in to them, and they held it near two years, being aſſiſted by money and proviſions that were ſent from England. They had alſo the Governor at their mercy; for they kept his eldeſt ſon, whom the Cardinal had taken into his care for his education. An abſolution was brought from Rome, and a pardon was offered them; and at laſt, being ſtraitened both at ſea and land, they rendered the place upon aſſurance of life. This infamous action was a great blemiſh upon the reformers, who, though they did not directly juſtify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it ſome countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the garriſon in the caſtle. 1545.

In England a Parliament met, in which, as the ſpirituality gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, payable in two years; ſo the temporality not only gave a ſubſidy for the war, but confirmed all the ſurrenders that had been made of chantries, chapels, colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations, for ſaying maſſes for departed ſouls: and they empowered the King, during his life, to grant commiſſions for ſeizing on the reſt of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new diſcontent to the gentry, to whom theſe belonged; ſo he made but a ſmall progreſs in it, and many were reſerved to his ſon's courtiers to feed on. The King diſmiſſed the Parliament with a long ſpeech, "in which, after he had thanked them for their "bills, he exhorted them to charity and concord in mat- "ters of religion; and to forbear all terms of reproach, "ſuch as Papiſt and Heretic: he complained much of the "ſtiffneſs of ſome churchmen, and of the indiſcretion of "others, who both gave ill example, and ſowed the ſeeds "of diſcord among the laity. He, as God's Vicar, "thought himſelf bound to ſee theſe things corrected: "he reproved the temporality for the ill uſe they made "of the Scripture; for, inſtead of being taught out of it "to live better, and to be more charitable to one another, "they only railed at one another, and made ſongs out of "it, to diſgrace thoſe that differed from them; ſo he ex- "horted them to ſerve God, and love one another, which

Chantries given to the King.

BOOK I.

"he would eſteem the beſt expreſſion of their duty and "obedience to him." The King had appointed a diſtribution of 550*l.* a year in ſeveral cathedrals for the poor, and about 400*l.* for highways: ſo this year ſome Biſhops were appointed to ſee whether thoſe payments were made as he had ordered, or not. The Univerſities were now in danger of having their colleges ſuppreſſed; but upon their applications to the King, they were delivered from their fears.

1545.

A peace with France.

Now came on the laſt year of this reign. The war with France was this year unſucceſsful; but upon the Earl of Surry's being recalled, and the Earl of Hertford's being ſent in his room, things turned a little. This raiſed ſuch animoſity between thoſe two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at laſt brought to conſent to a peace; the main article of it was, that within eight years Boulogne ſhould be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which coſt England thirteen hundred thouſand pounds. Upon this peace Annebault the French Admiral was ſent over ambaſſador. The Council of Trent was now ſitting; Pole was made a Legate to do the King the more ſpite: the Emperor and the Pope governed it as they pleaſed: ſo the two Crowns reſolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was propoſed, that the maſs ſhould be turned to a communion; and Cranmer was ordered to prepare the office for it: but this was too great a deſign for two old Kings to accompliſh.

Anne Aſkough and others burnt.

There was at this time a new proſecution of thoſe that denied the corporal preſence in the Sacrament. Shaxton was accuſed of ſome words about it; but he abjured, and complied ſo entirely, that ſoon after he preached the ſermon at the burning of Anne Aſkough. He made no noiſe all King Edward's time; yet in Queen Mary's reign he was a perſecutor of Proteſtants, but was ſo little eſteemed, that, though he had been Biſhop of Saliſbury, he was raiſed no higher than to be Biſhop Suffragan of Ely. Several other perſons were at this time indicted upon the ſame ſtatute, but moſt of them recanted. Anne Aſkough ſtood firm: ſhe was deſcended from a good family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her huſband being a violent Papiſt, drove her out of his houſe, when he diſcovered her inclinations to the Reformation. She was put in priſon on the account of the Sacrament, but ſigned a recantation, and ſo was ſet at liberty; yet not long after ſhe was committed again upon a new complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council,

Council, but answered with extraordinary resolution; yet it was thought by some that she was too forward in her manner of speaking: she had been much at Court, and it was believed she was supported by some ladies there; so, in order to the discovery of this, she was carried to the Tower and racked; yet she confessed nothing. Wriothesly was present, and commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to draw the rack a little more; but he refused to do it: upon which the Chancellor laid aside his gown, and drew it himself with so much force, as if he had intended to rend her body asunder; and the effects of this were so violent, that she was not able to go to Smithfield, but was carried thither in a chair, when she was burnt: two others were also condemned on the same account; and Shaxton, to complete his apostasy, after he had in vain endeavoured to persuade them to abjure, preached the sermon at their burning, in which he inveighed severely against their errors. The Lord Chancellor came to Smithfield, and offered them their pardons if they would recant; but they chose rather to glorify God by their deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an apostasy. There were two burnt in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, on the same account this year. 1546.

Designs against Cranmer;

But the Popish party hoped to have greater sacrifices offered up to their revenge: they had laid a train last year for Cranmer, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They persuaded the King, that Cranmer was the source of all the heresy that was in England; but the King's partiality to him was such, that none would come in against him: so they desired that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to consent to this, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night the King sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surprised. He submitted to it; only he desired he might be heard to answer for himself, and that he might have indifferent judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to see him so little concerned in his own preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself. The King therefore gave him instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them as they would desire to be used in the like case: and if he could

BOOK I. 1546.

could not prevail by the force of reaſon, then he was to appeal to the King in perſon, and was to ſhew the King's ſeal-ring, which he took from his finger, and gave him; and they knew it all ſo well, that they would do nothing after they once ſaw that. So he being ſummoned next morning, came over to Whitehall: he was kept long in the lobby before he was called in: but when that was done, and he had obſerved the method the King had ordered him to uſe, and had at laſt ſhewed the ring, they roſe all in great confuſion, and went to the King. He chid them ſeverely for what they had done, and expreſſed his eſteem and kindneſs to Cranmer in ſuch terms, that his enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other deſign but to have his innocence declared in a public trial; and were now ſo convinced of the King's unalterable favour to him, that they never made any more attempts upon him.

And againſt the Queen.

But what they durſt not do in relation to Cranmer, they thought might be more ſafely tried againſt the Queen, who was known to love the *new learning*, which was the common phraſe for the Reformation. She uſed to have ſermons in her privy-chamber, which could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that it came to the King's knowledge: yet her conduct in all other things was ſo exact, and ſhe expreſſed ſuch a tender care of the King's perſon, that it was obſerved ſhe had gained much upon him; but his peeviſhneſs growing with his diſtempers, made him ſometimes uneaſy even to her. They uſed often to talk of matters of religion; and ſometimes ſhe held up the argument for the Reformers ſo ſtiffly, that he was offended at it; yet as ſoon as that appeared, ſhe let it fall; but once the debate continuing long, the King expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it to Gardiner, when ſhe went away. He took hold of this opportunity to perſuade the King that ſhe was a great cheriſher of heretics. Wriotheſly joined with him in the ſame artifice, and filled the angry King's head with many ſtories; inſomuch that he ſigned the articles upon which ſhe was to be impeached. But Wriotheſly let that paper fall from him careleſsly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's friends, who carried it to her: upon which ſhe went to the King, and brought on a diſcourſe of religion; and after a little oppoſition, ſhe yielded, and ſeemed convinced by the King's reaſons, and told him, that ſhe only held up that argument to be inſtructed by him, and ſometimes to engage him in diſcourſe, and ſo to make him forget his pains;

pains; and this ſhe ſeconded with ſuch flattery, that he was perfectly ſatisfied and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the garden, Wriotheſly came thither on deſign to have carried her to the Tower; but the King chid him ſeverely for it, and was heard to call him knave and fool. The goodnatured Queen interpoſed to mitigate his diſpleaſure; but the King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to be concerned for him. Thus the deſign againſt her vaniſhed, and Gardiner, that had ſet it on, loſt the King's favour entirely by it. 1546.

The Duke of Norfolk's fall.

But now the fall of the Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon the Earl of Surry, came on. The father had been long Treaſurer, and had ſerved the King with great fidelity and ſucceſs: his ſon was a man of rare qualities; he had a great wit, and was more than ordinary learned. He particularly hated the Earl of Hertford, and ſcorned an alliance with him, which his father had projected. The Duke of Norfolk had intended to unite his family to the Seymours, by marrying his ſon to the Earl of Hertford's daughter, and his daughter, the Ducheſs of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seymour: but both his children refuſed to comply with him in it. The Seymours were apprehenſive of the oppoſition they might meet with, if the King ſhould die, from the Earl of Surry, who was a high-ſpirited man, had a vaſt fortune, and was the head of the Popiſh party. It was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarried in hopes of marrying the Lady Mary. The Duke's family was alſo fatally divided: his Ducheſs had been ſeparated from him about four years, and now turned informer againſt him. His daughter did alſo hate her brother, and was a ſpy upon him. One Holland, a whore of the Duke's, did alſo betray him, and diſcovered all ſhe could; yet all amounted to no more than ſome complaints of the father's, who thought the ſervices he had done the Crown were little regarded; and ſome threatenings of the ſon's. It was alſo ſaid, that the father gave the coat of arms that belonged to the Prince of Wales, and the ſon gave Edward the Confeſſor's coat; but that was only a pretence to make a noiſe among the people, and to cover the want of more important matter againſt them. One Southwell objected things of a higher nature to the Earl of Surry. He denied them, and deſired, that, according to the martial law, they might have a trial by combat, and fight in their ſhirts: but that was not granted; yet both father and ſon were put in the Tower.

The

BOOK I.

The Earl of Surry was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treaſon, and executed on the 19th of January. He was much lamented; and the blame of his death being caſt on the Seymours, raiſed a general odium againſt them. The old Duke ſaw a Parliament called to deſtroy him by an act of attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruin him at common law; ſo, to prevent that, he made ſuch humble ſubmiſſion to the King, as would have mollified any that had not bowels of braſs. He wrote to him, "that he had ſpent his whole "life in his ſervice, without having ſo much as a thought "to his prejudice. He had obeyed all the King's laws, "and was reſolved to obey all that ever he ſhould make. "He begged that he might be heard, with his accuſers, "face to face. He prayed that the King would take all "his lands and goods, and only reſtore him to his favour, "and grant him ſuch an allowance to live on as he "thought fit. He went further, and ſet his hand to a "confeſſion of ſeveral crimes; as, 1. His revealing the "ſecrets of the King's Council. 2. His concealing his "ſon's treaſon, in giving the arms of Edward the Con-"feſſor. 3. His own giving the arms of England, with "the labels of ſilver which belonged only to the Prince, "which he acknowledged was high treaſon, and there-"fore he begged the King's mercy." But all this had no effect on the King, though his drawing ſo near his end ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the ſhedding of innocent blood.

1547. The Earl of Surry executed.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to Weſtminſter, but he ſent his pleaſure to them by a commiſſion. He intended to have Prince Edward crowned Prince of Wales; and therefore deſired they would make all poſſible haſte in the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, that ſo the places which he held by patent might be diſpoſed of to others, who ſhould aſſiſt at the coronation: which, though it was a very ſlight excuſe for ſo high a piece of injuſtice, yet it had that effect, that in ſeven days both Houſes paſſed the bill. On the 27th of January the royal aſſent was given by thoſe commiſſioned by the King; and the execution was ordered to be next morning. There was no ſpecial matter in the act, but that of the coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors were uſed to give, according to the records in the Herald's office; ſo that this was condemned by all perſons as a moſt inexcuſable act of tyranny. But the night after this the King died; and it was thought contrary to the decencies of

And the Duke attainted by act of Parliament.

of government, to begin a new reign with ſo unjuſtifiable an act as the beheading of the old Duke, and ſo he was preſerved: yet both ſides made inferences from this calamity that fell on him. The Papiſts ſaid, it was God's juſt judgment on him for his obſequiouſneſs to King Henry: but the Proteſtants ſaid, it was a juſt return on him for what he had done againſt Cromwell, and many others, on the account of the ſix Articles. Cranmer would not meddle in this matter; but, that he might be out of the way, he retired to Croydon; whereas Gardiner, that had been his friend all along, continued ſtill about the Court. 1547.

The King's diſtemper had been growing long upon him. He was become ſo corpulent, that he could not go up and down ſtairs, but made uſe of an engine when he intended to walk in his garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old ſore in his leg, which pained him much, the humours of his body diſcharging themſelves that way, till at laſt all ſettled in a dropſy. Thoſe about him were afraid to let him know that his death ſeemed near, leſt that might have been brought within the ſtatute of foretelling his death, which was made treaſon. His will was made ready, and, as it was given out, was ſigned by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his laſt going over to France. All the change that he made at this time was, that he ordered Gardiner's name to be ſtruck out; for in that formerly made he was named one of the executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to perſuade him not to put that diſgrace on an old ſervant, he continued poſitive in it; for he ſaid he knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in ſo high a truſt. The moſt material thing in the will was, the preferring the children of his ſecond ſiſter, by Charles Brandon, to the children of his eldeſt ſiſter the Queen of Scotland, in the ſucceſſion to the crown. Some objections were made to the validity and truth of the will. It was not ſigned by the King's hand, as it was directed by the act of Parliament, but only ſtamped with his name; and it was ſaid, this was done when he was dying, without any order given for it by himſelf; for proof of which, the Scots that were moſt concerned appealed to many witneſſes, and chiefly to a depoſition which the Lord Paget had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his death-bed he finiſhed the foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge, and of Chriſt-

The King's ſickneſs.

BOOK I. Chriſt-Church Hoſpital near Newgate; yet this laſt was not ſo fully ſettled as was needful, till his ſon completed what he had begun.

1547. And death. On the 27th of January his ſpirits ſunk ſo, that it was viſible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him, that death was approaching, and deſired him to call on God for his mercy. The King expreſſed in general his ſorrow for his paſt ſins, and his truſt in the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus. He ordered Cranmer to be ſent for, but he was ſpeechleſs before he could be brought from Croydon; yet he gave a ſign that he underſtood what he ſaid to him, and ſoon after he died in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-ſeven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; for the Parliament, which was diſſolved with his laſt breath, continued to do buſineſs till the 31ſt, and then his death was publiſhed. It is probable the Seymours concealed it ſo long, till they made a party for the putting the government into their own hands.

An account of his ſeverities againſt the prieſts. The ſeverities he uſed againſt many of his ſubjects in matters of religion made both ſides write with great ſharpneſs of him. His temper was imperious and cruel: he was both ſudden and violent in his revenges, and ſtuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his luſt or his paſſion. This was much provoked, by the ſentence the Pope thundered againſt him, by the virulent books Cardinal Pole and others publiſhed, by the rebellions that were raiſed in England, and the apprehenſions he was in of the Emperor's greatneſs, and of the inclinations his people had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in hiſtory of the fates of thoſe Princes, againſt whom Popes had thundered in former times: all which made him think it neceſſary to keep his people under the terror of a ſevere government; and by ſome public examples to ſecure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuſe effuſion of blood, which might have otherwiſe followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if, after the Pope depoſed him, he proceeded to great ſeverities againſt all thoſe which ſupported that authority.

The Carthuſians in particular. The firſt inſtance of capital proceedings upon that account was in Eaſter term, 1535, in which three priors and a monk of the Carthuſian order were condemned of treaſon, for ſaying, that the King was not ſupreme head of the Church of England. It was then only a *præmunire* not to ſwear to the ſupremacy, but it was made treaſon

to

to deny it, or ſpeak againſt it. Hall, a ſecular prieſt, was at the ſame time condemned of treaſon, "for calling the "King a tyrant, an heretic, a robber, and an adulterer; "and ſaying, that he would die as King John or Rich- "ard the Third died; and that it would never be well "with the Church till the King was brought to pot: and "that they looked when Ireland and Wales would riſe, "and were aſſured that three parts of four in England "would join with them." All theſe pleaded not guilty; but being condemned, they juſtified what they had ſaid. The Carthuſians were hanged in their habits. Soon after that, three Carthuſians were condemned, and executed at London, and two more at York, upon the ſame account, for oppoſing the King's ſupremacy. Ten other monks were ſhut up in their cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned and hanged. Theſe had been all complices in the buſineſs of the Maid of Kent; and though that was pardoned, yet it gave the government ground to have a watchful eye over them, and to proceed more ſeverely againſt them upon the firſt provocation.

Fiſher's ſufferings.

After theſe, Fiſher and More were brought to their trials: Pope Clement's officious kindneſs to Fiſher in declaring him a Cardinal did haſten his ruin, though he was little concerned at that honour that was done him. He was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treaſon, for having ſpoken againſt the King's ſupremacy: but, inſtead of the common death in caſes of treaſon, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22d of June he ſuffered. He dreſſed himſelf with more than ordinary care that day; for he ſaid, it was to be his wedding-day. As he was led out, he opened the New Teſtament at a venture, and prayed, that ſuch a place might turn up as might comfort him in his laſt moments. The words on which he caſt his eyes were, *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* So he ſhut the book, and continued meditating on theſe words to the laſt. On the ſcaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and ſo laid his head on the block, which was ſevered from his body. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to ſuperſtition, and too cruel in his temper againſt heretics. He had been confeſſor to the King's grandmother, and perſuaded her to found two colleges in Cambridge, Chriſt's and Saint John's; in acknowledgment of which he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity. Henry the Seventh made him Biſhop of Rocheſter: he would never exchange that for

BOOK I. for any other: he ſaid his church was his wife, and he would not part with his wife becauſe ſhe was poor. He was much eſteemed by the King, till the ſuit of the divorce was ſet on foot, and then he adhered ſtiffly to the marriage, and the Pope's ſupremacy, and that made him too favourable to the Nun of Kent. But the ſeverities of his long impriſonment, together with this bloody concluſion of it, were univerſally condemned all the world over; only Gardiner employed his ſervile pen to write a vindication of the King's proceedings againſt him. It was writ in elegant Latin, but the ſtyle was thought too vehement.

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More's death. It was harder to find matter againſt Sir Thomas More; for he was very cautious, and ſatisfied his own conſcience by not ſwearing the ſupremacy, but would not ſpeak againſt it. He ſaid, "the act had two edges; if he con-"ſented to it, it would damn his ſoul; and if he ſpoke "againſt it, it would condemn his body. This was all "the meſſage he ſent to Fiſher, when he deſired to know "his opinion about it; he had alſo ſaid the ſame to the "Duke of Norfolk, and ſome counſellors that came to "examine him: and Rich, then the King's Solicitor, com-"ing as a private friend to perſuade him to ſwear the "oath, urged him with the act of Parliament, and aſked "him, if he ſhould be made King by act of Parliament, "would not he acknowledge him? He anſwered, he would, "becauſe *a King might be made or deprived by a Parliament.* "But the matter of the ſupremacy was a point of reli-"gion, to which the Parliament's authority did not ex-"tend itſelf." All this Rich witneſſed againſt him; ſo theſe particulars were laid together, as amounting to a denial of the King's ſupremacy; and upon this he was judged guilty of treaſon. He received his ſentence with that equal temper of mind which he had ſhewed in both conditions of life. He expreſſed great contempt of the world, and much wearineſs in living in it. His ordinary facetiouſneſs remained with him to his laſt moment on the ſcaffold. Some cenſured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. But others ſaid, that way of raillery had been ſo cuſtomary to him, that death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary humour. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the fifty-ſecond or fifty-third year of his age. He had great capacities and eminent virtues. In his youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by ſuperſtition, and became fierce for all the

intereſts

intereſts of the Clergy. He wrote much in defence of all the old abuſes. His learning in divinity was but ordinary; for he had read little more than ſome of St. Auſtin's Treatiſes, and the Canon Law, and the Maſter of the Sentences, beyond whom his quotations do ſeldom go. His ſtyle was natural and pleaſant; and he could turn things very dexterouſly to make them look well or ill, as it ſerved his purpoſe. But though he ſuffered for denying the King's ſupremacy, yet he was at firſt no zealot for the Pope: for he ſays of himſelf, "that when the King "ſhewed him his book in manuſcript, which he wrote "againſt Luther, he adviſed him to leave out that which "he had put in it concerning the Pope's power; for he "did not know what quarrels he might have afterwards "with the Popes, and then that would be turned againſt "him." But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and ſo he would not follow that wiſe advice which he gave him.

There were no executions after this, till the rebellions of Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire gave new occaſions to ſeverity; and then not only the Lords of Darcy and Huſſy, but ſix abbots, and many gentlemen, the chief of whom was Sir Thomas Piercy, (brother to the Earl of Northumberland,) were attainted. They had not only been in the rebellion, but had forfeited the general pardon, by their new attempts after it was proclaimed: yet ſome ſaid, the King took advantage on very ſlight grounds to break his indemnity. But, on the other hand, it was no wonder if he proceeded with the utmoſt rigour againſt thoſe who had raiſed ſuch a ſtorm in the kingdom, and in particular againſt thoſe abbots and monks who had ſworn to maintain his ſupremacy, and yet were the chief incendiaries that had ſet the kingdom on fire. Attainders after the rebellion.

One Forreſt, an Obſervant Friar, had been Queen Catharine's Confeſſor, but forſook her intereſts; and not only ſwore to the King's ſupremacy, but uſed ſuch inſinuations, that he had a large ſhare of the King's favour and confidence. He was looked on as a reproach to his order, and uſed great cruelties in their houſe at Greenwich. He ſhut up one that he believed gave intelligence of all they did to the Court; and uſed him ſo ill, that he died in their hands. It was alſo found, that in ſecret confeſſion he had alienated many from the King's ſupremacy; and being queſtioned for it, he ſaid, *He had taken the oath for it only with his outward man, but his inward man had never conſented to it.* But he offered to recant and abjure this opi- Forreſt was burnt.

BOOK I.

nion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned as an heretic, and was burnt in Smithfield. A pardon was offered him at the ſtake if he would recant; but he refuſed it. A great image that was brought out of Wales was hewed in pieces, and ſerved for fuel to burn him. The writers of that time ſay, he denied the Goſpel, and that he had little knowledge of God in his life, and ſhewed leſs truſt in him at his death.

1538. The attainders of Cardinal Pole's friends.

The winter after this, a correſpondence was diſcovered between Cardinal Pole and Courtney Marquis of Exeter, and Pole's brother the Lord Montacute, and ſeveral others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffrey Pole, another of the brothers, betrayed the reſt. They had expreſſed ſome kindneſs for the Cardinal and his proceedings; and had ſaid, that they looked to ſee a change in England; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with ſeveral other words to that purpoſe, for which they were attainted, and executed. Others were alſo condemned for calling the King a *beaſt, and worſe than a beaſt*; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the abbeys. Cardinal Pole, and ſeveral others, that had fled out of the kingdom, and had confederated themſelves with the Pope againſt the King, were alſo attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the Garter, was likewiſe condemned for having ſaid, that the attainder of the Marquis of Exeter *was cruel and unjuſt*. He renounced the ſuperſtitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he ſuffered.

1539. Attainders in Parliament without hearing the parties.

After theſe judgments and executions were over, a new and unheard of precedent was made, of attainting ſome without bringing them to make their anſwers, which is a blemiſh on this reign, that can never be waſhed off, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. The firſt that were ſo condemned were the Marchioneſs of Exeter and the Counteſs of Sarum, mother to Cardinal Pole. The ſpecial matter charged on the former was, her confederating herſelf with Sir Nicholas Carew; and that againſt the other was, the confederating with her ſon, Cardinal Pole. No witneſſes were examined to prove theſe things againſt them; perhaps ſome depoſitions might have been read in Parliament. Cromwell ſhewed a coat which was found among the Counteſs of Sarum's clothes, on which the ſtandard uſed by the Yorkſhire rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that ſhe approved of them. Fourteen others were attainted by the ſame act: ſix of them were prieſts, one was a

Knight

Knight Hoſpitaller, four were gentlemen, one was a merchant, and two were yeomen. All were condemned for confederating with the Pope, or Cardinal Pole; or aſſerting the Pope's ſupremacy; or endeavouring to raiſe rebellion: but againſt four of them there is nothing but treaſon in general words alleged. This bill was paſſed in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: but of all theſe, only three were executed; theſe were the Counteſs of Sarum, though not till two years after this; and Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Dingley, the Knight of St. John of Jeruſalem. In the Counteſs of Sarum did the name of Plantagenet end. She was about ſeventy years old, but ſhewed that in that age ſhe had a vigorous and maſculine mind.

In the Parliament that ſate in the year 1540, ſeveral others were attainted in the ſame manner without being heard, and for the ſame crimes. Fetherſton, Abel, and Powel, and ſix more, were ſo condemned; but thoſe three only ſuffered. By another act of the ſame Parliament, the Lord Hungerford, and his chaplain Bird, were attainted: his chaplain had often perſuaded him to rebel; and had ſaid, that the King was the greateſt heretic in the world. Hungerford had alſo ordered ſome of his other chaplains to uſe conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be victorious over his enemies. He was alſo charged for having lived in ſodomy with ſeveral of his ſervants three years together. He was ſoon after executed, and died in great diſorder.

In the year 1541, five prieſts and ten laymen were ſtirring up the people in the North to a new rebellion; but it was prevented, and they ſuffered for it. In the year 1543, Gardiner that was the Biſhop of Winchester's ſecretary, and three other prieſts, were condemned and executed for denying the King's ſupremacy: and this was the laſt occaſion that was given to the King to ſhew his ſeverity on that account. In all theſe executions it cannot be denied but the laws were exceſſively ſevere, and the proceedings upon them were never tempered with that mildneſs which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of penal laws: but though they are much aggravated by Popiſh writers, they were far ſhort of the cruelties uſed in Queen Mary's reign.

To conclude, we have now gone through the reign of King Henry the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good Princes. He exerciſed ſo

BOOK I. much ſeverity on men of both perſuaſions, that the writers of both ſides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worſt.

1547.

AN

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

EDWARD was the only ſon of King Henry, by his beſt beloved wife, Jane Seymour, born the twelfth of October, 1537. 1547. King Edward's birth and education.

His mother died the day after he was born, of a diſtemper incident to women in her condition; and was not ripped up by chirurgeons, as ſome writers have reported, on deſign to repreſent King Henry as barbarous and cruel to all his wives. At ſix years of age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek: the one was to form his mind, and to teach him philoſophy and divinity; the other was to teach him the tongues and mathematics: other maſters were alſo appointed for the other parts of his education. He diſcovered very early a good diſpoſition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the Scriptures: for he took it very ill, when one about him laid a great Bible on the floor to ſtep up on it to ſomewhat which was out of his reach without ſuch an advantage. He profited well in letters, and wrote, at eight years old, Latin letters frequently both to the King, to Queen Catharine Parr, to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his uncle the Earl of Hertford, who had been firſt made Viſcount Beauchamp, being the heir by

BOOK II. his mother of that family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

1547. In the end of his father's life it had been deſigned to create him Prince of Wales: for that was one of the reaſons given to haſten the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, becauſe he held ſome places during life which the King intended to put in other hands, in order to that ceremony. Upon his father's death, the Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were ſent to bring him up to the Tower of London: and when King Henry's death was publiſhed, he was proclaimed King.

King Henry's teſtament. At his coming to the Tower, his father's will was opened, by which it was found that he had named ſixteen to be the governors of the kingdom, and of his ſon's perſon, till he ſhould be eighteen years of age. Theſe were the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriotheſly, Lord Chancellor; Lord St. John, Great Maſter; Lord Ruſſel, Lord Privy Seal; Earl of Hertford, Lord Great Chamberlain; Viſcount Liſle, Lord Admiral; Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, Maſter of the Horſe; Sir William Paget, Secretary of State; Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, Treaſurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. They were alſo to give the King's ſiſters in marriage; and if they married without their conſent, they were to forfeit their right of ſucceſſion: for the King was empowered, by act of Parliament, to leave the crown to them with what limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. There was alſo a Privy Council named, to be their aſſiſtants in the government. If any of the ſixteen died, the ſurvivors were to continue in the adminiſtration, without a power to ſubſtitute others in their rooms who ſhould die. It was now propoſed, that one ſhould be choſen out of the ſixteen, to whom ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief direction of affairs; but ſhould be reſtrained to do nothing but by the conſent of the greater part of the other co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the precedence fell to him by his office, ſince the Archbiſhop did not meddle much in ſecular affairs, oppoſed this much, and ſaid, it was a change of the King's will, who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raiſed above the reſt in title, it would not be poſſible to keep him within

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in due bounds, since great titles make way for high power. But the Earl of Hertford had so prepared his friends, that it was carried, that he should be declared the Governor of the King's person, and the Protector of the kingdom, with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement, and the opposition made to it, two parties were formed; the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the commissions of the judges and justices of the peace; and King Henry's great seal was to be made use of till a new one should be made. The day after this, all the executors took their oaths to execute their trust faithfully. The Privy Counsellors were also brought into the King's presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered, that all dispatches to foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held offices were required to come and renew their commissions, and to swear allegiance to the King. Among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such commissions as were granted in the former reign; only by those they were subaltern to the King's Vice-gerent: but there being none now in that office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their bishoprics only during the King's pleasure, and were empowered in the King's name, as his delegates, to perform all the parts of the episcopal function. Cranmer set an example to the rest, in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an arbitrary power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easy to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of religion: but the ill consequences of such an unlimited power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their bishoprics during life.

1547. A Protector chosen.

Bishops take out commissions.

The late King had, in his will, required his executors to perform all the promises he had made. So Paget was required to give an account of the promises the late King had made; and he declared upon oath, that upon the prospect of the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, the King intended a creation of Peers, and to divide his lands among them. The persons to be raised were, Hertford to be a Duke; Essex a Marquis; Lisle, Russel, St. John,

A creation of noblemen.

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and Wriotheſly, to be Earls; Sir Thomas Seymour, Cheyney, Rich, Willoughby, Arundel, Sheffield, St. Leger, Wymbiſh, Vernon, and Danby, to be Barons; and a diviſion was to be made of the Duke of Norfolk's eſtate among them. Some ſhares were alſo ſet off for others, who were not to be advanced in title, as Denny and Herbert: and they finding Paget had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himſelf, had moved the King for a ſhare to him. The King appointed Paget to give notice of this to the perſons named; but many excuſed themſelves, and deſired no addition of honour, ſince the lands which the King intended to give them were not ſufficient to ſupport that dignity. The Duke of Norfolk prevented all this; for being apprehenſive of the ruin of his family if his eſtate were once divided, he ſent a meſſage to the King, deſiring him to convert it all to be a revenue to the Prince of Wales. This wrought ſo much on the King, that he reſolved to reward thoſe he intended to raiſe another way, and he appointed that eſtate to be kept entire: and the King's diſtemper increaſing on him, he at laſt came to a reſolution, that the Earl of Hertford ſhould be made a Duke, and be made both Earl Marſhal and Lord Treaſurer; the Earl of Eſſex a Marquis; Liſle and Wriotheſly Earls; and Seymour, Rich, Sheffield, St. Leger, Willoughby, and Danby, Barons, with revenues in lands to every one of them: and the Earl of Hertford was to have the firſt good deanery and treaſurerſhip, and the four beſt prebends that ſhould fall in any cathedral. But though the King had reſolved on this, and had ordered Paget to propoſe it to the perſons concerned, yet his diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt on him, that he never finiſhed it: and therefore he ordered his executors to perform all that ſhould appear to have been promiſed by him. The greateſt part of this was alſo confirmed by Denny and Herbert, to whom the King had talked of it, and had ſhewed the deſign of it in writing, as it had been agreed between Paget and him. So the executors being concerned in this themſelves, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that they determined to execute this part of their truſt very faithfully: yet the King being then like to be engaged in wars, they reſolved neither to leſſen his treaſure nor revenue, but to find another way for giving the rewards intended by the King; which was afterwards done by the ſale and diſtribution of the chantry lands.

The caſtle of St. Andrew's was then much preſſed; ſo they ſent down by Belnaves, the agent of that party, eleven hundred and eighty pounds for the pay of the garriſon:

garriſon: they gave alſo penſions to the chief ſupporters of their intereſt in Scotland, to ſome 250*l.* to others 200*l.* or leſs, according to their intereſt in the country. The King received the ceremony of knighthood from the Protector, and knighted the Mayor of London the ſame day. 1547.

Laymen had eccleſiaſtical dignities.

The grant of ſo many eccleſiaſtical dignities to the Earl of Hertford was no extraordinary thing at that time; for as Cromwell had been Dean of Wells, ſo divers other laymen were provided to them; which was thus excuſed, becauſe there was no cure of ſouls belonging to them: and during vacancies, even in times of popery, the Kings had by their own authority, by the right of the *Regale*, given inſtitution to them; ſo that they ſeemed to be no ſpiritual employments, and the eccleſiaſtics that had enjoyed them had been a lazy and ſenſual ſort of men: ſo that their abuſing thoſe revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the ſpoils of the Church, had this effect, that the putting them in lay-hands gave no great ſcandal; and that the rather, becauſe a ſimple tonſure qualified a man for them by the Canons. Theſe foundations were at firſt deſigned for a nurſery to the dioceſes, in which the young Clergy were to be educated; or for a retreat to thoſe who were more ſpeculative, and not ſo fit for the ſervice of the Church in the active parts of the paſtoral care: ſo it had been an excellent deſign to have reformed them, and reſtored them to the purpoſes for which they were at firſt intended: and it was both againſt *Magna Charta*, and all natural equity, to take them out of the hands of churchmen, and give them to thoſe of the laity. But it was no wonder to ſee men yet under the influence of the canon law commit ſuch errors.

Some take down images.

At the ſame time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes. The curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's in London were brought before the Council for removing the crucifix, and other images, and putting ſome texts of Scripture on the walls of their church, in the places where they ſtood. They anſwered, that they going to repair their church, removed the images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: they had alſo removed others, which they found had been abuſed to idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popiſh party to puniſh them ſeverely, for ſtriking terror into others; but Cranmer was for the removing of all images, which were ſet up in churches expreſsly contrary both to the ſecond commandment,

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ment, and to the practice of the Chriſtians for divers ages: and though, in compliance with the groſs abuſes of Paganiſm, there was very early much of the pomp of their worſhip brought into the Chriſtian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At firſt all images were condemned by the Fathers; then they allowed the uſe of them, but condemned the worſhipping of them; and afterwards, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the worſhipping of them was (after a long conteſt, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them) at laſt generally received; and then the reverence for them, and for ſome in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the monks, who had enriched themſelves by ſuch means: and it was grown to ſuch a height, that heatheniſm itſelf had been guilty of nothing more abſurd towards its idols; and the ſingular virtues in ſome images ſhewed they were not worſhipped only as repreſentations; for then all ſhould have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And ſince all theſe abuſes had riſen merely out of the bare uſe of them, and the ſetting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Chriſtian religion, which is ſimple and ſpiritual; it ſeemed moſt reaſonable to cure the diſeaſe in its root, and to clear the churches of images, that ſo the people might be preſerved from idolatry. Theſe reaſons prevailed ſo far, that the curate and wardens were diſmiſſed with a reprimand; they were required to beware of ſuch raſhneſs for the future, and to provide a crucifix; and till that could be had, they were ordered to cauſe one to be painted on the wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridley, being to preach before the King, inveighed againſt the ſuperſtition towards images and holy-water; and there was a general diſpoſition over all the nation to pull them down; which was ſoon after effected in Portſmouth. Upon that Gardiner made great complaints; he ſaid, the Lutherans themſelves went not ſo far, for he had ſeen images in their churches: he argued from the King's face on the coin and great ſeal, for the uſe of images; and that the law of Moſes did no more bind in this particular, than in that of abſtaining from blood: he diſtinguiſhed between image and idol, as if the one, which he ſaid was only condemned, was the repreſentation of a falſe God, and the other of the true; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the ear begat devotion, ſo images, by the conveyance of the eye, might have the ſame effect on the mind:

1547. Arguments for and againſt it.

mind: he also thought a virtue might be both in them and in holy-water, as well as there was in Christ's garments, Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff: and there might be a virtue in holy-water, as well as in the water of baptism. He also mentioned the virtue that was in the cramp-rings, blest by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and sought after; and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things, which Gardiner wrote in several letters, the Protector, perhaps by Cranmer's direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain; that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse the ground of taking away that, which by God's special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: this did hold much stronger against images, that were forbidden by God. The brazen serpent set up by Moses, by God's own direction, was broken when abused to idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of religion possible; and the civil respect paid to the King's image on a seal, or on the coin, did not justify the dotage upon images: but yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this reign towards a reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the justices of the peace, to look well to the peace and government of the nation, to meet often, and every six weeks to advertise the Protector of the state of the county to which they belonged.

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The funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary ceremonies at Windsor. One thing gave those that hated him some advantages: his body was carried the first day to Sheen, which had been a nunnery, and there some of the moisture and fat dropped through the coffin; and to make it a complete accomplishment of Peyto's denunciation, that *dogs should lick his blood*, it was said the dogs next day licked it. This in a corpulent man was so far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the plumber's carelessness, and their weakness and malice that made such inferences from it. The King left six hundred pounds a year to the church of Windsor, for priests to say mass for his soul every day, and for four obits a year, and sermons and distribution of alms at every

The King's funeral.

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every one of them, and for a ſermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor knights; which was ſettled upon that church by his executors in due form of law.

1547. Soul-maſſes examined.

The pomp of this endowment now in a more inquiſitive age led people to examine the uſefulneſs of ſoul-maſſes and obits. Chriſt appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his death among the living; but it was not eaſy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed ſouls; for all the good that they could receive ſeemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare prayers would not have wrought ſo much on the people, nor would they have paid ſo dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the world into their hands. In the primitive Church there was a commemoration of the dead, or an honourable remembrance of them made in the daily Offices; and for ſome very ſmall faults their names were not mentioned; which would not have been done, if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another ſtate. But even this cuſtom grew to be abuſed; and ſome inferred from it, that departed ſouls, unleſs they were ſignally pure, paſſed through a purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to heaven: of which St. Auſtin, in whoſe time the opinion was beginning to be received, ſays, that it was taken up without any ſure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture-proof was ſupplied by viſions, dreams, and tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one that did not much believe it; for he was to expect no good uſage in purgatory from thoſe ſouls whom he had deprived of the maſſes that were ſaid for them in monaſteries, by deſtroying thoſe foundations: yet, it ſeems, he intended to make ſure work for himſelf; ſo that if maſſes could avail the departed ſouls, he reſolved to have his ſhare of it; and as he gratified the prieſts by this part of his endowment, ſo he pleaſed the people by appointing ſermons and alms to be given on ſuch days. Thus he died, as he had lived, ſwimming between both perſuaſions. And it occaſioned no ſmall debate, when men ſought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of religion: for the eſteem he was in made both ſides ſtudy to juſtify themſelves, by ſeeming to follow his ſentiments. The one party ſaid, he was reſolved never to alter religion, but only to cut off ſome abuſes, and intended to go no further than he had gone: they did therefore vehemently preſs the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the ſtate in which he

he left them, till his ſon ſhould come of age. But the oppoſite party ſaid, that he had reſolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the maſs to a communion; and therefore religion being of ſuch conſequence to the ſalvation of ſouls, it was neceſſary to make all the haſte in reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diverſions of the coronation took them off from more ſerious thoughts. The Protector was made Duke of Somerſet, the Earl of Eſſex Marquis of Northampton, the Lords Liſle and Wriothetly Earls of Warwick and Southampton; Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield were made Barons. In order to the King's coronation, the office for that ceremony was reviewed, and much ſhortened. One remarkable alteration was, that formerly the King uſed to be preſented to the people at the corners of the ſcaffold, and they were aſked, if they would have him to be their King? which looked like a rite of an election, rather than a ceremony of inveſting one that was already King. This was now changed, and the people were deſired only to give their aſſents and good will to his coronation, as by the duty of allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of February he was crowned, and a general pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, and ſome others, were excepted.

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The coronation.

The Chancellor, who was looked on as the head of the Popiſh party, gave now an advantage againſt himſelf, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a commiſſion to the Maſter of the Rolls, and three Maſters of Chancery, of whom two were civilians, to execute his office in the court of Chancery, as if he were preſent; only their decrees were to be brought to him to be ſigned, before they ſhould be enrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector and the other executors, was thought a high preſumption, ſince he did thereby devolve on others that truſt which was depoſited in his hands. Upon this ſome lawyers complained to the Protector; and they ſeemed alſo apprehenſive of a deſign to change the common laws; which was occaſioned by the decrees made by the civilians, that were more ſuited to the imperial than to the Engliſh laws. The judges being deſired to give their opinions, made report, that what the Chancellor had done was againſt law, and that he had forfeited his place, and might be impriſoned for it during pleaſure. But he carried it high; he threatened both the judges and lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited

The Chancellor turned out.

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forfeited his place, he ſaid, he had it from the late King, who had likewiſe named him one of the executors during his ſon's minority. But it was anſwered, that the major part had power over any of the reſt, otherwiſe one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be puniſhed by the reſt. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no warrant for granting the commiſſion: he thought by his office he might lawfully do it: he aſked pardon for his offence, and deſired he might loſe his place with as little diſgrace as was poſſible; and then it was reſolved on by the reſt, to take the ſeal from him, and to fine him as they ſhould afterwards think fit. So he being ſuffered to go home with the ſeal, the Lord Seymour, and ſome others, were ſent to demand it of him. He was alſo confined to his houſe, and kept under the terror of an arbitrary fine: but upon giving a bond of four thouſand pounds to be paid upon demand, he was freed from his confinement. Yet he was not put out of the truſt of the King and the government; for, it ſeems, the Council did not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

March. Protector's patent.

Soon after this, the Protector took a patent for his office under the great ſeal, then in the keeping of the Lord St. John; by which he was confirmed in his authority till the King ſhould be eighteen years of age. He was alſo authorized to bring in new counſellors, beſides thoſe enumerated in the patent, who are both the executors and the counſellors nominated by the late King. The Protector, with ſo many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to adminiſter the affairs of the kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his advice and conſent. And thus was he now as well eſtabliſhed in his authority as law could make him. He had a negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or ſelect a cabinet council out of it, as he pleaſed: and the other executors having now delivered up their authority to him, were only Privy Counſellors as the reſt were, without retaining any ſingular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King Henry's will.

The affairs of Germany.

The firſt buſineſs of conſequence that required great conſideration was the Smalcaldic war, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that league; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of Lutheraniſm, but his being the abſolute maſter of Germany; which the Emperor chiefly

chiefly designed, in order to an universal monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes. To the Pope he pretended that his design was only to extirpate heresy: to other Princes he pretended it was only to repress some rebels, and denied all design of suppressing their new doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided Germany itself, and got some Lutheran Princes to declare for him, and others to be neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal supply for his wars with France and the Turk, for which he granted an edict for liberty of religion, he made peace with both those Princes, and resolved to employ that treasure which the Germans had given him against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief allies, he used means to engage King Henry and Francis the First in a war; but that was chiefly by their interposition composed. And now, when the war was like to be carried on with great vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as Henry died in January, so Francis followed him into another world in March following. Many of their confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divided command of the Duke of Saxe and the Landgrave of Hesse lost them great advantages the former year; in which it had been easy to have driven the Emperor out of Germany: but it fell often out, that when one was for engaging, the other was against it; which made many very doubtful of their success. The Pope had a mind to engage the Emperor in a war in Germany, that so Italy might be at quiet; and in order to that, and to embroil the Emperor with all the Lutherans, he published his treaty with him, that so it might appear that the design of the war was to extirpate heresy; though the Emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in Germany. He also opened the Council of Trent, which the Emperor had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he least wished for it: for the Protestants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, since it was so entirely at the Pope's devotion, that not so much as a reformation of some of the grossest abuses, that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such clauses as made it ineffectual: nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council not to proceed to establish the doctrine, and condemn heresy; but the more he obstructed that by delays, the more did the Pope drive it on to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigorously against the Emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of

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The Council of Trent.

tolerating

BOOK II. tolerating the Augſburg Confeſſion, that the Marquis of Brandenburg declared for him, and that, joined with the hopes of the electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The 1547. Count Palatine was old and feeble; the Archbiſhop of Colen would not make reſiſtance, but retired, being condemned both by the Pope and Emperor; and many of the cities ſubmitted: and Maurice, by falling into Saxe, forced the Elector to ſeparate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own dominions. This was the ſtate of the affairs in Germany. So that it was a hard point to reſolve on, what anſwer the Protector ſhould give the Duke of Saxe's Chancellor, whom he ſent over to obtain an aid in money for carrying on the war. It was on the one hand of great importance to the ſafety of England to preſerve the German Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a war of ſuch conſequence under an infant King. At preſent they promiſed, within three months, to ſend by the merchants of the Steelyard fifty thouſand crowns to Hamburgh; and reſolved to do no more, till new emergents ſhould lead them to new counſels.

Diviſions in England.

The nation was in an ill condition for a war with ſuch a mighty Prince, labouring under great diſtractions at home: the people generally cried out for a reformation; they deſpiſed the Clergy, and loved the new preachers. The prieſts were for the moſt part both very ignorant and ſcandalous in their lives: many of them had been monks; and thoſe that were to pay them the penſions that were reſerved to them at the deſtruction of the monaſteries till they ſhould be provided, took care to get them into ſome ſmall benefice. The greateſt part of the parſonages were impropriated; for they belonged to the monaſteries, and the abbots had only granted the incumbents either the vicarage, or ſome ſmall donative, and left them the perquiſites raiſed by maſſes and other offices. At the ſuppreſſion of thoſe houſes, there was no care taken to provide the incumbents better: ſo they chiefly ſubſiſted by trentals and other devices, that brought them in ſome ſmall relief, though the price of them was ſcandalouſly low; for maſſes went often at twopence; a groat was a great bounty. Now theſe ſaw that a reformation of thoſe abuſes took the bread out of their mouths: ſo their intereſts prevailing more with them than any thing elſe, they were zealouſly engaged againſt all changes. But that ſame principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than loſe their benefices. Their poverty made them run into another abuſe, of holding more benefices

fices at the same time; a corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that wherever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the people with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it; there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every man who undertakes a cure of souls, whom at his ordination he has vowed that he would instruct, feed, and govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were encouraged in their opposition to all changes, by the protection they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, who were men of great reputation, as well as set in high places: and above all, Lady Mary did openly declare against all changes, till the King should be of age. But, on the other hand, Cranmer, whose greatest weakness was his over obsequiousness to King Henry, being now at liberty, resolved to proceed more vigorously. The Protector was firmly united to him; so were the young King's tutors; and he was as much engaged as could be expected from so young a person: for both his knowledge and zeal for true religion were above his age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a reformation; but Dr. Ridley, now made Bishop of Rochester, was the person on whom he depended most. Latimer was kept by him at Lambeth, and did great service by his sermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his bishopric, choosing rather to serve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor spirited men, raised merely by court favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their revenues. Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reasons of every advance that was made so fully, that he hoped, by the blessing of God, to possess the nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition that might otherwise be apprehended.

1547.

The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King Henry's time by act of Parliament; and one proviso in it was, that the King's Council should have the same authority when he was under age, that he himself had at full age: so it was resolved to begin with a general visitation of all England, which was divided into six precincts: and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a registier, were appointed for every one of these: but before they were sent out, there was a letter written to all the Bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their

A visitation of all the churches. May.

BOOK II. 1547. jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own churches, without licence: by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable to their own parishes, and to grant the others licences to preach in any church of England. The greatest difficulty that the Reformers found was in the want of able and prudent men; the most zealous were too hot and indiscreet, and the few they had that were eminent, were to be employed in London and the Universities: therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as itinerants and visitors. The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was a book of Homilies: so the twelve first Homilies in the book still known by that name were compiled; in framing which, the chief design was to acquaint the people aright with the nature of the Gospel covenant, in which there were two extremes equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the priests had an infallible secret of saving their souls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the people were taught both to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every church; which though it was commanded by King Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase was put out in English, and appointed to be set up in every church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the communion of the Roman Church, made this book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no prejudice to Erasmus; which would have been objected to any other author. They renewed also all the injunctions made by Cromwell in the former reign, which after his fall were but little looked after; as those for instructing the people, for removing images, and putting down all other customs abused to superstition; for reading the Scriptures, and saying the Litany in English; for frequent sermons and catechising; for the exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick, and the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences,

ences, and exhorting their people to charities: and all who gave livings by simoniacal bargains were declared to have forfeited their right of patronage to the King. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lord's day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of God; it not being enough to hear mass or mattins in the morning, and spend the rest of the day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed, either in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity; only in time of harvest they were allowed to work on that and other festival days. Direction was also given for the bidding of prayers, in which the King, as supreme Head, the Queen, and the King's sisters, the Protector and Council, and all the orders of the kingdom, were to be mentioned: they were also to pray for departed souls, that at the last day *we with them might rest both body and soul*. There were also injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach four times a year in their dioceses, once in their cathedral, and thrice in any other church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their chaplains should preach often: and that they should give orders to none but those that were duly qualified. 1547.

These were variously censured: the Clergy were only empowered to remove the abused images, and the people were restrained from doing it; but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed since that time to press the religious observation of the Lord's day, without starting needless questions about the morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth commandment; which has occasioned much dispute and heat: and when one party raised the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to slacken it too much. And this produced many sharp reflections on both sides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which, instead of being so great a bond and instrument of religion as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleness and looseness. The corruptions of lay-patrons and simoniacal priests have been often complained of; but no laws nor provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great mischief; which can never be removed till patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God; and till priests are cured of their aspir- Censures on the injunctions.

BOOK II.

ing to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of prayers had been the cuſtom in time of popery; for the preacher, after he had named his text, and ſhewed what was to be the method of his ſermon, deſired the people to join with him in a prayer for a bleſſing upon it; and told them likewiſe, whom they were to pray for; and then all the people ſaid their beads in ſilence, and he kneeling down ſaid his; and from that, this was called the bidding of the beads. In this new direction for them, order was given to repeat always the King's title of *Supreme Head*, that to the people hearing it often mentioned might grow better accuſtomed to it: but when, inſtead of a bidding prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be uſed, that enumeration of title ſeems not ſo decent a thing, nor is it now ſo neceſſary as it then was. The prayer for departed ſouls was now moderated to be a prayer only for the conſummation of their happineſs at the laſt day: whereas in King Henry's time they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his preſence, which implied a purgatory. The injunctions to the Biſhops, directing them to give orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preſerved from errors and corruptions: for when Biſhops do eaſily, upon recommendations or curendicated titles, confer orders, as a ſort of favour that is at their diſpoſal, the ill effects of that muſt be fatal to the Church, either by the corruptions that thoſe vicious prieſts will be guilty of, or by the ſcandals which are given to ſome good minds by their means, who are thereby diſguſted at the Church for their ſakes, and ſo are diſpoſed to be eaſily drawn into thoſe ſocieties that ſeparate from it.

1547.

The war with Scotland.

The war with Scotland was now in conſultation; but the Protector, being apprehenſive that France would engage in the quarrel, ſent over Sir Francis Brian to congratulate with the new King, to deſire a confirmation of the laſt peace, and to complain of the Scots, who had broken their faith with the King in the matter of the marriage of their Queen. The French King refuſed to confirm the treaty, till ſome articles ſhould be firſt explained, and ſo he diſowned his father's ambaſſador; and for the Scots, he ſaid, he could not forſake them, if they were in diſtreſs. The Engliſh alleged, that Scotland was ſubject to England: but the French had no regard to that, and would not ſo much as look on the records that were offered to prove it; and ſaid they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a diſpute of two hundred

hundred years old. This made the Engliſh Council more fearful of engaging in a war, which, by all appearance, would bring a war on them from France. The caſtle of St. Andrew's was ſurrendered, and all their penſioners in Scotland were not able to do them great ſervice. The Scots were now much lifted up; for as England was under an infant King, ſo the Court of France was governed by their Queen Dowager's brothers. The Scots began to make inroads on England, and deſcents on Ireland. Commiſſioners were ſent to the borders to treat on both ſides; and the Protector raiſed a great army, which he reſolved to command in perſon. But the meeting on the borders was ſoon broke up; for the Scots had no inſtructions to treat concerning the marriage, and the Engliſh were ordered to treat of nothing elſe till that ſhould be firſt agreed to. And the records that were ſhewed of the homage done by the Scottiſh Kings to the Engliſh had no great effect; for the Scots either ſaid they were forged, or forced from ſome weak Princes, or were only homages for their lands in England, as the Kings of England did homage to the Crown of France for their lands there. They alſo ſhewed their records, by which their anceſtors had aſſerted, that they were free and independent of England. The Protector left commiſſions of lieutenancy to ſome of the nobility, and devolved his own power, during his abſence, on the Privy Council, and came to the borders by the end of Auguſt. The Scots had abandoned the paſſes, ſo that he found no difficulty in his march; and the ſmall forts that were in his way were ſurrendered upon ſummons. When the Engliſh advanced to Falſide, the Scots engaged with them in parties, but loſt thirteen hundred men. The two armies came in view: the Engliſh conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and a fleet under the command of the Lord Clinton ſailed along by them, as they marched near the coaſts: the Scottiſh army conſiſted of thirty thouſand, and a good train of artillery.

1547. Auguſt.

The Protector ſent a meſſage to the Scots, inviting them, by all the arguments that could be invented, to conſent to the marriage; and if that would not be granted, he deſired engagements from them, that their Queen ſhould be contracted to no other perſon, at leaſt till ſhe came of age, and by the advice of the Eſtates ſhould chooſe a huſband for herſelf. This the Protector offered, to get out of the war upon honourable terms; but the Scottiſh Lords thought this great condeſcenſion was an effect of

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fear, and believed the Protector was ſtraitened for want of proviſions; ſo, inſtead of publiſhing this offer, they reſolved to fall upon him next day: and ſo all the return that was made was, that if the Protector would march back without any act of hoſtility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiouſly with the trumpeter, and challenged the Protector, in the Earl of Huntley's name, to decide the matter by their valour; but the Protector ſaid he was to fight no way but at the head of his army: yet the Earl of Warwick accepted the challenge, but Huntley had given no order for it. On the tenth of September the armies engaged. In the beginning of the action, a ſhot from the ſhips killed a whole lane of men, and diſordered the Highlanders ſo that they could not be made to keep their ranks. The Earl of Angus charged bravely, but was repulſed, and the Engliſh broke in with ſuch fury on the Scots, that they threw down their arms, and fled. Fourteen thouſand were killed, fifteen hundred taken priſoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took Leith, and ſome iſlands in the Frith, in which he put garriſons, and left ſhips to wait on them: he ſent ſome ſhips to the mouth of Tay, and took a caſtle (Broughty) that commanded that river. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to Striveling, to which the governor, with the ſmall remainders of his army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the conſternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and ſo have made an end of the war. But the party his brother was making at court gave him ſuch an alarm, that he returned before he had ended his buſineſs: and the Scots having ſent a meſſage deſiring a treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to ſend their commiſſioners to Berwick, and ſo marched back. He took in all the caſtles in Merch and Tiviotdale, and left garriſons in them, and made the gentry ſwear to be true to the King, and to promote the marriage. He entered into Scotch ground the ſecond of September, and returned to England on the twenty-ninth, with the loſs only of ſixty men, and brought with him a great deal of artillery, and many priſoners. This ſucceſs did raiſe his reputation very high; and if he had now made an end of the war, it had, no doubt, eſtabliſhed him in his authority. The Scots ſent no commiſſioners to Berwick; but, inſtead of that, they ſent ſome to France, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to caſt themſelves

The battle of Muſſelburgh.

themſelves on the protection of that Crown; and ſo the Earl of Warwick, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great ſucceſs, ſummoned a Parliament, to get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his power. BOOK II. 1547.

The viſitors had now ended the viſitation, and all had ſubmitted to them; and great inferences were made from this, that on the ſame day on which the images were burnt in London, their army obtained that great victory in Scotland. But all ſides are apt to build much on providence, when it is favourable to them; and yet they will not allow the argument when it turns againſt them. Bonner at firſt proteſted that he would obey the injunctions, if they were not contrary to the laws of God, and the ordinances of the Church: but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and aſked pardon: yet, for giving terror to others, he was for ſome time put in priſon upon it. Gardiner wrote to one of the viſitors before they came to Wincheſter, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he muſt either quit his biſhopric, or ſin againſt his conſcience, he reſolved to chooſe the former. Upon this he was called before the Council, and required to receive the book of Homilies: but he excepted to one of them, that taught that charity did not juſtify, contrary to the book ſet out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament. He alſo complained of many things in Eraſmus's Paraphraſe: and being preſſed to declare whether he would obey the injunctions or not, he refuſed to promiſe it, and ſo was ſent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated in private with him, and they argued much about juſtification. Gardiner thought the Sacraments juſtified, and that charity juſtified as well as faith. Cranmer thought that only the merits of Chriſt juſtified, as they were applied by faith, which could not be without charity: ſo the queſtion turned much on a different way of explaining the ſame thing. Gardiner objected many things to Eraſmus's book, particularly to ſome paſſages contrary to the power of Princes. It was anſwered, that book was not choſen, as having no faults, but as the beſt they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. Cranmer offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he ſhould be brought to be one of the Privy Council: but he did not comply in this ſo readily, as he ordinarily did to ſuch offers. Upon the Protector's return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Council's proceedings in his abſence: and after he had given his objections to the injunctions, he excepted

The ſucceſs of the viſitation.

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to this, that they were contrary to law; and argued from many precedents, that the King's authority could not be raiſed ſo high; and that though Cromwell, and others, endeavoured to perſuade the late King, that he might govern as the Roman Emperors did, and that his will ought to be his law, yet he was of another opinion, and thought it was much better to make the law the King's will. He complained alſo, that he was hardly uſed; that he had neither ſervants, phyſicians, nor chaplains allowed to wait on him; and that, though he had a writ of ſummons, he was not ſuffered to come to the Parliament; which, he ſaid, might bring a nullity on all their proceedings. But he lay in priſon till the act of general pardon paſſed in Parliament ſet him at liberty. Many blamed the ſeverity of theſe proceedings, as contrary both to law and equity; and ſaid, that all people, even thoſe who complained moſt of arbitrary power, were apt to uſurp it when they were in authority: and ſome thought the delivering the doctrine of juſtification in ſuch nice terms was not ſuitable to the plain ſimplicity of the Chriſtian religion. Lady Mary was ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings, that ſhe wrote to the Protector, that ſuch changes were contrary to the honour due to her father's memory; and it was againſt their duty to the King to enter upon ſuch points, and endanger the public peace before he was of age. To which he wrote anſwer, that her father had died before he could finiſh the good things he had intended concerning religion; and had expreſſed his regret both before himſelf and many others, that he left things in ſo unſettled a ſtate; and aſſured her, that nothing ſhould be done but what would turn to the glory of God, and the King's honour. He imputed her writing to the importunity of others, rather than to herſelf; and deſired her to conſider the matter better, with an humble ſpirit, and the aſſiſtance of the grace of God.

A Parliament meets.

The Parliament was opened the fourth of November; and the Protector was by patent authorized to ſit under the cloth of ſtate, on the right hand of the throne; and to have all the honours and privileges that any uncle of the crown, either by father or mother's ſide, ever had. Rich was made Lord Chancellor. The firſt act that paſſed (five Biſhops only diſſenting) was, "A repeal of all "ſtatutes that had made any thing treaſon or felony in "the late reign, which was not ſo before, and of the ſix "Articles, and the authority given to the King's pro- "clamations, as alſo of the acts againſt Lollards. All

An act of repeal.

"who

"who denied the King's fupremacy, or aſſerted the Pope's, "for the firſt offence were to forfeit their goods, for the "ſecond were to be in a *præmunire*, and were to be attainted "of treaſon for the third. But if any intended to deprive "the King of his eſtate, or title, that was made treaſon: "none were to be accuſed of words but within a month "after they were ſpoken. They alſo repealed the power "that the King had of annulling all laws made till he "was twenty-four years of age, and reſtrained it only to "an annulling them for the time to come; but that it "ſhould not be of force for the declaring them null from "the beginning."

An act about the Sacrament.

Another act paſſed with the ſame diſſent for the communion in both kinds, and that the people ſhould always communicate with the prieſt, and by it irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under ſevere penalties. Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and St. Paul mentions both. In the primitive Church that cuſtom was univerſally obſerved; but upon the belief of tranſubſtantiation, the reſerving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in. This made them firſt endeavour to perſuade the world, that the cup was not neceſſary; for wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees; the bread was for ſome time given dipped, as it is yet in the Greek Church: but it being believed that Chriſt was entirely under either kind, and in every crumb, the Council of Conſtance took the cup from the laity; yet the Bohemians could not be brought to ſubmit to it; ſo every where the uſe of the cup was one of the firſt things that was inſiſted on by thoſe who demanded a reformation. At firſt, all that were preſent did communicate, and cenſures paſſed on ſuch as did it not: and none were denied the Sacrament but penitents, who were made to withdraw during the action. But as the devotion of the world ſlackened, the people were ſtill exhorted to continue their oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it, and were made to believe, that the prieſts received it in their ſtead. The name Sacrifice given to it, as being a holy oblation, was ſo far improved, that the world came to look on the prieſts' officiating, as a ſacrifice for the dead and living. From hence followed an infinite variety of maſſes for all the accidents of human life; and that was the chief part of the prieſts' trade: but it occaſioned many unſeemly jeſts concerning it, which were reſtrained by the ſame act that put theſe down.

Another

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1547. An act concerning the nomination of Biſhops.

Another act paſſed without any diſſent, "that the *congé* "*d'élire*, and the election purſuant to it, being but a "ſhadow, (ſince the perſon was named by the King,) "ſhould ceaſe for the future, and that Biſhops ſhould be "named by the King's letters patents, and thereupon be "conſecrated, and ſhould hold their courts in the King's "name, and not in their own, excepting only the Arch-"biſhop of Canterbury's court: and they were to uſe the "King's ſeal in all their writings, except in preſentations, "collations, and letters of orders, in which they might "uſe their own ſeals." The Apoſtles choſe Biſhops and Paſtors by an extraordinary gift of diſcerning ſpirits, and propoſed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that neceſſary. In the times of perſecution, the Clergy being maintained by the oblations of the people, they were choſen by them. But when the Emperors became Chriſtians, the town-councils and eminent men took the elections out of the hands of the rabble: and the tumults in popular elections were ſuch, that it was neceſſary to regulate them. In ſome places the Clergy, and in others the Biſhops of the province made the choice. The Emperors reſerved the confirmation of the elections in the great ſees to themſelves. But when Charles the Great annexed great territories and regalities to biſhopries, a great change followed thereupon: Churchmen were corrupted by this undue greatneſs, and came to depend on the humours of thoſe Princes to whom they owed this great increaſe of their wealth. Princes named them, and inveſted them in their ſees: but the Popes intended to ſeparate the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from all ſubjection to ſecular Princes, and to make themſelves the heads of that ſtate: at firſt they pretended to reſtore the freedom of elections; but theſe were now engroſſed in a few hands, for only the chapters choſe: the Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of France, the nomination to all the biſhopries in that kingdom; ſo the King of England's aſſuming it was no new thing; and the way of elections, as King Henry had ſettled it, ſeemed to be but a mockery: ſo this change was not much condemned. The eccleſiaſtical courts were the conceſſions of Princes, in which trials concerning marriages, wills, and tithes, depended; ſo the holding thoſe courts in the King's name was no invaſion of the ſpiritual function; ſince all that concerned orders was to be done ſtill in the Biſhop's name, only excommunication was ſtill left as the cenſure of thoſe courts; which being a ſpiritual cenſure ought

ought to have been reſerved to the Biſhop, to be proceeded in by him only with the aſſiſtance of his Clergy: and this fatal error then committed has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

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An act againſt vagabonds.

Another act was made againſt idle vagabonds, that they ſhould be made ſlaves for two years, by any that ſhould ſeize on them. This was chiefly deſigned againſt ſome vagrant monks, as appears by the proviſos in the act; for they went about the country, infuſing into the people a diſlike of the government. The ſeverity of this act made that the Engliſh nation, which naturally abhors ſlavery, did not care to execute it; and this made that the other proviſos, for ſupplying thoſe that were truly indigent, and were willing to be employed, had no effect. But as no nation has better and more mercyful laws for the ſupply of the poor, ſo the ſame pity that many ſhew to the common beggars, which no laws have been able to reſtrain, makes that a ſort of diſſolute and idle beggars intercept much of that charity which ſhould go to the relief of thoſe that are indeed the only proper objects of it.

An act for diſſolving the chantries.

After this came the act for giving the King all thoſe chantries, which the late King had not ſeized on by virtue of the grant made to him of them. Cranmer oppoſed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was ſuch, that the ſtate of learning and religion was like to ſuffer much, if it ſhould not be relieved: and yet he ſaw no probable fund for that, but the preſerving theſe till the King ſhould come to be at age, and allow the ſelling them, for buying in of at leaſt ſuch a ſhare of the impropriations, as might afford ſome more comfortable ſubſiſtence to the Clergy: yet though he and ſeven other Biſhops diſſented, it was paſſed: after all other acts, a general pardon, but clogged with ſome exceptions, came laſt. Some acts were propoſed, but not paſſed: one was for the free uſe of the Scriptures, others were for a court of chancery in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, for reſidence, and for a reformation of the courts of common law.

The Convocation ſits.

The Convocation ſat at the ſame time, and moved, that a commiſſion, begun in the late reign, of thirty-two perſons for reforming the eccleſiaſtical laws, might be revived, and that the inferior Clergy might be admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons; for which they alleged a clauſe in the Biſhops' writ, and ancient cuſtom. And ſince ſome Prelates had, under the former reign, begun to alter the form of the ſervice of the Church, they deſired it might be brought to perfection; and that ſome care might be had

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had of ſupplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferior Clergy's ſitting in the Houſe of Commons was

1547. the ſubject of ſome debate; and was again ſet on foot, both under Queen Elizabeth and King James, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always ſat in the Houſe of Commons, till the ſubmiſſion made in the former reign, upon the ſuit of the *præmunire:* but that cannot be true, ſince in this Convocation, ſeventeen years after that, in which many that had been in the former were preſent, no ſuch thing was alleged. It is not clear who thoſe Proctors of the Clergy that ſat in Parliament were: if they were the Biſhops' aſſiſtants, it is more proper to think they ſat in the Houſe of Lords. No mention is made of them as having a ſhare in the legiſlative authority in our records, except in the 21ſt of Richard II. In which mention is made both of the Commons, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy, concurring to the acts then made: which makes it ſeem moſt probable that they were the clerks of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. When the Parliament met anciently all in one body, the inferior Clergy had their writs, and came to it with the other freeholders; but when the two Houſes were ſeparated, the Clergy became alſo a diſtinct body, and gave their own ſubſidies, and meddled in all the concerns, and repreſented all the grievances of the Church. But now by the act made upon the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy in the laſt reign, their power was reduced almoſt to nothing: ſo they thought it reaſonable to deſire, that either they might have their repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, or at leaſt that matters of religion ſhould not paſs without the aſſent of the Clergy. But the raiſing the eccleſiaſtical authority too high in former times made this turn, that it was now depreſſed as much below its juſt limits, as it was before exalted above them; as commonly one extreme produces another.

It was reſolved, that ſome Biſhops and Divines ſhould be ſent to Windſor, to finiſh ſome reformations in the public offices; for the whole Lower Houſe of Convocation, without a contradictory vote, agreed to the bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what oppoſition it met with in the Upper Houſe. A propoſition being alſo ſet on foot concerning the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy, thirty-five ſubſcribed to the affirmative, and only fourteen held the negative.

And

And thus ended this ſeſſion, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now eſtabliſhed in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new commiſſion; in which, beſides his former authority, he was empowered to ſubſtitute one in his room during his abſence.

The affairs of Germany.

In Germany the Princes of the Smalcaldick league were quite ruined; the Duke of Saxe was defeated, and taken priſoner, and uſed with great ſeverity and ſcorn, which he bare with an invincible greatneſs of mind. The Landgrave was perſuaded to ſubmit, and had aſſurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatneſs of the Emperor, he was ſeized on and kept priſoner, contrary to faith given: upon this, all the princes and towns, except Magdeburg and Breme, ſubmitted and purchaſed their pardon, at what terms the conqueror was pleaſed to impoſe. The Biſhop and Elector of Cologne withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all Germany was at the Emperor's mercy. Some cathedrals, as that at Augſburg, were again reſtored to the Biſhops, and maſs was ſaid in them. A diet was alſo held, in which the Emperor obtained a decree to paſs, by which matters of religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, inſtead of rejoicing at this blow given the Lutherans, was much troubled at it: for the Emperor had now in one year made an end of a war, which he hoped would have embroiled him his whole life; ſo that Italy was now more at his mercy than ever: and it ſeemed the Emperor intended to enlarge his conqueſts there; for the Pope's natural ſon being killed by a conſpiracy, the governor of Milan ſeized on Placentia, which gave the Pope ſome jealouſy, as if the Emperor had been privy to the deſign againſt his ſon. The Emperor's ambaſſadors were alſo very uneaſy to the legates at Trent, and preſſed a reformation of abuſes, and endeavoured to reſtrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine: ſo they took hold of the firſt pretence they had by the death of one that ſeemed to have ſome ſymptoms of the plague, and removed it to Bologna. By this all the advantages the Emperor had from the promiſes which the Proteſtants made, to ſubmit to a free General Council aſſembled in Germany, were defeated: and it was thought a ſtrange turn of divine Providence, that when the extirpation of Lutheraniſm was ſo near being effected, a ſtop was put to it by that, which of all things was leaſt to be apprehended: ſince it might have been expected,

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1547. expected, that the perfecting ſuch a deſign would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever ſo many other grounds of difference between them. So unuſual a thing made the favourers of the Reformation aſcribe it to the immediate care that Heaven had of that work, now when all the human ſupports of it were gone. Upon this fatal revolution of affairs there, many Germans and Italians, that had retired to Germany, came over to England: Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochinus came over firſt; Bucer and Fagius followed. They were invited over by Cranmer, who entertained them at Lambeth, till they were provided. P. Martyr was ſent to Oxford, and Bucer and Fagius to Cambridge; but the latter died ſoon after. There were ſome differences between the French and Engliſh concerning ſome new forts, which were made about Boulogne on both ſides: yet a truce was agreed on; for the Protector had no mind to engage in a war with France.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

He had a new trouble raiſed up in his own family by the ambition of his brother, who thought that being the King's uncle, as well as his brother was, he ought to have a larger ſhare of the government. He had made addreſſes to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's ſiſter; but finding no hopes of ſucceſs, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little undecently; for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her ſo ſoon after the King's death, that if ſhe had conceived with child immediately after the marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King or not: yet the marriage was for ſome time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King and his ſiſters to write to the Queen, to accept him for her huſband. The King's ſiſters excuſed themſelves, that it was not decent for them to interpoſe in ſuch a matter; but the young King was more eaſy: ſo upon his letter the Queen publiſhed her marriage. The Admiral being now poſſeſſed of much wealth, and the King coming often to the Queen's lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furniſhed the King often with money. His deſign was, that whereas in former times, when infant Kings had two uncles, one was governor of his perſon, and another was protector of the realm; ſo now theſe two truſts might be divided, and that he might be made governor of the King's perſon. This is the true account of the breach between thoſe brothers; for the ſtory of the quarrel between their wives about precedence ſeems

to

to be an ill grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutchefs of Somerfet; but the latter being a high woman, might have perhaps inflamed her husband's refentments, over whom the had an abfolute power, which gave the rife to that story. The Protector was at firft very eafy to be reconciled to his brother; but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off nature too much. When he was in Scotland, the Admiral began to take advantage upon that to make a party: and the good advices that were given him by Paget, to look on thofe as the common enemies of their family who were making this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by ambition. It was the advertifement that was fent him of this, that made the Protector leave Scotland before he had finifhed his bufinefs there. During the feffion of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a meffage to the Houfe of Commons, to make him the governor of his perfon. When the Admiral was making friends in order to this, it came to his brother's ears, before he had made any public ufe of it: fo he employed fome to divert him from it, but with no fuccefs. Upon that, he was fent for to appear before the Council, but he refufed to come; yet they having threatened to turn him out of all his places, and to fend him to the Tower, he fubmitted, and the brothers were reconciled: but the Admiral continued his fecret practices ftill with thofe about the King.

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Gardiner being included in the act of pardon was fet at liberty: he promifed to receive and obey the injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Juftification; yet he complied in that likewife: but it was vifible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly conformed. The fecond marriage of the Marquis of Northampton was tried at this time; for his firft wife being convict of adultery, he and the were feparated: and he moved in the end of the former reign, that he might be fuffered to marry again; to a commiffion was then granted, and was renewed in this reign, to fome delegates, to examine what relief might be given to the innocent perfon in fuch a cafe. But this being new, and Cranmer proceeding in it with his ufual exactnefs, which is often accompanied with flownefs, the Marquis became impatient, and married a fecond wife. Upon this the Council ordered them to be parted, till the delegates fhould give fentence. The arguments for the fecond marriage

1548.

The Marquis of Northampton's divorce.

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marriage were theſe; Chriſt had condemned divorces for other caſes, but excepted that of adultery. A ſeparation from bed and board, and the marriage-bond ſtanding, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of marriage. St. Paul diſcharges the married perſon, if the other wilfully deſerted him; much more will it follow in the caſe of adultery. And though St. Paul ſays, the wife is tied to her huſband as long as he liveth, that is only to be underſtood of a huſband that continued to be one; but that relation ceaſed by adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter; ſome allowed marriage upon divorce to the huſband, but denied it to the wife; others allowed it to both. So Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Baſil; Jerome alſo juſtified Fabiola, that had done it. Chryſoſtom and Chromatius allowed a ſecond marriage. St. Auſtin was doubtful about it. The Roman Emperors allowed, by their laws, even after they became Chriſtians, divorce, and a ſecond marriage, both to huſbands and wives, upon many other reaſons beſides adultery; as for procuring abortions, treating for another marriage, being guilty of treaſon, or a wife's going to plays without her huſband's leave. Nor did the Fathers in thoſe times complain of thoſe laws. This was alſo allowed by the Canons upon ſeveral occaſions; but after the ſtate of celibate came to be magnified out of meaſure, ſecond marriages were more generally condemned: and this was heightened, when marriage was looked on as a ſacrament. Yet though no divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canoniſts found out many ſhifts for annulling marriages from the beginning, to thoſe that could pay well for them. All theſe things being conſidered, the delegates gave ſentence, confirming the ſecond marriage, and diſſolving the firſt.

1548.

Some ceremonies abrogated.

Candlemas and Lent were now approaching; ſo the Clergy and people were much divided with relation to the ceremonies uſual at thoſe times. By ſome injunctions in King Henry's reign it had been declared, that faſting in Lent was only binding by a poſitive law. Wakes and Plough Mondays were alſo ſuppreſſed, and hints were given that other cuſtoms, which were much abuſed, ſhould be ſhortly put down. The groſs rabble loved theſe things, as matters of diverſion, and thought divine worſhip without them would be but a dull buſineſs. But others looked on theſe as relics of heatheniſm, ſince the Gentiles worſhipped their gods with ſuch feſtivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and ſimplicity of the

the Chriſtian religion. Cranmer upon this procured an order of Council againſt the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and palms on Palm-Sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury, and was executed by him. But a proclamation followed againſt all that ſhould make changes without authority. The creeping to the croſs, and taking holy bread and water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to certify in the King's name what ceremonies ſhould be afterwards laid aſide; and none were to preach out of their own pariſhes without licence from the King, or the viſitors, the Archbiſhop, or the Biſhop of the dioceſe. Some queſtioned the Council's power to make ſuch orders, the act that gave authority to their proclamations being repealed: but it was ſaid, the King's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters might well juſtify their making ſuch rules. Soon after this, a general order followed for a removal of all images out of churches: there were every where great conteſts whether the images had been abuſed to ſuperſtition or not. Some thought the conſecration of them was an abuſe common to them all. Thoſe alſo that repreſented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a dove over his head; and ſomewhere the bleſſed Virgin was repreſented as aſſumed into it; gave ſo great ſcandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occaſion given to cenſure in this order was, that all ſhrines, and the plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's uſe. A letter was at that time writ to all preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forſake ſuperſtition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before thoſe whom they ſhould obey. Some hot men condemned this temper, as favouring too much of carnal policy: but it was ſaid, that though the Apoſtles, by the gift of miracles, had ſufficient means to convince the world of their authority, yet they did not all at once change the cuſtoms of the Moſaical law, but proceeded by degrees; and Chriſt forbid the pulling up the tares, leſt good wheat ſhould be pulled up with them: ſo it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former ſuperſtition, and not to run too faſt.

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Feb. 8.

Eighteen Biſhops and ſome Divines were now em-

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ployed to examine the Offices of the Church, to ſee which of them needed amendment. They began with the Euchariſt. They proceeded in the ſame manner that was uſed in the former reign; for every one gave his opinion in writing, in anſwer to the queſtions that were put to them. Some of theſe are ſtill preſerved; which were concerning the prieſts ſole communicating, and maſſes ſatisfactory for the dead; the maſs in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and expoſing it, and the ſacrifice that was made in it. In moſt of thoſe papers, it appears that the greateſt part of the Biſhops were ſtill leavened with the old ſuperſtition, at leaſt to ſome degree. It was clearly found that the plain inſtitution of the Sacrament was much vitiated with a mixture of many heatheniſh rites and pomps, on deſign to raiſe the credit of the prieſts, in whoſe hands that great performance was lodged. This was at firſt done to draw over the heathens by thoſe ſplendid rites to Chriſtianity; but ſuperſtition once begun has no bounds nor meaſures; and ignorance and barbarity increaſing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in religion, but as it was ſet off with much pageantry; and the belief of the corporal preſence raiſed this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tongue; all the veſſels and garments belonging to it were conſecrated with much devotion; a great part of the ſervice was ſecret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the conſecration itſelf was to be ſaid very ſoftly; for words that were not to be heard agreed beſt with a change that was not to be ſeen: the many geſticulations, and the magnificent proceſſions, all tended to raiſe this pageantry higher. Maſſes were alſo ſaid for all the turns and affairs of human life. Trentals, a cuſtom of having thirty maſſes a year on the chief feſtivities for redeeming ſouls out of purgatory, was that which brought the prieſts moſt money; for theſe were thought God's beſt days, in which acceſs was eaſier to him. On ſaints' days, in the maſs it was prayed, that by the ſaints' interceſſion the ſacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger indulgence; which could not be eaſily explained, if the ſacrifice was the death of Chriſt; beſides a numberleſs variety of other rites: for many of the relics of heatheniſm were made uſe of for the corrupting of the holieſt inſtitution of the Chriſtian religion. The firſt ſtep that was now made was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the diſtribution of the Sacrament; for the Office of conſecration

1548. A new Office for Communion.

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was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is ſtill uſed. In the exhortation, auricular confeſſion to a prieſt is left free to be done, or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was alſo a denunciation made, requiring impenitent ſinners to withdraw. The bread was to be ſtill of the ſame form that had been formerly uſed. In the diſtribution it was ſaid, *The body of our Lord*, &c. *preſerve thy body*; and *The blood of our Lord*, &c. *preſerve thy ſoul.* This was printed with a proclamation, requiring all to receive it with ſuch reverence and uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave directions, aſſuring the people of his earneſt zeal to ſet forth godly orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: the books were ſent over England, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next Eaſter according to them. 1548.

Auricular confeſſion examined.

Many were much offended to find confeſſion left indifferent; ſo this matter was examined. Chriſt gave his Apoſtles a power of binding and looſing, and St. James commanded all to confeſs their faults to one another. In the primitive Church all that denied the faith, or otherwiſe gave ſcandal, were ſeparated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made public confeſſion: and, according to the degrees of their ſins, the times and degrees of public penitence, and their ſeparation, were proportioned; which was the chief ſubject of the conſultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth centuries. For ſecret ſins, the people lay under no obligation to confeſs, but they went often to the prieſts for direction even for theſe. Near the end of the fifth century they began to have ſecret penances and confeſſions, as well as public: but in the ſeventh century this became the general practice. In the eighth century the commutation of penance for money, or other ſervices done the Church, was brought in. Then the holy wars and pilgrimages came to be magnified: croiſadoes againſt heretics, or princes depoſed by the Pope, were ſet up inſtead of all other penances. Prieſts alſo managed confeſſion and abſolution, ſo as to enter into all men's ſecrets, and to govern their conſciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not ſo aſſociated as to be governed by orders that might be ſent them from Rome, the friars were every where employed to hear confeſſions; and many reſerved caſes were made, in which the Pope only gave abſolution: theſe were truſted to them, and they had the trade of indulgences

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put in their hands; which they managed with as much confidence as mountebanks uſed in ſelling their medicines; with this advantage, that the ineffectualneſs of their devices was not ſo eaſily diſcovered, for the people believed all that the prieſts told them. In this they grew to ſuch a pitch of confidence, that, for ſaying ſome collects, indulgences for years, and for hundreds, thouſands, yea, a million of years, were granted; ſo cheap a thing was heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private confeſſion was declared indifferent: but it was much cenſured, that no rules for public penance were ſet up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canoniſts. The people did not think a declarative abſolution ſufficient, and thought it ſurer work, when a prieſt ſaid, *I abſolve thee*, though that was but a late invention. Others cenſured the words of diſtribution, by which the bread was appropriated to the body, and the cup to the ſoul. And this was ſoon after amended; only ſome words relating to it are ſtill in the collect, *We do not preſume*.

The affairs of ſtate took up the Council as much as the matters of religion employed the Biſhops: the war with Scotland grew chargeable, and was ſupported from France; but the ſale of the chantry lands brought the Council in ſome money. Gardiner was brought into new trouble: many complaints were made of him, that he diſparaged the preachers ſent with the King's licence into his dioceſe, and that he ſecretly oppoſed all reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied moſt of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himſelf openly in a ſermon before the King. The Protector preſſed him not to meddle in matters not yet determined, particularly the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and to aſſert the King's power, though he was under age, and the authority of the Council. For the Clergy began generally to ſay, that though they acknowledged the King's ſupremacy, yet they would not yield it to the Council; and ſeemed to place it in ſome extraordinary grace conferred on the King, by the anointing in the coronation. So the Protector deſired Gardiner to declare himſelf in thoſe points: but when he came to preach on St. Peter's day, he inveighed againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and aſſerted the King's; but ſaid nothing of the Council, nor the King's power under age: he alſo juſtified the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries and chantries, and the putting down maſſes ſatisfactory, as alſo the removing of images, the Sacrament

Gardiner is impriſoned.

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in both kinds, and the new order for the Communion; but did largely assert the corporal presence in the Sacrament: upon which, there was a noise raised by hot men of both sides during the sermon; and this was said to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was sent to the Tower. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to law and justice; and, as all violent courses do, this rather weakened than strengthened those that were most concerned in it. Cranmer did at this time set out a large catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing that idolatry had been committed in the use of images: he asserted the divine institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of absolving sinners; and expressed great zeal for the setting up penitentiary canons, and exhorted the people to discover the state of their souls to their pastors. From this it appears, that he had changed the opinions he formerly held against the divine institution of ecclesiastical offices. 1548.

A new Liturgy composed.

But now a more general reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the nation might have an uniformity in the worship of God, and be no more cantoned to the several uses of Sarum, York, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few ceremonies in them: every Bishop had one for his own diocese. But in the African churches they began first to put them into a more regular form. Gregory the Great laboured much in this; yet he left Austin the monk to his liberty, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to edification. Great additions were made in every age; for the private devotions of some that were reputed saints were added to the public Offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new rite; which was the chief study of some ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the Spirit consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the people to their priests, that they should make them join with them in all their heats in prayer; and would have proved as great a resignation of their devotion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the worship to a fit mean between the pomp of superstition and naked flatness: they resolved to change nothing, merely in opposition to received practices; but rather, in imitation of

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what Chriſt did, in the inſtitution of the two ſacraments of the Goſpel, that did conſiſt of rites uſed among the Jews, but bleſſed by him to higher purpoſes, to comply with what had been formerly in uſe, as much as was poſſible, thereby to gain the people. All the conſecrations of water, ſalt, &c. in the Church of Rome, looked like the remainders of heatheniſm, and were laid aſide. By theſe, devils being adjured, and a divine virtue ſuppoſed to be in them, the people came to think, that by ſuch obſervances they might be ſure of heaven. The abſolutions, by which, upon the account of the merits of the bleſſed Virgin and the ſaints, the ſprinkling of water, faſtings, and pilgrimages, with many other things, ſins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the paſſion of Chriſt, and the abſolution given to dead bodies, looked like groſs impoſtures, tending to make the world think, that, beſides the painful way to heaven, in a courſe of true holineſs, the prieſts had ſecrets in their hands, of carrying people thither in another method, and on eaſier terms; and this drew in the people to purchaſe their favour, eſpecially when they were dying: ſo that, as their fears were then heightened, there was no other way left them, in the concluſion of an ill life, to die with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their prieſts; therefore all this was now caſt out. It was reſolved to have the whole worſhip in the vulgar tongue; upon which St. Paul has copiouſly enlarged himſelf; and all nations, as they were converted to Chriſtianity, had their offices in their vulgar tongue: but of late it had been pretended, that it was a part of the communion of ſaints, that the worſhip ſhould be every where in the ſame language; though the people were hardly uſed, when, for the ſake of ſome vagrant prieſts, that might come from foreign parts, they were kept from knowing what was ſaid in the worſhip of God. It was pretended, that Pilate having ordered the inſcription on the croſs in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, theſe three languages were ſanctified; but it is not eaſy to underſtand what authority he had for conferring ſuch a privilege on them. But the keeping all in an unknown tongue, preſerved in dark ages the eſteem of their offices; in which there were ſuch prayers and hymns, and ſuch leſſons, that if the people had underſtood them, they muſt have given great ſcandal: in many prayers the pardon of ſins and the grace of God were aſked, in ſuch a ſtyle, of the ſaints, as if theſe had been wholly at their diſpoſal, and as if they had been more merciful than God,

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or Chriſt. In former times, all that did officiate were peculiarly habited, and all their garments were bleſſed; and theſe were conſidered as a part of the train of the maſs; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the prieſts' veſtments under the Moſaical law, and was early brought into the Chriſtian churches: it was a proper expreſſion of innocence, and it was fit that the worſhip of God ſhould be in a decent habit. So it was continued; and ſince the ſacrifices offered to idols were not thereby, according to St. Paul, of their own nature polluted, and every creature of God was good; it was thought, notwithſtanding the former abuſe, moſt reaſonable to uſe theſe garments ſtill.

The new Offices.

The morning and evening prayers were put almoſt in the ſame method in which we uſe them ſtill, only there was no confeſſion, nor abſolution. In the Office for the Communion there was a commemoration of thankſgiving for the bleſſed Virgin, and all departed ſaints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the conſecration, the uſe of croſſing the elements was retained; but there was no elevation; which was at firſt uſed as an hiſtorical rite, to ſhew Chriſt's being lifted up on the croſs; but was afterwards done, to call on the people to adore it. No ſtamp was to be on the bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the people's mouths by the prieſts, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the Greek Church began to take it in ſpoons of gold, others in a linen cloth, called their Dominical: but after the corporal preſence was received, the people were not ſuffered to touch it, and the prieſts' thumbs and fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualify them for that contact. In baptiſm, the child's head and breaſt was croſſed, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: children were to be thrice dipped, or, in caſe of weakneſs, water was to be ſprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The ſick might alſo be anointed if they deſired it. At funerals, the departed ſoul was recommended to God's mercy.

Private communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed of ſuch virtue, that they conferred grace by the very receiving them, *ex opere operato:* and ſo women baptized. The ancients did ſend portions of the euchariſt to the ſick, but without any pomp: which came in when the corporal preſence was believed. But inſtead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacrament ſhould be miniſtered to the ſick, and therefore, in caſe of weakneſs, children might be baptized

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in houſes; though it was more ſuitable to the deſign of baptiſm, which was the admiſſion of a new member to the Church, to do it before the whole congregation. But this, which was a proviſion for weakneſs, is become ſince a mark of vanity, and a piece of affected ſtate. It was alſo appointed, that the Sacrament ſhould be given to the ſick, and not to be ſent from the Church, but conſecrated by their bed-ſides; ſince Chriſt had ſaid, that where two or three were aſſembled in his name, he would be in the midſt of them. But it is too groſs a relic of the worſt part of popery, if any imagine, that, after an ill life, ſome ſudden ſorrow for ſin, with a haſty abſolution, and the Sacrament, will be a paſſport to heaven; ſince the mercies of God in Chriſt are offered in the Goſpel only to thoſe who truly believe, ſincerely repent, and do change the courſe of their lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled was publiſhed, with a preface concerning ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill in the Common Prayer Book, written with extraordinary judgment and temper.

Cenſures paſſed on the Common Prayer Book.

When the book came into all men's hands, ſeveral things were cenſured; as particularly the frequent uſe of the croſs and anointing. The former began to be uſed as a badge of a crucified Saviour: but the ſuperſtition of it was ſo much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the croſier. The uſing it was alſo believed to have a virtue for driving away evil ſpirits, and preſerving one from dangers: ſo that a ſacramental virtue was affixed to it; which could not be done, ſince there is no inſtitution for it in Scripture: but the uſing it as a ceremony, expreſſing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no ſuperſtition; ſince ceremonies, that only expreſs our duty, or profeſſion, may be uſed as well as words; theſe being ſigns, as the other are ſounds, that expreſs our thoughts. The uſe of oil in confirmation, and receiving penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the ſick till the tenth century; for the ancients did not underſtand thoſe words of St. James to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

All preaching was for ſome time reſtrained.

While theſe changes were under conſideration, there were great heats every where, and a great contradiction among the pulpits; ſome commending all the old cuſtoms, and others inveighing as much againſt them: ſo the power of granting licences to preach was taken from the Biſhops, and reſtrained only to the King and the Archbiſhops;

biſhops; yet even that did not prove an effectual reſtraint. So a proclamation was ſet out, reſtraining all preaching, till the order, which was then in the hands of the Biſhops, ſhould be finiſhed; and, inſtead of hearing ſermons, all were required to apply themſelves to prayer, for a bleſſing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themſelves in the mean while with the Homilies.

Affairs in Scotland.

The war of Scotland continued: the Scots received a great ſupply from France of ſix thouſand men, under the command of Deſſy. The Engliſh had fortified Hadington, which was well ſituated, and lay in a fruitful country: ſo the Governor of Scotland, joining an army of Scots to the French, ſat down before it. The Protector ſaw the inconveniences of a long war coming on him both with Scotland and France; ſo he offered a truce for ten years, in which time he hoped, by preſents and practices, to gain, or at leaſt to divide thoſe who were united by the war. Many of the Scotch nobility liked the propoſition well: and indeed the inſolence of the French was ſuch, that, inſtead of being auxiliaries, they conſidered them as enemies. But the Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of a match with England, that they never concluded themſelves ſecure till it were put out of their power, and ſo did vehemently promote the propoſition made by the French, of ſending their Queen over to France: and this was in concluſion agreed to. So the French ſhips that brought over the auxiliaries carried back the young Queen. The ſiege of Hadington went on: a great recruit ſent to them from Berwick was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions. Some caſtles that the Engliſh had were taken by ſurpriſe, and others by treachery: a fleet was ſent to ſpoil the coaſt of Scotland, under the Admiral's command; but he made only two deſcents, in both which he had ſuch ill ſucceſs, that he loſt near twelve hundred men in them. The Earl of Shrewſbury led in a good army to the relief of Hadington: the ſiege was opened, and the place well ſupplied. But as Deſſy marched back to Edinburgh, his ſoldiers committed great outrages upon the Scots; ſo that if Shrewſbury had deſigned to fight, he had great advantages, ſince the Scots were now very weary of their imperious friends, the French: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was ſent. Deſſy followed him, and made a great inroad into England, but would not give the Scots any ſhare of the ſpoil, and treated them in all things as a conquered province:

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Affairs in Germany.

In Germany, the Emperor, after he had uſed all poſſible endeavours to bring the Council back to Trent, but without ſucceſs, proteſted againſt thoſe at Bologna; and ordered three Divines (one of them was eſteemed a Proteſtant) to draw a book for reconciling matters of religion, which ſhould take place in that interval, till a Council ſhould meet in Germany, called from that the *Interim*. The chief conceſſions in favour of the Proteſtants were the communion in both kinds, and that married prieſts might officiate. A Diet was ſummoned, where Maurice was inveſted in the electorate of Saxe, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and ſee the ceremony; which he did with his ordinary conſtancy of mind: and without expreſſing any concern about it, he returned to his ſtudies; which were chiefly employed in the Scriptures. The book was propoſed to the Diet, and the Biſhop of Mentz, without any order, thanked the Emperor for it, in their name; and this was publiſhed as the conſent of the Diet. So ſlight a thing will paſs for a conſent of the States, by a conqueror that looks on himſelf as above law. Both Papiſts and Proteſtants were offended at it. It was condemned at Rome, where no hereſy was more odious, than that the ſecular powers ſhould meddle in points of faith. The Proteſtants generally refuſed it; and the impriſoned Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the offers that were made him, nor the ſeverities he was put

put to, in all which he was always the ſame. Some conteſts aroſe between Melanchthon and the other Lutherans: for he thought the ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought theſe would make way for all the other errors of popery. The Proteſtant religion was now almoſt ruined in Germany, and this made the Divines turn their eyes to England. Calvin wrote to the Protector, and preſſed him to go on to a more complete reformation, and that prayers for the dead, the chriſm, and extreme unction, might be laid aſide. He deſired him to truſt in God, and go on, and wiſhed there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then in England; but above all things he prayed him to ſuppreſs that impiety and profanity that, as he heard, abounded in the nation. 1548.

In the end of this year a ſeſſion of Parliament met, but no bill was finiſhed before February: the firſt was concerning the married Clergy, which was finiſhed by the Commons in ſix days, but lay ſix weeks before the Lords: nine Biſhops and four temporal Lords proteſted againſt it. It was declared, that it were better for prieſts to live unmarried, free of all worldly cares; yet ſince the laws compelling it had occaſioned great filthineſs, they were all repealed. The pretence of chaſtity in the Romiſh prieſts had poſſeſſed the world with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the Reformers, if the world had not clearly ſeen through it, and been made very ſenſible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own beds and families. Nor was there any point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this prejudice that lay againſt them. In the Old Teſtament, all the prieſts were not only married, but the office deſcended by inheritance. In the New Teſtament, marriage was declared *honourable in all:* among the qualifications of Biſhops and Deacons, their being the *huſbands of one wife* are reckoned up. Many of the Apoſtles were married, and carried their wives about with them, as alſo Aquila did Priſcilla. Forbidding to marry is reckoned a mark of the apoſtaſy that was to follow. Some of the firſt heretics inveighed againſt marriage; but the orthodox juſtified it, and condemned thoſe churchmen that put away their wives: which was confirmed by a General Council in the fifth century: Paphnutius, in the Council of Nice, oppoſed a motion that was made for it: Hilary of Poictiers was married; Baſil and Nazianzen's fathers were Biſhops. Heliodorus, the firſt that wrote a romance,

1549. A ſeſſion of Parliament.

An act for the marriage of the Clergy.

In Trullo.

BOOK II. romance, moved that Biſhops might live ſingly: but till then every one did in that as he pleaſed; and even thoſe who were twice married, if the firſt was before their converſion, might be Biſhops; which Jerome himſelf, though very partial to the celibate, juſtifies. All the Canons made againſt the married Clergy were only poſitive laws, which might be repealed. The prieſts in the Greek Church did ſtill live with their wives at that time. In the Weſt the Clergy did generally marry, and in Edgar's time they were for the moſt part married in England. In the ninth century, P. Nicholas preſſed the celibate much, but was oppoſed by many. In the eleventh century, Gregory the Seventh intending to ſet up a new eccleſiaſtical empire, found that the unmarried Clergy would be the ſureſt to him, ſince the married gave pledges to the ſtate, and therefore he proceeded furiouſly in it; and called all the married prieſts, Nicolaitans: yet in England, Lanfranc did only impoſe the celibate on the prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in towns. Anſelm impoſed it on all without exception; but both he, Bernard, and Petrus Damiani, complain, that ſodomy abounded much, even among the Biſhops: and not only Panormitan, but Pius the Second wiſhed, that the laws for the celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the laws of God; and it was a ſin to force churchmen to vow that which ſometimes was not in their power: and it was found, by examining the forms of ordination, that the prieſts in England had made no ſuch vows; and even the vow in the Roman Pontifical to live chaſtely did not import a tie not to marry, ſince a man might live chaſte in a married ſtate. Many lewd ſtories were publiſhed of the Clergy, but none ſeemed more remarkable than that of the Pope's Legate in Henry the Second's time, who, the very ſame night after he had put all the married Clergy from their benefices, was found abed with a whore. It was alſo obſerved, that the unmarried Biſhops, if they had not baſtards to raiſe, were as much ſet on advancing their nephews and kindred, as thoſe that were married could be. Nor did any perſons meddle more in ſecular affairs than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reaſonable to reſtrain the Clergy, as was done in the primitive Church, from converting the goods of the Church, which were entruſted to their care, to the enriching of their families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this liberty, than ſeveral Clergymen that never made uſe of it; in particular, Ridley and Redmayn.

1549.

- Another

Another act passed, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished; eight Bishops and three temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that divers Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement, concluded on the new book. Therefore they enacted, that by Whitsunday next all divine offices should be performed according to it; and if any used other offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months; lose their benefices for a second; and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some censured those words, that the book was composed by the *aid of the Holy Ghost*; but this did not import an inspiration, but a divine assistance. Many wondered to see the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster, protest against the act, since they had concurred in composing the book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the imposing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a proviso that was added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the Singing Psalms, then put in verse, and much used both in churches and houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the primitive times the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the monastic orders consisted in repeating it often. Apollinarius put it in verse, and both Nazianzen and Prudentius wrote many devout hymns in verse; others, though in prose, were much used, as the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Te Deum:* afterwards the greatest part of the offices was put in Latin rhimes, and so now some English poets turned the Psalter into verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our language and poetry being since that time much improved, this work has now lost its beauty so much, that there is great need of a new version.

1549. An act confirming the Liturgy.

Another act passed about fasting, declaring, "that though "all days and meats were in themselves alike, yet fasting "being a great help to virtue, and to the subduing the "body to the mind, and a distinction of meats conducing "to the advancement of the fishing-trade, it was enacted, "that Lent, and all Fridays and Saturdays, and Ember-"days, should be fish-days, under severe penalties; ex-"cepting the weak, or those that had the King's licence." Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from

An act for fasting.

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from them they ſhould faſt: ſo in the primitive Church they faſted before Eaſter; but the ſame number of days was not obſerved in all places: afterwards other rules and days were ſet up: but St. Auſtin complained, that many in his time placed all their religion in obſerving them. Faſt-days were turned to a mockery in the Church of Rome, in which they both dined, and did eat fiſh dreſſed exquiſitely, and drank wine. This made many run to another extreme againſt all faſts, or diſtinction of days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without ſuperſtition, is a great means for keeping up a ſerioufneſs of mind, which is neceſſary for maintaining the power of religion. Other bills were propoſed, but not paſſed; one for making it treaſon to marry the King's ſiſters, without the conſent of the King and Council: but the forfeiture of ſucceſſion in that caſe was thought ſufficient. The Biſhops did alſo complain of their want of power to repreſs vice, which ſo much abounded: but the laity were ſo apprehenſive of coming again under an eccleſiaſtical tyranny, that they would not conſent to it. A propoſition was alſo made for bringing the common law into a body, in imitation of Juſtinian's Digeſts: but it fell, being too great a deſign to be finiſhed under an infant King.

The Admiral's attainder.

In this Parliament the Admiral was attainted. The Queen Dowager died in September laſt, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon: upon that, he renewed his addreſſes to Lady Elizabeth: but finding it in vain to expect that his brother and the Council would conſent to it, and that her right to the ſucceſſion would be cut off if he married her without their conſent, he reſolved to make ſure of the King's perſon, till he made a change in the government: he fortified his houſe, he laid up a magazine, and made a party among the nobility. The Protector employed many to divert him from thoſe deſperate deſigns; but his ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities againſt him. He ſent him priſoner to the Tower in January, with his confederate Sharington, who being vice-treaſurer of the mint at Briſtol, had ſupplied him with money, and had coined much baſe money for his uſe. Many were ſent to perſuade him to a better mind; and his brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the court and buſineſs; but he was intractable. So, many articles were objected to him, both of his deſigns againſt the ſtate, and of his malverſation in his office, ſeveral pirates having been entertained by

by him. Many witneſſes, and letters under his own hand, were brought againſt him. Almoſt the whole Council went to the Tower and examined him; but he refuſed to make any anſwers, and ſaid, he expected an open trial. The whole Council upon this acquainted the King with it, and deſired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted. Upon that, ſome counſellors were again ſent to ſee what they could draw from him; but he was ſullen, and after he had anſwered to three of the articles, denying ſome particulars, and excuſing others, he refuſed to go any further. The buſineſs was next brought into the Houſe of Lords: the Judges and the King's Council delivered their opinions, that the articles objected to him were treaſon. Then the evidence was given, upon which the whole Houſe paſſed the bill, the Protector only withdrawing: they diſpatched it in two days. In the Houſe of Commons many argued againſt attainders without a trial, or bringing the party to make his anſwers. But a meſſage was ſent from the King, deſiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords, that had given evidence againſt him in their own houſe, were ſent down to the Commons: upon which they paſſed the bill; and the royal aſſent was given the fifth of March: and afterwards the King, being preſſed to it by the Council, gave order for the execution; which was done the twentieth of March. This was the only cure that his ambition ſeemed capable of: yet it was thought againſt nature, that one brother ſhould fall by the hand of another: and the attainting a man without hearing him was condemned, as contrary to natural juſtice; ſo the Protector ſuffered almoſt as much by his death, as he could have done by his life. 1549.

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King ſubſidies, and ſo the Parliament was prorogued. The firſt thing taken into care was the receiving the act of uniformity: ſome complaints were made of the prieſts' way of officiating, that they did it with ſuch a tone of voice, that the people did not underſtand what was ſaid, no more than when the prayers were ſaid in Latin; ſo this temper was found: prayers were ordered to be ſaid in pariſh-churches in a plain voice; but in cathedrals the old way was ſtill kept up, as agreeing better with the muſic uſed in them: though this ſeemed not very decent in the confeſſion of ſins, nor in the Litany, where a ſimple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with thoſe devotions than thoſe cadences and muſical notes do. Others continued A new viſitation.

to

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to uſe all the geſticulations, croſſings, and kneelings, that they had formerly been accuſtomed to: the people did alſo continue the uſe of their beads; which were brought in by Peter the Hermit in the eleventh century, by which the repeating the Angel's ſalutation to the Virgin was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times ſaid for one Pater Noſter. Inſtructions were given to the viſitors to put all theſe down in a new viſitation, and to enquire if any prieſts continued to drive a trade by trentals, or maſſes for departed ſouls. Order was alſo given, that there ſhould be no private maſſes at altars in the corners of churches, and that there ſhould be but one communion in a day, unleſs it were in great churches, and at high feſtivals, in which they were allowed to have one communion in the morning, and another at noon. The viſitors made their report, that they found the Book of Common Prayer received univerſally over all the kingdom, only Lady Mary continued to have maſs ſaid according to the abrogated forms: upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the laws; for the nearer ſhe was to the King in blood, ſhe was ſo much the more obliged to give a good example to the reſt of the ſubjects. She refuſed to comply with their deſires, and ſent one to the Emperor for his protection; upon which, the Emperor preſſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and they promiſed, that for ſome time ſhe ſhould be diſpenſed with. The Emperor pretended afterwards that they made him an abſolute promiſe, that ſhe ſhould never be more troubled about it; but they ſaid, it was only a temporary promiſe. A match was alſo propoſed for her with the King of Portugal's brother, but it was let fall ſoon after. She refuſed to acknowledge the laws made when the King was under age, and carried herſelf very high; for ſhe knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a war with France, and that made the Emperor's alliance more neceſſary to England: yet the Council ſent for the officers of her houſehold, and required them to let her know that the King's authority was the ſame when he was a child as at full age; and that it was now lodged in them; and though as they were ſingle perſons they were all inferior to her, yet as they were the King's Council ſhe was bound to obey them, eſpecially when they executed the law; which all ſubjects, of what rank ſoever, were bound to obey. Yet at preſent they durſt go no further, for fear of the Emperor's diſpleaſure: ſo it was reſolved to connive at her maſs.

The

The reformation of the greateſt errors in divine worſhip being thus eſtabliſhed, Cranmer proceeded next to eſtabliſh a form of doctrine: the chief point that hitherto was untouched, was the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which the prieſts magnified as the greateſt myſtery of the Chriſtian religion, and the chief privilege of Chriſtians; with which the ſimple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for ſome ages the doctrine of the Greek Church, that in the Sacraments there was both bread and wine, and alſo the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt. The Helvetians looked on it only as a commemoration of the death of Chriſt. The Princes of Germany were at great pains to have theſe reconciled, in which Bucer had laboured with great induſtry: but Luther, being a man of harſh temper, did not eaſily bear contradiction, and was too apt to aſſume, in effect, that infallibility to himſelf, which he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and aſſerted a real preſence; but it was not eaſy to underſtand what was meant by that expreſſion, unleſs it was a real application of Chriſt's death; ſo that the meaning of *really* was *effectually*. But though Bucer followed this method, Peter Martyr did in his lectures declare plainly for the Helvetians. So Dr. Smith, and ſome others, intended publicly to oppoſe and affront him; and challenged him to a diſpute about it; which he readily accepted, on theſe conditions, that the King's Council ſhould firſt approve of it, and that it ſhould be managed in Scripture terms: for the ſtrength of thoſe Doctors lay in a nimble managing of thoſe barbarous and unintelligible terms of the Schools, which though they ſounded high, yet really they had no ſenſe under that: ſo all the Proteſtants reſolved to diſpute in Scripture terms, which ſeemed more proper in matters of divinity than the metaphyſical language of Schoolmen. The Council having appointed Dr. Cox, and ſome others, to preſide in the diſpute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England; but before he went, he wrote a very mean ſubmiſſion to Cranmer: other Doctors diſputed with Peter Martyr concerning tranſubſtantiation; but that had the common fate of all public diſputes, for both ſides gave out that they had the better. At the ſame time there were alſo diſputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, that was ſent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on Bertram's book of the Sacrament, and wondered much to find ſo celebrated a writer in the

1549. Diſputes concerning Chriſt's preſence in the Sacrament.

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ninth century engage ſo plainly againſt the corporal preſence: this diſpoſed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: he communicated the matter to Cranmer, and they together made great collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it.

Arguments againſt the corporal preſence.

The ſubſtance of their arguments was, that as Chriſt called the cup *the fruit of the vine*, ſo St. Paul called the other element *bread*, after the conſecration; which ſhews that their natures were not changed. Chriſt, ſpeaking to Jews, and ſubſtituting the Euchariſt in the room of the Paſchal Lamb, uſed ſuch expreſſions as had been cuſtomary among the Jews on that occaſion; who called the Lamb the Lord's Paſſover; which could not be meant literally, ſince the Paſſover was the Angel's paſſing over their houſes, when the firſtborn of the Egyptians were killed: ſo it being a commemoration of that, was called the Lord's Paſſover; and in the ſame ſenſe did Chriſt call the bread *his body:* figurative expreſſions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called figurative actions. It was alſo appointed for a remembrance of Chriſt, and that ſuppoſes abſence. The elements were alſo called by Chriſt his *body broken*, and his *blood ſhed*; ſo it is plain they were his body, not as it is glorified in heaven, but as it ſuffered on the croſs: and ſince the Scriptures ſpeak of Chriſt's continuance in heaven till the laſt day, from thence they inferred, that he was not corporally preſent. And it was ſhewed, that the *eating Chriſt's fleſh*, mentioned by St. John, was not to be underſtood of the Sacrament, ſince of every one that did eat, it is ſaid, that he has *eternal life in him*. So that was to be underſtood only of receiving Chriſt's doctrine; and he himſelf ſhewed it was to be meant ſo, when he ſaid, that *the fleſh profited nothing, but his words were ſpirit and life*. So that all this was according to Chriſt's ordinary way of teaching in parables. Many other arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once; and that it was not in a place after the manner of a ſpirit, but was always extended. They found alſo that the Fathers had taught, that the elements were ſtill bread and wine, and were the types, the ſigns, and figures of Chriſt's body, not only according to Tertullian and St. Auſtin, but to the ancient Liturgies, both in the Greek and Roman Churches. But that on which they built moſt was, that Chryſoſtom, Gelaſius, and Theodoret, arguing againſt thoſe

thoſe who ſaid that the human nature in Chriſt was ſwallowed up by its union to his godhead; they illuſtrated the contrary thus: as in the Sacrament, the elements are united to the body of Chriſt, and yet continue to be the ſame that they were formerly, both in ſubſtance, nature, and figure; ſo the humanity was not deſtroyed by its union with the Word. From which it appeared, that it was then the received opinion that the elements were not changed; and therefore all thoſe high expreſſions in Chryſoſtom, or others, were only ſtrains and figures of eloquence, to raiſe the devotion of the people higher in that holy action. But upon thoſe expreſſions the following ages built that opinion; which agreeing ſo well with the deſigns of the prieſts for eſtabliſhing the authority of that order, which by its character was qualified for the greateſt performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infuſe it into the belief of the world: and thoſe dark ages were diſpoſed to believe every thing ſo much the rather, the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth century, many of the greateſt men of that age wrote againſt it, and none of them were for that condemned as heretics. The contrary opinion was then received in England, as appeared by one of the Saxon Homilies that was read on Eaſter-day, in which many of Bertram's words were put: but it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth century, and fully eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council in the Lateran. At firſt it was believed that the whole loaf was turned into one entire body, ſo that in the diſtribution every one had a joint given him; and according to that conceit it was given out, that it did often bleed, and was turned into pieces of fleſh. But this ſeemed an indecent way of handling Chriſt's glorified body; ſo the Schoolmen did invent a more ſeemly notion, that a body might be in a place after the manner of a ſpirit, ſo that in every crumb there was an entire Chriſt; which, though it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally prevailed; and then the miracles fitted for the former opinion were no more heard of, but new ones, agreeing to this hypotheſis, were ſet up in their ſtead: ſo dexterouſly did the prieſts deceive the world. And becauſe a mouthful of bread or a draught of wine would have been ſhrewd temptations to make the people think it was really bread and wine that they got; therefore as the cup was taken away, ſo inſtead of bread a thin wafer was given, to make the people more eaſily imagine, that it was only the accidents

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of bread that were received by them. Upon theſe grounds did Cranmer and Ridley go in this matter.

1549. Anabaptiſts in England.

There were ſome Anabaptiſts at this time in England, that were come over out of Germany. Of them there were two ſorts; ſome only objected to the baptizing of children, and to the manner of it by ſprinkling, and not by dipping; others held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as hereſies. They had raiſed a cruel war in Germany, and ſet up a new King at Munſter; but all theſe carried the name of Anabaptiſts from that of infant baptiſm, though it was one of the mildeſt opinions that they held. Some of theſe came over to England; ſo a commiſſion was granted to ſome Biſhops and others to ſearch them out, and to proceed againſt them. Several perſons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors; which were, "that there was not a trinity of "perſons; that Chriſt was not God, and took not fleſh of "the Virgin; and that a regenerate man could not ſin."

Two were burned.

One Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent, denied that Chriſt took fleſh of the ſubſtance of his mother; ſhe was out of meaſure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the inſtruction that was offered her with ſcorn: ſo ſhe was condemned as an obſtinate heretic, and delivered to the ſecular arm. But it was very hard to perſuade the King to ſign the warrant for her execution: he thought it was an inſtance of the ſame ſpirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papiſts. It was hard to condemn one to be burned for ſome wild opinions, eſpecially when they ſeemed to flow from a diſturbed brain. But Cranmer perſuaded him, that he, being God's lieutenant, was bound, in the firſt place, to puniſh thoſe offences committed againſt God: he alſo alleged the laws of Moſes for puniſhing blaſphemers; and he thought errors that ſtruck immediately againſt the Apoſtles' Creed, ought to be capitally puniſhed. Theſe things did rather ſilence than ſatisfy the young King. He ſigned the warrant with tears in his eyes, and ſaid to Cranmer, that ſince he reſigned up himſelf in that matter to his judgment, if he ſinned in it, it ſhould lie at his door. This ſtruck the Archbiſhop; and both he and Ridley took her into their houſes, and tried what reaſon, joined with gentleneſs, could do. But ſhe was ſtill more and more inſolent: ſo at laſt ſhe was burned, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers and reproaches, and was looked on as a perſon fitter for Bedlam than a ſtake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, George van Parre, was alſo con-

condemned and burned for denying the divinity of Chriſt, and ſaying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary life, both for faſting, devotion, and a good converſation, and ſuffered with extraordinary compoſedneſs of mind. Theſe things caſt a great blemiſh on the Reformers: it was ſaid, they only condemned cruelty when it was exerciſed on themſelves, but were ready to practiſe it when they had power. The Papiſts made great uſe of this afterwards in Queen Mary's time, and what Cranmer and Ridley ſuffered in her time, was thought a juſt retaliation on them, from that wiſe Providence that diſpenſes all things juſtly to all men. For the other ſort of Anabaptiſts, no ſeverities were uſed againſt them, but ſeveral books were written to juſtify infant baptiſm; and the practice of the Church ſo early begun, and ſo univerſally ſpread, was thought a good plea, eſpecially being grounded on ſuch arguments in Scripture as did demonſtrate, at leaſt, the lawfulneſs of it.

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Another ſort of people was much complained of, who built ſo much on the received opinion of predeſtination, that they thought they might live as they pleaſed; ſince nothing could reſiſt an abſolute decree: nor did thoſe who had advanced that opinion, know well how to hinder people from making ſuch inferences from it; all they did was to warn them not to pry too much into thoſe ſecrets: but if the opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make ſuch concluſions from it. This had a very ill effect on the lives of many, who thought they were ſet looſe from all obligations; and that was indeed the greateſt ſcandal of the Reformation. The preachers were aware of it, and apprehenſive of the judgments of God that would follow on it: of which they gave the nation free warning.

The doctrine of predeſtination abuſed.

At this time a ſort of contagion of rage run over all the commons of England. The nobility and gentry, finding more advantage by the trade of wool, than by their corn, did generally incloſe their grounds, and turn them to paſture; and ſo kept but few ſervants, and took large portions of their eſtates into their own hands: and yet the numbers of the people increaſed, marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many holidays, and the putting down of pilgrimages, gave them alſo more time to work: ſo the commons feared to be reduced to great ſlavery. Some propoſed an Agrarian law for regulating this; and the King himſelf wrote a diſcourſe about it, that there might be ſome equality in the diviſion of the

Tumults in ſeveral parts of England.

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ſoil among the tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the commons, and complained much of the oppreſſion of the landlords. There was a commiſſion iſſued out, to enquire concerning incloſures and farms; and whether thoſe who purchaſed the abbey lands, and were obliged to keep up hoſpitality, performed it or not; and what encouragement they gave to huſbandry: but this turned to nothing. So the commons roſe everywhere: yet in moſt of the inland countries they were eaſily diſperſed; and it was promiſed that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed. The Protector, againſt the Council's mind, ſet out a proclamation againſt all new incloſures, and for indemnifying the people for what was paſſed. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent everywhere to hear and determine all complaints; but the power that was given to them was ſo arbitrary, that the landlords called it an invaſion of property, when their rights were thus ſubjected to the pleaſures of ſuch men. The commons, underſtanding that the Protector was ſo favourable to them, were thereby more encouraged; and it was afterwards objected to him, that the convulſions England fell in ſoon after, was chiefly occaſioned by his ill conduct; in which he was the more blamed, becauſe he acted againſt the mind of the greateſt part of the Council. In Devonſhire the inſurrection was more formidable; the ſuperſtition of the prieſts joining with the rage of the commons, ſo they became quickly ten thouſand ſtrong. The Lord Ruſſel was ſent againſt them with a ſmall force, and was ordered to try if the matter could be compoſed without blood: but Arundel, a man of quality, commanding the rebels, they were not a looſe body of people, eaſily diſſipated. They ſent their demands to Court, "That the "old ſervice and ceremonies might be ſet up again; that "the act of the ſix Articles, and the decrees of General "Councils, might be again in force; that the Bible in "Engliſh ſhould be called in; that preachers ſhould pray "for the ſouls in purgatory; that Cardinal Pole ſhould "be reſtored; that the half of the abbey-lands ſhould be "reſtored, to found two abbeys in every county; and "that gentlemen of one hundred marks a year might "have but one ſervant." And they deſired a ſafe conduct for their chief leaders, in order to the redreſs of their particular grievances: afterwards they moderated their deſires only to points of religion. Cranmer wrote a large anſwer to theſe, ſhewing the novelty and ſuperſtition of thoſe rites and ceremonies, and of that whole way of worſhip,

The rebellion in Devonſhire.

June 10.

worſhip, of which they were ſo fond; and that the amendments and changes had been made according to the Scriptures, and the cuſtoms of the primitive Church; and that their being fond of a worſhip which they underſtood not, and being deſirous to be kept ſtill in ignorance, without the Scriptures, ſhewed their prieſts had greater power over them than the common reaſon of all mankind had. As for the ſix Articles, that act had never paſſed, if the King had not gone in perſon to the Parliament, and argued for it; yet he ſoon ſaw his error, and was ſlack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening anſwer ſent them in the King's name, charging them for their rebellion and blind obedience to their prieſts. In it the King's authority, under age, was largely ſet forth; for by the pretence of the King's minority, the people generally were made believe, that their riſing in arms was not rebellion. In concluſion, they were earneſtly invited to ſubmit to the King's mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but had redreſſed their juſt grievances. At the ſame time the like ſpirit of rage inflamed the commons in Norfolk; they pretended nothing of religion, but only to deſtroy the gentry, and put new counſellors about the King: they were led by one Ket, a tanner, and in a few days grew to be twenty thouſand. They encamped near Norwich, and committed great outrages. Parker, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed againſt their rebellion and cruelty, and warned them of the judgments of God that would fall on them; for which he was in great danger of his life. Ket was now their Prince, and, in imitation of the ancient Druids, he did juſtice upon complaints brought before him under an oak, called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. The Marquis of Northampton was ſent againſt them, with orders to keep at a diſtance, and cut off their proviſions. There was at the ſame time a riſing likewiſe in Yorkſhire, where the commons, being encouraged by ſome pretended prophecies, ran together, and committed acts of great barbarity on ſome gentlemen. The French King hearing of all this, reſolved to take his advantage, and regain Boulogne: three days before he marched with his army, the Engliſh ambaſſador preſſing him upon the intimations that were given him of his deſigns, he aſſured him, on the faith of a gentleman, that he would not begin a war till he had firſt given warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their prerogative to be exempted from

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And in Norfolk.

The French begin a war.

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ſuch ties, by which only poor ſubjects ought to be fettered. All theſe things falling upon the government at once, it may be eaſily imagined they were under no ſmall conſternation. A faſt was proclaimed at Court, where Cranmer preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid out before them their vicious and ill lives, particularly of thoſe who pretended a love to the Goſpel; and ſet before them the judgments of God that they might look for; and enlarged on the freſh example of the calamities of Germany; and intimated the ſad apprehenſions he had of ſome terrible ſtroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

1549.

The rebels everywhere routed.

The rebels in Devonſhire beſieged Exeter: the citizens reſiſted their aſſaults, but could not ſo eaſily reſiſt the aſſaults that hunger made on them; for they were not provided for a ſiege. They were reduced at laſt to great extremities, which made the Lord Ruſſel, after he had got ſuch ſupplies as he judged neceſſary, reſolve to fall upon them. They poſſeſſed themſelves of a bridge behind him, both to incloſe him, and to hinder others from joining with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loſs of ſix hundred of their men; and by that eſſay he perceived how eaſy a work it would be to diſperſe them. He upon that marched forward to Exeter, and beat the rebels from a bridge that opened his way to their camp, killing a thouſand of them: upon which they raiſed the ſiege, and retired in great diſorder to Launceſton. He purſued them as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed; ſome of their leaders and prieſts were taken and hanged: ſo happily was that rebellion ſubdued, without any loſs on the King's ſide. But the Marquis of Northampton was not ſo ſucceſsful in Norfolk: he marched into Norwich. The rebels having a great party in the town, which was a place of no ſtrength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it; one hundred of his men were killed, and thirty taken priſoners. Upon this they were much lifted up; but the Earl of Warwick coming thither with ſix thouſand men, that were prepared to be ſent to Scotland, they, after ſome ſkirmiſhes with him, were forced to retire; for they had waſted all the country about, ſo that their proviſions failed them: but Warwick followed them cloſe, and killed great numbers, and diſperſed them: Ket and ſome of their leaders were taken, and hanged in chains. The news of this going to Yorkſhire, the rebels there, that had not exceeded three thouſand, accepted the

offer

offer of pardon that was ſent them; and ſome of the more factious, that were animating them to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21ſt of Auguſt, the Protector publiſhed a general pardon in the King's name of all that had been done before that day. Many of the Council oppoſed this, and judged it better to keep the commons under the laſh; but the Protector thought, that as long as ſuch members continued in ſuch fears, it would be eaſy to raiſe new diſorders: ſo he reſolved, though without the majority of the Council, to go through with it. This diſguſted the Council extremely, who thought he took too much upon him.

A viſitation of Cambridge followed ſoon after this. Ridley was the chief of the viſitors. When he found that a deſign was laid to ſuppreſs ſome Colleges, under pretence of uniting them to others; and to convert ſome fellowſhips that were provided for Divines, to the ſtudy of the civil law, he refuſed to go along in that with the other viſitors; and particularly oppoſed the ſuppreſſion of Clare-Hall, which they began with. He ſaid, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet ſome men's ravenouſneſs was not ſatisfied. It ſeemed the deſign was laid to drive both religion and learning out of the land; therefore he deſired leave to be gone. The viſitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for Clare-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a houſe for the northern counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding letter; but he anſwered it with the freedom that became a Biſhop, who was reſolved to ſuffer all things, rather than to ſin againſt his conſcience: and the Protector was ſo well ſatisfied with him, that the College was preſerved. There was at this time an end put to a very fooliſh controverſy, that had occaſioned ſome heat, concerning the pronunciation of the Greek tongue, which many uſed more ſuitably to an Engliſh than a Greek accent. Cheek being the Profeſſor of Greek, had taught the truer rules of pronunciation; but Gardiner was an enemy to every thing that was new, and ſo he oppoſed it much in King Henry's time, and Cheek was made to leave the chair: but both he and Sir Thomas Smith wrote in vindication of his rules with ſo much learning, that all people wondered to ſee ſo much brought out upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; but Gardiner was not a man to be wrought on by reaſon. Now the matter was ſettled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, becauſe the

A viſitation of Cambridge.

patrons

BOOK II. patrons of it were in ſuch power, the one being the King's tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that Gardiner, who oppoſed it, was now in the Tower. So 1549. great an influence has greatneſs in ſupporting the moſt ſpeculative and indifferent things.

Bonner's proceſs. Bonner was now brought in trouble: it was not eaſy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every order that was ſent him; and yet it was known that he ſecretly hated and condemned all that was done; and, as often as he could declare that ſafely, he was not wanting by ſuch ways to preſerve his intereſt with the Papiſts: and though he obeyed the orders of Council, yet he did it in ſo remiſs a manner, that it was viſible that it went againſt the Auguſt. grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with ſeveral particulars, that whereas he uſed to officiate himſelf on the great feſtivals, he had not done it ſince the new ſervice was ſet out; that he took no care to repreſs adultery, and that he never preached. So they ordered him to officiate every feſtival, to preach once a quarter, and to begin within three weeks, and preach at St. Paul's; and to be preſent at every ſermon when he was in health; and to proceed ſeverely againſt thoſe who withdrew from the new ſervice, and againſt adulterers. They required him to ſet forth the heinouſneſs of rebellion, and the nature of true religion, and the indifference of outward ceremonies; and particularly to declare, that the King's authority was the ſame, and as much to be obeyed before he was of age as after. On the firſt of September he preached; he ſaid nothing of the power of Kings under age, and ſpoke but little to the other points, but enlarged much on the corporal preſence in the Sacrament. Hooper and W. Latimer, two of his hearers, informed againſt him. So a commiſſion was granted to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and May, Dean of St. Paul's, to examine that matter, and to impriſon or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee cauſe for it: they were alſo authorized to proceed in the ſummary way of the ſpiritual courts. He was ſummoned to Lambeth, where he carried himſelf with great diſreſpect and diſingenuity towards the delegates, and gave the informers very foul language; and in his whole diſcourſe, he behaved himſelf like one that was diſturbed in his brain. When the commiſſion was read, he made a proteſtation againſt it, reſerving to himſelf a power to except to divers things in it. He ſaid the informers were heretics, and only proſecuted him becauſe he had taught the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

At

At the next meeting Secretary Smith was there, who was not preſent at the firſt; ſo upon that account Bonner proteſted againſt him: he alſo charged hereſy on his accuſers, who were thereby under excommunication, and ſo not capable to appear in any court. He denied that any injunctions had been given him under the King's hand or ſignet; he ſaid he had preached againſt the late rebels, which implied that the King's power was complete, though he was under age. It was anſwered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex officio*, without informers: and that the injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his ſermon, were read to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that article about the King's power under age was, by order of Council, added; and the paper was delivered to him by Secretary Smith. At a third appearance, the informers offered to vindicate themſelves of the charge of hereſy; but after ſome ſcurrilous language given them by Bonner, he was called upon to anſwer to the main buſineſs, which was, his ſaying nothing of the King's power under age: to this he ſaid, he had prepared notes about it, both from the inſtances in Scripture of Solomon, Joaſh, and Manaſſes, of Joſiah and Joakim, that reigned under age; as alſo ſeveral inſtances in the Engliſh ſtory, as Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth; but he pretended theſe things had eſcaped his memory; and a long account of the defeat of the rebels being ſent to him by the Council, with an order to read it, had put him in ſome confuſion, and that the book in which he had put his notes fell from him; for which he appealed to his chaplains, whom he had employed to gather for him the names of thoſe Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not ſatisfy the court; ſo they proceeded to examine witneſſes, whom Bonner entangled all he could with interrogatories, and the niceties of the canon law. Bonner built his main defence on this, that in the paper which the Protector gave him, that article concerning the King's age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by Smith; ſo that he was not bound to obey it: but it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. Smith had treated him ſomewhat ſharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that he renewed his former proteſtation againſt him, and refuſed to look on him as his judge, ſince he had declared himſelf ſo partial againſt

1549.

BOOK II. againſt him: he complained, that Smith had compared him to thieves and traitors. Smith ſaid, it was viſible he acted as they did: to which Bonner anſwered, that as he 1549. was Secretary of State, he honoured him, but as he was Sir Thomas Smith, he lied, and he defied him. And being threatened with impriſonment, he ſeemed not much concerned at it; he ſaid, he had a few goods, a poor carcaſe, and a ſoul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not anſwer any more, unleſs Smith ſhould withdraw. For that contempt he was ſent to the Marſhalſea; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great paſſion, both againſt Smith and Cranmer. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former appeal; and ſome new matter being brought againſt him, he refuſed to anſwer. Great endeavours were uſed to perſuade him to ſubmit. Promiſes were made him of gentler uſage for the future; but he continued obſtinate, and inſtead of retracting, he renewed his appeal. So on the firſt of October, Cranmer, Ridley, Smith, and May, pronounced ſentence of deprivation, becauſe he had not obeyed the orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the King's power, while he was under age. He was ſent back to priſon till the King ſhould give further order, and a large record was made of his whole deportment during the proceſs, and put in the regiſter of the ſee of London, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards reſtored. This was much cenſured as, at beſt, a great ſtretch of law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Laymen concurred in ſuch a ſentence; but it was ſaid, this was no ſpiritual cenſure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his biſhopric; and he had taken a commiſſion for holding it during the King's pleaſure; and ſo thoſe that were commiſſioned by the King might well deprive him, ſince he held it ſo precariouſly. It was alſo ſaid, that Conſtantine had appointed triers for hearing the complaints made of ſome Biſhops; and they examined the buſineſs of Cecilian and the Donatiſts, upon an appeal from ſome ſynods, that had before judged that matter. That ſame Emperor did alſo, by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and the Biſhop of Conſtantinople; and though the orthodox party complained of his doing it upon the falſe ſuggeſtions of the Arians, yet they did not deny his authority in ſuch caſes; and it was ordinary for the Emperors to appoint the Biſhops that followed their Court

And deprivation.

to

to judge ſome other Biſhops; which was not done canonically, but by the Emperor's authority. But to the matter of the ſentence, it was alſo ſaid, that it was hard to deprive Bonner for an omiſſion that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was viſible that it had been reſolved to turn him out on the firſt occaſion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this diſadvantage; and that the fault was rather aggravated for his ſake, than he deprived for the fault; which would have been more gently paſſed over in another: but he had been fierce and cruel, and ſo was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a priſoner till Queen Mary's reign, but continued to behave himſelf more like a glutton than a divine; for he ſent about to his friends to furniſh him well with puddings and pears, and gave them all to the devil that did not ſupply him liberally. Such curſes were ſtrange acts of epiſcopal juriſdiction; yet they were mild, compared to thoſe he gave out when he was again reſtored to his ſee in the next reign, by which he condemned ſo many innocents to the fire. 1549.

Ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh.

The Engliſh affairs in foreign parts went very unſucceſsfully this year; for when they were ſo diſtracted at home, no wonder if both the French and Scots took advantage from thence. Moſt of the forts about Boulogne were taken by the French; but though thoſe that commanded them did, for their own excuſe, pretend they were ill provided; yet the French writers publiſhed that they were well ſtored. From theſe they came, and ſet down before Boulogne; and though the plague broke into the French camp, yet the ſiege was not raiſed. The King left the army under the command of Coligny, the famous Admiral of France. He found the ſure way to take it was to cut it off from ſea, and ſo to keep out all ſupplies; but the ſeveral attempts he made to do that proved unſucceſsful. The winter that came on forced him to raiſe the ſiege; but he lodged a great part of his army in the forts about, ſo that it was in danger of being loſt next year. In Scotland there was alſo a great turn; the caſtle of Broughty was taken by the Scots, and the garriſon almoſt wholly cut off. The Engliſh took care to provide Hadington well, expecting a ſiege; but upon that the Scots let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was ſo great, and the country about it was ſo waſted, that all their proviſions were to be ſent from Berwick, ſo that the Protector thought it more adviſable to abandon it;

BOOK II. it; and upon that ſent orders to the garriſon to ſlight the works, and come back to England. So that now the Engliſh had no place beyond the borders, except Lander; 1549. and Thermes the French general ſat down before it, and if a peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. The Protector had now no foreign ally to depend on but the Emperor, and little was to be expected from him; for he was ſo diſſatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of religion, that they found his aſſiſtance was not to be truſted to. At this time the Emperor brought his ſon to the Netherlands, that he might put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces; though the ſecret conſiderations that made him do it ſo early, in thoſe places where the Prince was not elective, is not viſible. It was thought they inclined to ſhake off his yoke; and that if the Emperor ſhould have then died, they would have put themſelves under Maximilian, Ferdinand's ſon, afterwards Emperor. It was ſome ſuch apprehenſion that moved Charles to make them ſwear obedience ſo early to his ſon, and ſettle not only many limitations on him in the matter of impoſing taxes, and of not putting ſtrangers in places of truſt, nor governing them by a military power, but make a ſpecial proviſion, that in caſe his ſon ſhould break thoſe rules, the provinces ſhould not be bound to obey him any longer; which was the chief ground both in law and conſcience, upon which they afterwards juſtified their ſhaking off his yoke. Charles, that was born in thoſe parts, had a peculiar tenderneſs for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid councils of the Spaniards might prevail too much on his ſon, which made him ſo careful to ſecure their liberties; a rare inſtance of a Prince's love for his people, by which he took ſuch care of their rights, as to make their tie of obedience to his ſon to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of Germany were now at the Emperor's mercy, and ſaw no way to recover their liberty, but by the help of the French King: ſo there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained; only he was reſolved firſt to make himſelf maſter of Boulogne, and then to turn his whole force towards Germany. Advertiſements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entered into a deep conſultation with his friends what was fit to be done in ſo critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up Boulogne to the French by a treaty, or to engage in a war to preſerve it; which being on the French ſide, would prove a much more chargeable

war

war to the Engliſh than to the French; and this was of very dangerous conſequence, when affairs were in ſo unſettled a condition at home; ill ſucceſs, which was like to be the event of ſuch a war, would turn on him that had the chief adminiſtration of affairs: ſo both regard to the public, and to the eſtabliſhing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of war, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up Boulogne. But his enemies ſaw that the continuance of the war was like to ruin him, whereas a general peace would put the nation wholly in his hands; and therefore they who were the majority in the Council, ſet themſelves againſt all motions for the treaty; and ſaid, it would be a laſting reproach on the government, if ſuch a place as Boulogne were ſold.

Several expedients propoſed.

Paget gave his opinion in writing, in which, after he had, with great judgment, balanced the affairs of Europe, he concluded, that the reſtoring the liberty of Germany, and the bearing down the Emperor's greatneſs, was at preſent to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with France; and that was to be purſued by the mediation of the Venetians. Thomas, a clerk of the Council, and much employed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: he thought it was very diſhonourable to deliver up the late conqueſts in France; therefore he propoſed their caſting themſelves on the Emperor, that ſo ſome time might be gained: they knew the Emperor would not be hearty, unleſs they would promiſe to return to the Roman religion; but he thought that was to be done in ſuch an extremity of affairs; and when the preſent difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this; it would very much diſhearten the few towns that refuſed to bear the Emperor's yoke in Germany, and it would provoke the Emperor more againſt them afterwards, if he ſhould find that he had been deceived by them. He alſo propoſed, that in order to the embroiling of Scotland, ſome ſhould be employed to perſuade the governor to aſpire to the crown, and that he ſhould be aſſured of the aſſiſtance of England; for this would ſeparate that nation from the intereſts of France.

The Emperor refuſes his aſſiſtance.

The iſſue of theſe conſultations was, firſt, the ſending over Paget to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him. His public inſtructions were to obtain an explanation of ſome ambiguous words in the former treaty, and a ratification of it by Prince Philip, and to adjuſt ſome differences

BOOK II. differences in the matter of trade: but his ſecret inſtructions were to ſee if the Emperor would include Boulogne in the league defenſive, and ſo protect it: or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperor would take Boulogne into his hands, and what recompenſe he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propoſe as a motion of his own. The Emperor ſhifted him off for ſome time by delays; and pretended that the carrying his ſon about from town to town, making them ſwear obedience, took him up ſo, that till that was over, he could not receive his propoſitions. But the progreſs of the French about Boulogne, made Paget impatient; ſo the Biſhop of Arras, and the Emperor's other miniſters were appointed to treat with him. They at firſt treated of ſome differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both ſides, and propoſed ſome expedients for adjuſting them: for the confirmation of the treaty, it was offered, that the Prince ſhould do it; but Paget moved likewiſe, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was anſwered, that the Emperor would never ſue to his ſubjects to confirm his treaties: he had fifteen or ſixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneaſy condition, if all theſe muſt know the ſecrets of his negociations: but ſince the King of England was under age, it was more reaſonable for them to demand a ratification from his Parliament. Paget anſwered, the King's power was the ſame at all ages, and a ratification under the great ſeal did oblige him as much as if he had made the treaty himſelf; and objected, that their laſt treaty with France was ratified by the aſſembly of the States. To this they anſwered, that the prerogative of the Kings of France was ſo limited, that they could not alienate any thing which belonged to the Crown, without conſent of the Parliament of Paris, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited power in making treaties. As for the buſineſs of Boulogne, the Biſhop of Arras ſaid, it was taken after the Emperor's treaty with England, and ſo was not included in it; nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his faith and treaties with France; which was ſo contrary to the Emperor's honour, that it could not be done: for the honour of a Prince is a good excuſe, when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjuſt war; but it is often forgotten when the circumſtances are more favourable. Paget, after ſeveral other conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor; ſo he returned back to England. It was upon that propoſed

1549.

in

in Council, whether, ſince, by the treaty with France, Boulogne was to be delivered up within a few years, it were not better to prevent a new war and a ſiege, the iſſue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a treaty for doing it preſently; and if at the ſame time it were not more adviſable to make an end of the war in Scotland, ſince there was no poſſibility of compaſſing the marriage, for which it was firſt begun. 1549.

A faction againſt the Protector.

Upon this, all the Protector's enemies took off the maſk, and declared themſelves againſt it. The Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Warwick were the chief ſticklers; the one hated him for turning him out of his office, and the other hoped to be the chief man in buſineſs if he ſhould fall. Many things concurred to raiſe the Protector many enemies; his partiality to the commons provoked the gentry; his cutting off his brother's head, and building a magnificent palace in the Strand, upon the ruins of ſome Biſhops' houſes and churches, and that in a time both of war and plague, diſguſted the people. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in religion, but for his poſſeſſing himſelf of ſo many of the Biſhops' beſt manors: his entertaining foreign troops, both Germans and Italians, though done by conſent of the Council, yet gave a general diſtaſte. And that great advancement he was raiſed to wrought much both on himſelf and others; for it raiſed his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: the Privy Counſellors complained, that he was become ſo arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the oppoſition that was made by the majority of the Council to any of his deſigns. All theſe things concurred to beget him many enemies; and, except Cranmer, who never forſook his friend, and Paget and Smith, all turned againſt him. So they violently oppoſed the propoſition for a treaty with France: they alſo complained, that the places about Boulogne were loſt by his careleſſneſs, and by his not providing them well; and that he had recalled the garriſon out of Hadington; and they put him in mind of the conditions upon which he was firſt made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing but by their advice; though he had ſince that taken out a patent, which clothed him with a far greater power. Upon Paget's return, when it was viſible that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he preſſed them much to conſent to a treaty with France: but it was ſaid, that he had ſecretly directed Paget to pocure no better anſwer, that ſo he might be furniſhed

BOOK II.

with an excuſe for ſo diſhonourable an action; therefore they would not give way to it.

1549. Which turns to a publick breach. October.

The Protector carried the King to Hampton Court, and put many of his own creatures about him, which increaſed the jealouſies: ſo nine of the Privy Council met at Elyhouſe, and aſſumed to themſelves the authority of the Council; and Secretary Petre being ſent by the King to aſk an account of their meeting, inſtead of returning, joined himſelf to them. They made a large declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad deſigns, and of his engaging the King to ſet his hand to letters for raiſing men, and for diſperſing ſeditious papers; therefore they reſolved to ſee to the ſafety of the King and kingdom. Both the city of London and the Lieutenant of the Tower declared for them: they alſo ſent letters all over England, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the nobility and gentry. Seven more Privy Counſellors came and joined with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obſtinacy, and his refuſing to hearken to their counſels, though the late King had left the government of his perſon and kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanced to that dignity by them, upon conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they deſired the King would conſtrue well of their intentions and proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton Court, as being an open place, to Windſor, which had ſome more defence about it; and had armed ſome of his own ſervants, and ſet them about the King's perſon, which heightened the jealouſies of him; yet ſeeing himſelf abandoned by all his friends, except a few, and finding the party againſt him was formed to ſuch a ſtrength, that it would be in vain to ſtruggle any longer, he offered to ſubmit himſelf to the Council. So a propoſition of a treaty was ſet on foot; and the Lords at London were deſired to ſend two of their number with their propoſitions, and a paſſport was ſent them for their ſafety. Cranmer and the other two wrote to the Council, to diſpoſe them to an agreement, and not to follow cruel counſels. Many falſe reports, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatened, that, if they intended to put him to death, the King ſhould die firſt, which ſerved to increaſe the prejudices againſt him. The Council wrote to Cranmer and Paget, charging them to look well to the King's perſon, that he ſhould not be removed from Windſor; and that the Duke of Somerſet's ſervants might be put from him, and his own ſworn ſervants admitted to wait:

wait: they alſo proteſted that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of Somerſet that was poſſible. The Council underſtanding that all things were prepared as they had deſired, ſent firſt three of their number, to ſee that the Duke of Somerſet, and ſome of his creatures, Smith, Stanhope, Thynne, Wolf, and Cecil, ſhould be confined to their lodgings; and on the twelfth of October, the whole Council went to Windſor, and made great proteſtations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably; and aſſured them, he took all that they had done in good part. 1549.

The Protector's fall.

The Duke of Somerſet, with the reſt of his friends, except Cecil, who was preſently enlarged, were ſent to the Tower, and many articles were objected to him, that he being made Protector, with this condition, that he ſhould do nothing but by the conſent of the other executors, had treated with ambaſſadors apart; had made Biſhops and Lord Lieutenants without their knowledge; had held a Court of Requeſts in his houſe; had embaſed the coin; had neglected the places the King had in France; had encouraged the commons in their late inſurrections; and had given out commiſſions and proclaimed a pardon without their conſent: that he had animated the King againſt the reſt of the Council, and had proclaimed them traitors, and had put his own ſervants armed about the King's perſon. By theſe it appears, the crimes againſt him were the effects of his ſudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a ſubject; but that he had carried his greatneſs with much innocence, ſince no acts of cruelty, rapine, or bribery, were objected to him; for they were rather errors and weakneſſes, than crimes. His embaſing the coin was done upon a common miſtake of weak governments, who fly to that as their laſt refuge in the neceſſity of their affairs. In his impriſonment, he ſet himſelf to the ſtudy of moral philoſophy and divinity, and wrote a preface to a book of patience, which had made great impreſſions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation; and that was increaſed, becauſe they had no reaſon to truſt much to the two chief men of the party againſt him, Southampton and Warwick; the one was a known Papiſt, and the other was looked on as a man of no religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in France, it was expected, that upon this revolution matters of religion would be again ſet back into the poſture in which King Henry had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner hoped to be diſcharged, and Bonner

BOOK II. looked to be re-eſtabliſhed in his biſhopric again, and all people began to fall off much from the new ſervice: but the Earl of Warwick, finding the King was zealouſly addicted to the Reformation, quickly forſook the Popiſh party, and ſeemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A court of civilians was appointed to examine Bonner's appeal, and upon their report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the ſentence that was paſſed upon him.

1549.

The Emperor will not aſſiſt them.

But next, foreign affairs came under their care. They ſuſpected that Paget had not dealt effectually with the Emperor, to aſſiſt them in the preſervation of Boulogne; ſo they ſent over Sir Thomas Cheyney, to try what might be expected from him: they alſo took care of the garriſon, and both increaſed it and ſupplied it well. Cheyney found the ſame reception with the Emperor, and had the ſame anſwer that Paget got. The Emperor preſſed him much that matters of religion might be again conſidered, and confeſſed, till that were done, he could not aſſiſt them ſo effectually as otherwiſe he would do: ſo now the Council found it neceſſary to apply to the Court of France for a peace. The Earl of Southampton left the Court in great diſcontent; he was neither reſtored to his office of Chancellor, nor was he made one of the ſix Lords that were appointed to have the charge of the King's perſon: this touched him ſo much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

A ſeſſion of Parliament.

In November a ſeſſion of Parliament met: in which an act was paſſed, declaring it treaſon to call any to the number of twelve together, about any matter of ſtate, if, being required, they did not diſperſe themſelves: other riotous aſſemblies were alſo declared felonious; the giving out of prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was alſo made penal. Another law was made againſt vagabonds; the former ſtatute was repealed, as too ſevere; and proviſions were made for the relief of the ſick and impotent, and employing ſuch as could work. The Biſhops made a heavy complaint of the growth of vice and impiety, and that their power was ſo much abridged, that they could not repreſs it: ſo a bill was read, enlarging their authority, but it was thought that it gave them too much power; yet it was ſo moderated, that the Lords paſſed it, but the Commons rejected it; and, inſtead of it, ſent up a bill that empowered thirty-two, who were to be named by the King, the one half of the temporality, and the other of the ſpirituality, to compile a body of eccleſiaſtical laws within three years; and that theſe, not being contrary to the

the common or ſtatute law, and approved of by the King, ſhould have the force of eccleſiaſtical laws: of the thirty-two, four were to be Biſhops, and as many to be common lawyers.

Six Biſhops and ſix Divines were empowered to prepare a new form of ordination; which being confirmed under the great ſeal, ſhould take place after April next. Articles were alſo put in againſt the Duke of Somerſet, with a confeſſion ſigned by him. But ſome objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had ſigned it voluntarily, or not; and ſome were ſent to examine him. He acknowledged he had done it freely, but proteſted that his errors had flowed rather from indiſcretion than malice, and denied all treaſonable deſigns againſt the King, or the realm. He was fined in 2000l. a year in land, and in the loſs of all his goods and offices. He complained of the heavineſs of this cenſure, and deſired earneſtly to be reſtored to the King's favour, and promiſed to carry himſelf ſo humbly and obediently, that he ſhould make amends for his paſt follies; which was thought a ſign of too abject a mind; others excuſed it, ſince the power and malice of his enemies was ſuch, that he was not ſafe as long as he continued in priſon. He was diſcharged in the beginning of February: ſoon after he had his pardon, and did ſo manage his intereſt in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in April. But if theſe ſubmiſſions gained him ſome favour at Court, they ſunk him as much in the eſteem of the world.

1550.

The Duke of Somerſet fined, but reſtored to favour.

The Reformation was now, after this confuſion was over, carried on again with vigour. The Council ſent orders over England, to require all to conform themſelves to the new ſervice, and to call in all the books of the old Offices. An act paſſed in Parliament to the ſame effect, one Earl, ſix Biſhops, and four Lords only diſſenting: all the old books and images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to ſaints were to be ſtruck out of the primers publiſhed by the late King. A ſubſidy was granted, and the King gave a general pardon, out of which all priſoners on the account of the ſtate, and Anabaptiſts, were excepted. In this ſeſſion the eldeſt ſons of Peers were firſt allowed to ſit in the Houſe of Commons.

A progreſs in the Reformation.

The committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordinations finiſhed their work with common conſent; only Heath, Biſhop of Worceſter, refuſed to ſign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to

The Book of Ordinations put out.

BOOK II. 1550.

do it; but he ſtill refuſing was ſent to priſon. This was thought hard meaſure, to puniſh one for not concurring in a thing not yet ſettled by law. Heath was a complier, who went along with the changes that were made, but was ready, upon the firſt favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old ſuperſtition. It was found, that in the ancient Church there was nothing uſed in ordinations but prayer and impoſition of hands: the additions of anointing and giving conſecrated veſtments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of Florence it was declared, that the rite of ordaining a prieſt was the delivering the veſſels for the Euchariſt, with a power to offer ſacrifices to God for the dead and living, which was a novelty invented to ſupport the belief of tranſubſtantiation. So all theſe additions were cut off, and ordination was reſtored to a greater ſimplicity; and the form was made almoſt the ſame that we ſtill uſe; only then in ordaining a prieſt, the Biſhop was to lay one hand on his head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a chalice, and bread in it. In the conſecration of a Biſhop, the form was the ſame that we ſtill retain; only then they kept up the cuſtom of giving the Biſhop a ſtaff, ſaying theſe words, *Be to the flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* In the middle of the ſixth century, the anointing the prieſts' hands was begun in France, but was not uſed in the Roman Church for two ages after that. In the eighth century, the veſtments were given with a ſpecial bleſſing, empowering prieſts to offer expiatory ſacrifices; then their heads were anointed: and in the tenth century, the belief of tranſubſtantiation being received, the veſſels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident, from the ſeveral forms of ordination, that the Church did not believe itſelf tied to one manner; and that the prayer, which in ſome ages was the prayer of conſecration, was in other ages eſteemed only a prayer preparatory to it. There were ſome ſponſions promiſed as a covenant, to which the ordination was a ſeal. The firſt of theſe was, that the perſons, that came to receive orders, *profeſſed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghoſt.* If this were well conſidered, it would no doubt put many that thirſt after ſacred offices to a ſtand, who, if they examine themſelves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the anſwer preſcribed in the book, without feeling any ſuch motion in their heart, they do publicly lie to God, and againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and have no reaſon

to

to expect a blessing on orders so obtained. But too many consider that only as a ceremony in law, necessary to make them capable of some place of profit, and not as the dedication of their lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of souls. It were happy for the Church if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining beforehand the motives that set on those who come to be ordained. Another sponsion is, *That the priests shall teach the people committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and public, and visit the sick.* By this they plight their faith to God for the care of souls to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the pastoral care to be a load indeed; and so will neither desert their flocks, nor hire them out to weak and, perhaps, scandalous mercenaries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and given scandal to many, who could not have been so easily persuaded to divide from it, if it had not been that they were prejudiced by such gross and public abuses.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of Boulogne; and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being served in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to listen to the proposition that one Guidotti made for a treaty. He was employed by the constable Montmorency, and gave them assurances, that, as soon as that was ended, the French King would engage on the behalf of the oppressed Princes of the empire.

Pole chosen Pope, but lost it.

At this time Pope Paul the Third died. In the conclave that followed, Cardinal Farnese set up Cardinal Pole, whose wise behaviour at Trent had raised his esteem much; it also appeared, that though he was of the Emperor's faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of Lutheranism and of incontinence: the last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true; yet he fully cleared himself of it. But the former lay heavier; for in his retirement at Viterbo, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of controversies; and Tranellius, Flaminio, and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the Council of Trent he seemed favourable to some of their opinions; but the great sufferings both of himself and family in England seemed to set him above all suspicions. When the party for him

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had almoſt gained a ſufficient number of ſuffrages, he ſeemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline than aſpire to that dignity; and expreſſed a pitch of philoſophy on this occaſion, that was more ſuitable to ancient than modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary ceremony, he received it with his uſual coldneſs; and that being done in the night, he ſaid, *God loved light*, and therefore adviſed them to delay it till day came. The Italians, among whom ambition paſſes for the character of a great mind, looked on this as an inſufferable piece of dulneſs; ſo the Cardinals ſhrunk from him before day, and choſe De Monte Pope, who reigned by the name of Julius the Third. His firſt promotion was very extraordinary; for he gave his own hat to a ſervant that kept his monkey; and being aſked the reaſon of it, he ſaid, he ſaw as much in his ſervant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the conclave ſaw in him to induce them to chooſe him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.

A treaty with France.

Ambaſſadors were ſent over to France, the Lord Ruſſel, Paget, (made alſo a Lord,) and ſome others, to ſettle the treaty of peace. They were ordered in the firſt place to aſk the delivery of the Scottiſh Queen, and payment of the perpetual penſion. But the French would not treat about theſe; their maſter intended to marry the Scottiſh Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual penſion. But they offered a ſum of money for Boulogne. Things ſtuck a little at the razing the fortifications in Alderney and Sark, two ſmall iſlands in the Channel, which the French deſired; and at the delivering up of Roxburgh and Eymouth to the Scots, then in the hands of the Engliſh. The Council ordered their commiſſioners to inſiſt on theſe things, and to offer to break up their conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the French, then they were to let them go. In concluſion, the Engliſh, after a proteſtation, by which they reſerved to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the war, agreed to deliver up Boulogne, and all the places about it, and all the ordinance in it, except what the Engliſh had caſt, for which the French were to pay them four hundred thouſand crowns. All the places which the Engliſh had in Scotland were to be delivered up, and the forts razed; and ſix hoſtages were to be given on both ſides for the performance, who were the ſons of men of the

the greateſt quality: ſo was the peace fully concluded, and the articles were duly performed on both hands. The Council approved of the proceedings of their plenipotentiaries; only the Earl of Warwick, who had declared himſelf much againſt the delivery of Boulogne, pretended ſickneſs, and was abſent. BOOK II. 1550.

At this time the Earl of Warwick ordered a review to be made of all accounts, and brought in much money by the fines of thoſe who were accuſed for malverſation. The Earl of Arundel was fined in 12000l. Sir James Thynne in 6000l. and many others of the Protector's creatures in 3000l.

In February Ridley was made Biſhop of London and Weſtminſter; 1000l. a year of the rents of the ſee were aſſigned him, with licence to hold two prebends. Reps, Biſhop of Norwich, reſigned; upon which Thirleby, Biſhop of Weſtminſter, was removed to Norwich; and it was intended to reunite London and Weſtminſter, but though they ſtill remained different ſees, yet they were now put under one man's care: his patent was not during pleaſure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any deſign in this reign to put down cathedrals; for though Weſtminſter, Glouceſter, and Durham were ſuppreſſed, the two former being united, one to London, and another to Worceſter; and the latter being to be divided in two; yet in none of theſe were the Dean and Chapter lands fallen on. Ridley made Biſhop of London.

Gardiner continued ſtill in priſon. During the Protector's miniſtry, ſome Privy Counſellors dealt with him, to ſue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new ſervice, or not: but he ſaid, he had done no fault, and ſo would not aſk pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a priſoner, leſt his enemies might ſay, he did it only to be ſet at liberty. Upon the Protector's fall, he expected he ſhould have been diſcharged of his impriſonment; and thought it ſo near, that he made a farewell feaſt to the officers in the Tower. Some Privy Counſellors were ſent to him with articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and aſſerting the King's power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuſes in the Church, and that the ſix Articles were juſtly abrogated. He ſigned the paper, only he wrote on the margin, that he could not confeſs former offences; for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Gardiner's proceſs.

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another meſſage was ſent him, that he muſt confeſs that he had been juſtly puniſhed: this he plainly refuſed to do, and ſaid, he would never defame himſelf. Ridley was ſent to him with a new paper, in which the confeſſion of his faults was more ſoftly worded: the reſt related to the Pope's power, the ſuppreſſing the abbeys and chantries, pilgrimages, maſſes, images, the adoration of the Sacrament, communion in both kinds, the aboliſhing the old books of ſervice, and ſetting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations, and the lawfulneſs of a married Clergy: but he ſaid, he would ſign no more articles while he continued in priſon; and deſired that he might be either tried, or ſet at liberty; for he aſked not mercy, but juſtice: and being called before the Council, and required to ſign thoſe articles, he gave them the ſame anſwer: he ſaid ſome of theſe points were already ſettled by law; others were not ſo, and in theſe he was at liberty to do as he pleaſed. Upon this, his biſhopric was ſequeſtered, and he was required to conform himſelf within three months, under pain of deprivation; and the freedom of the Tower was denied him. All this was much cenſured, as contrary to law, and the liberties of Engliſhmen; and it was ſaid, it favoured more of a court of inquiſition, than of a legal way of proceeding. The canon-law was not yet rectified; ſo the King being in the Pope's room, this way, *ex officio*, was excuſed, as grounded upon the forms of the ſpiritual courts.

There was a diſcourſe on foot of a marriage between the King and a daughter of France, which grieved the reformers, who rather wiſhed him to marry Maximilian's daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was eſteemed one of the beſt men of the age. Old Latimer preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occaſioned ſo much whoring, and ſo many divorces: he alſo complained of the luxury and vanity of the age, and of many called Goſpellers, who were concerned for nothing but abbey and chantry lands; he alſo preſſed the ſetting up a primitive diſcipline in the Church. He preached this as his laſt ſermon, and ſo uſed great freedom: he complained that the King's debts were not paid, and yet his officers grew vaſtly rich: he prayed the King not to ſeek his pleaſures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Latimer preaches at Court.

The ſee of Glouceſter fell vacant, and Hooper was named

named to it; upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have ſince that time ſo fatally rent the Church, had their firſt riſe. He had ſome ſcruples about the epiſcopal veſtments, and thought that all thoſe garments having been conſecrated with much ſuperſtition, were to be reckoned among the elements condemned by St. Paul. But Ridley juſtified the uſe of them, and ſaid, the elements condemned by St. Paul were only the Jewiſh ceremonies; which though the Apoſtles condemned, when they were impoſed as neceſſary, (for that imported that the Moſaical Law was not yet abrogated, and that the Meſſiah was not come,) yet they themſelves uſed them at other times, to gain upon the Jews by that compliance. And if Apoſtles did ſuch things to gain them, ſubjects ought much more to obey the laws in matters indifferent; and ſuperſtitious conſecrations was as good an argument for throwing down all the churches, as for laying aſide thoſe habits. Cranmer deſired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulneſs of thoſe habits, and the obligation lying on ſubjects to obey the laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuſe could make a thing, indifferent in itſelf, become unlawful: he thought ancient cuſtoms ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good uſe made of thoſe garments; that they might well expreſs the purity and candour that became all who miniſtered in holy things; and that it was a ſin to diſobey the laws in ſuch matters. Yet ſince thoſe garments had been abuſed to ſuperſtition, and were like to become a ſubject of contention, he wiſhed they might be taken away by law; and that eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and a more complete reformation might be ſet up; and that a ſtop might be put to the robbing of churches; otherwiſe they might ſee in the preſent ſtate of Germany a dreadful proſpect of that which England ought to look for. He alſo wrote to the ſame effect to Hooper, and wiſhed that all good men would unite againſt the greater corruptions, and then leſſer abuſes would eaſily be redreſſed. Peter Martyr did alſo deliver his opinion to the ſame purpoſe, and was much troubled at Hooper's ſtiffneſs, and at ſuch conteſts among the profeſſors of true religion. Hooper was ſuſpended from preaching; but the Earl of Warwick wrote to Cranmer to diſpenſe with him in that matter. He anſwered, that while the law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *præmunire*. Upon that, the King wrote to him, allowing him

1550. Hooper, made Biſhop of Glouceſter, has ſcruples concerning the veſtments.

BOOK II.

him to do it, and diſpenſing with the law; yet this matter was not ſettled till a year after. John à Laſco, with ſome Germans of the Helvetian confeſſion, came this year into England, being driven out of Germany by the perſecution there. They were erected by letters patents into a corporation, and à Laſco was their ſuperintendant: he being a ſtranger, meddled too much in Engliſh affairs, and wrote both againſt the habits, and againſt kneeling in the Sacrament. Polidore Virgil was this year ſuffered to go out of England, and ſtill to hold the preferments he had in it. Poinet was made Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Coverdale coadjutor to Veſey in Exeter.

1550.

A review of the Common Prayer Book.

There was now a deſign ſet on foot for a review of the Common Prayer Book: in order to which, Bucer's opinion was aſked. He approved the main parts of the former book; he wiſhed there might be not only a denunciation againſt ſcandalous perſons that came to the Sacrament, but a diſcipline to exclude them: that the habits might be laid aſide; that no part of the Communion Office might be uſed, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent; that the prayers might be ſaid in a plain voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the people's hands; and that there might be no prayers for the dead which had not been uſed in Juſtin Martyr's time. He adviſed a change of ſome phraſes in the Office of the Communion, that favoured tranſubſtantiation too much; and that baptiſm might be only in churches: he thought the hallowing the water, the chriſm, and the white garments, were too ſcenical; nor did he approve of abjuring the Devil, nor of the godfather's anſwering in the child's name: he thought confirmation ſhould be delayed till the perſon was of age, and came ſincerely to renew the baptiſmal covenant. He adviſed catechiſing every holiday, both of children and the adult; he diſliked private marriages, extreme unction, and offering chriſoms at the churching of women; and thought there ought to be greater ſtrictneſs uſed in the examining of thoſe who came to receive orders.

Bucer offers ſome advices to the King.

At the ſame time he underſtood that the King expected a new-year's gift from him, of a book written particularly for his own uſe: ſo he made a book for him, concerning the kingdom of Chriſt. He preſſed much the ſetting up a ſtrict diſcipline, the ſanctification of the Lord's day, the appointing many days of faſting, and that pluralities and non-reſidence might be effectually condemned; that children

children might be catechiſed; that the reverence due to churches might be preſerved; that the paſtoral function might be reſtored to what it ought to be; that Biſhops might throw off ſecular affairs, and take care of their dioceſes, and govern them by the advice of their Preſbyters; that there might be rural Biſhops over twenty or thirty pariſhes, and that provincial Councils might meet twice a year; that church-lands ſhould be reſtored, and that a fourth part might be aſſigned to the poor; that marriage without conſent of parents ſhould be annulled; that a ſecond marriage might be declared lawful, after a divorce for adultery, and ſome other reaſons; that care ſhould be taken of the education of youth, and for repreſſing luxury; that the law might be reformed; that no office might be ſold, but given to the moſt deſerving; that none ſhould be put in priſon upon ſlight offences; and that the ſeverity of ſome laws, as that which made theft capital, might be mitigated. BOOK II. 1550.

The young King was much pleaſed with theſe advices; and, upon that, began himſelf to form a ſcheme for amending many things that were amiſs in the government, which he wrote with his own hand, and in a ſtyle and manner that had much of a child in it, though the thoughts were manly: it appears by it, that he intended to ſet up a church-diſcipline, and ſettle a method for breeding of youth; but the diſcourſe is not finiſhed. He alſo wrote a journal of every thing that paſſed at home, and of the news that came from beyond ſea. It has clear marks of his own compoſing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another diſcourſe in French, being a collection of all the places of Scripture againſt idolatry, with a preface before it, dedicated to the Protector. The King's great underſtanding.

At this time Ridley made his firſt viſitation of his dioceſe; the articles upon which he proceeded were chiefly relating to the ſervice and ceremonies that were aboliſhed, whether any continued to uſe them or not; and whether there were any Anabaptiſts, or others, that uſed private conventicles. He alſo carried ſome injunctions with him againſt ſome remainders of the former ſuperſtition, and for exhorting the people to give alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament; and that altars might be removed, and tables put in their room, in the moſt convenient place of the chancel. In the ancient Church their tables were of wood: but the Sacrament being called a ſacrifice, as prayers, alms, and all holy oblations were, they came to be Altars put down.

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be called altars. This gave the riſe to the opinion of expiatory ſacrifices in the maſs, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of altars. Ridley only adviſed the Curates to do this; but upon ſome conteſts ariſing concerning it, the Council interpoſed, and required it to be done, and ſent with their order a paper of reaſons juſtifying it, ſhewing that a table was more proper than an altar; eſpecially ſince the opinion of an expiatory ſacrifice was ſupported by it. Sermons began to be preached in ſome churches on working days; this occaſioned great running about, and idleneſs, and raiſed emulation among the Clergy; upon which, the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning theſe; they were factiouſly kept up by ſome, and too violently ſuppreſſed by others: but now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places ſtill continued, to the great edification of the people. The government was now free of all diſturbance; the coin was reformed, and trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court ſeemed alſo to be extinguiſhed, by a marriage between the Earl of Warwick's ſon and the Duke of Somerſet's daughter. The Duke of Lunenburgh made a propoſition of marriage with Lady Mary, but the treaty with the Infanta of Portugal did ſtill depend, ſo it was not entertained.

Affairs of Scotland:

In Scotland, the governor, now made Duke of Chaſtelherault in France, was wholly led by his baſe brother's counſels, who, though he was Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, yet gave himſelf up, without any diſguiſe, to his pleaſures, and kept another man's wife avowedly: by ſuch means were the people more eaſily diſpoſed to hearken to the new teachers, and prepared for the changes that followed. The Queen-mother went to France, on deſign to procure the government of Scotland to be put in her hands.

and Germany.

A Diet was called in Germany; the town of Magdeburg was proſcribed: but they publiſhed a manifeſto, expreſſing their readineſs to obey the Emperor according to law; and that they only ſtood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of hoſtility to others. It was now viſible, that the deſign of the late war was to extinguiſh the Proteſtant religion, and to ſet up tyranny. It was better to obey God than man: and they were reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their religion. Tumults were raiſed in Straſburg and other towns, when the maſs was again ſet up; and all Germany

many were disposed to a revolt, only they wanted a head. Severe edicts were also set out in Flanders; but the execution of them was stopped, at the intercession of the English in Antwerp, who were resolved otherwise to remove the trade to another place. The Emperor pressed the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be brought back to Trent: but Maurice of Saxe, to whom all the Protestants joined, refused to do it, unless all their former decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the oath which the Bishops sware to him: yet he so far insinuated himself into the Emperor's confidence, that he was made General of the empire for the reduction of Magdeburg, and resolved to manage that matter so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperor reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had John Duke of Saxe in his hands: but he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of Hesse, his father-in-law, to repose such confidence in him: so that this proved a fatal error to him, by which he lost the power he had then in Germany; and Maurice proved too hard for him in dissimulation, in which he was so great a master.

The Popish Clergy comply generally.

The Popish Clergy in England did now generally comply to every change that was made. Oglethorp, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, being informed against as favouring the old superstition, did under his hand declare, that he thought the order of religion then settled was nearer the use of the primitive Church than that which was formerly received, and that he condemned transubstantiation as a late invention, and approved the communion in both kinds, and the people's receiving always with the priest. Smith, who had written against the marriage of the Clergy, and was upon some complaints put in prison, being discharged by Cranmer's intercession, wrote a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his book, and the Archbishop's gentleness towards him; and wished he might perish if he did not write sincerely, and called God a witness against his soul if he lied. Day, Bishop of Chichester, did also preach a sermon at Court against transubstantiation. The principle, by which most of that party governed themselves, was this: they thought they ought to oppose all the changes, before they were established by law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. Cranmer was a moderate and prudent man, and willing

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willing to accept of any thing they offered; reckoning, that whether they acted ſincerely or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the nation; he was alſo of ſo compaſſionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities againſt men that were grown old in their errors, and could not be eaſily weaned from them: only Gardiner and Bonner were ſuch deceitful and cruel men, that he thought it might be more excuſable to make ſtretches for ridding the Church of them.

Bucer's death.

Martin Bucer died in the beginning of this year of the ſtone, and griping of the guts. He had great apprehenſions of a fatal revolution in England, by reaſon of the ill lives of the people, occaſioned chiefly by the want of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the neglect of the paſtoral charge. Orders were ſent from the Court to Cambridge, to bury him with all the public honour to his memory that could be deviſed. Speeches and ſermons were made both by Haddon the Univerſity Orator, and Parker, and Redmayn. The laſt of theſe was one of the moſt extraordinary men, both for learning, and a true judgment of things, that was in that time: he had alſo in many things differed from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn ſo much as he had done by his converſation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the Reformers in learning; but ſuperior to moſt of them in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preſerving the unity of the Church: a rare quality in that age, in which Melancthon and he were the moſt eminent. He had not that nimbleneſs of diſputing, for which Peter Martyr was more admired; and the Popiſh Doctors took advantage from that to carry themſelves more inſolently towards him.

Gardiner's deprivation.

Soon after this, Gardiner's proceſs was put to an end: a commiſſion was iſſued out to Cranmer, and three Biſhops, and ſome Civilians, to proceed againſt him, for his contempt, in refuſing to ſign the articles offered to him. He complained, that all that was done againſt him was out of malice; that he had been long impriſoned, and nothing was objected to him; that he was reſolved to obey the laws and orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him were; that he refuſed to ſet out in his ſermon the King's power when he was under age, and had affronted the preachers whom the King had ſent to his dioceſe; that he had been negligent in executing the King's injunctions, and refuſed to confeſs his fault, or aſk the

the King's pardon; and it was ſaid that the rebellions raiſed in England might have been prevented, if he had timouſly ſet forth the King's authority. He anſwered, that he was not required to do it by any order of Council, but only in a private diſcourſe; yet witneſſes being examined upon thoſe particulars, the delegates proceeded to ſentence of deprivation againſt him, notwithſtanding his appeal to the King in perſon; and he was appointed to remain in the Tower, where he continued till Queen Mary diſcharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuſe the ſeverity of theſe proceedings, but that he having taken out a commiſſion for holding his biſhopric only during the King's pleaſure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him; and if he had been turned out merely upon pleaſure, without the pomp of a proceſs, the matter might have been better excuſed. Poinet was put in his ſee, and had two thouſand marks in lands aſſigned him for his ſubſiſtence. Story was put in Rocheſter; and upon Veſey's reſignation, Coverdale was made Biſhop of Exeter. The ſcruples that Hooper made were now ſo far ſatisfied, that he was content both to be conſecrated in his veſtments, and to uſe them when he preached before the King, or in his cathedral; but he was diſpenſed with upon other occaſions. 1551.

By this time the greater number of the Biſhops were men that heartily received the Reformation: ſo it was reſolved now to proceed to a ſettlement of the doctrine of the Church. Many thought that ſhould have been done in the firſt place; but Cranmer judged it was better to proceed ſlowly in that matter: he thought the corruptions in the worſhip were to be begun with, ſince while they remained, the addreſſes to God were ſo defiled, that thereby all people were involved in unlawful compliances. He thought ſpeculative opinions might come laſt, ſince errors in them were not of ſuch ill conſequence: and he judged it neceſſary to lay theſe open, in many treatiſes and diſputes, before they ſhould proceed to make alterations, that ſo all people might be beforehand ſatisfied with what ſhould be done. So now they framed a body of articles, which contained the doctrine of the Church of England: they were caſt into forty-two articles, and afterwards ſome few alterations being made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, they were reduced to thirty-nine; which being in all people's hands, need not be much enlarged on. The articles of religion agreed on.

In the ancient Church, there was at firſt a great ſim-

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plicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of hereſies concerning the perſon of Chriſt, equivocal ſenſes being put on the terms formerly uſed, new ones, that could not be ſo eaſily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining myſteries by ſimilies and niceties, and of paſſing anathemas on all that did not receive theſe, did much over-run the Church; and though the Council of Epheſus decreed, that no new additions ſhould be made to the Creed, yet that did not reſtrain thoſe who loved to make all their own conceits be received as parts of the faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curioſity; but the Schoolmen went farther, and ſpun the thread much finer; they condemned every thing that differed from their notions, as heretical. Many of the Lutherans had retained much of that peremptorineſs, and were not eaſy to thoſe who differed from them. In England great care was taken to frame theſe articles in the moſt comprehenſive words, and the greateſt ſimplicity poſſible.

Changes made in the Common Prayer Book.

When this was ſettled, they went about the review of the Common Prayer Book. In the daily ſervice, they added the Confeſſion and Abſolution, that ſo the worſhip of God might begin with a grave and humble confeſſion, conceived in general words; but to which every one ought to join a ſecret confeſſion of his particular ſins: after which a ſolemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Goſpel, was to be pronounced by the prieſt. This was thought much better than the giving abſolution in ſuch formal words, as, *I abſolve thee*; which begat in the undiſcerning vulgar an opinion that the prieſt had authority to pardon ſin, and that made them think of nothing ſo much as how to purchaſe it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greateſt engine that ever was for overthrowing the power of religion. In the Communion ſervice they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a ſhort devotion between every one of them, judging that, till church-diſcipline were reſtored, nothing could more effectually awaken ſuch as came to receive it to a due ſerioufneſs in it, than the hearing the law of God thus pronounced, with thoſe ſtops in it, to make the people reflect on their offences againſt it. The chriſm, the uſe of the croſs in conſecrating the Euchariſt, prayers for the dead, and ſome expreſſions that favoured tranſubſtantiation, were laid aſide; and the book was put in the ſame order and method in which it continues to this day, excepting only ſome inconſiderable variations

that

that have been made ſince. A rubric was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reaſon of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expreſſion of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving ſo particular a mark of the favour of God; but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Chriſt was corporally preſent in it. In Queen Elizabeth's time this was left out; that ſuch as conformed in other things, but ſtill retained the belief of the corporal preſence, might not be offended at ſuch a declaration. It was again put in the book, upon his preſent Majeſty's reſtoration, for removing the ſcruples of thoſe who excepted to that poſture. Chriſt did at firſt inſtitute this Sacrament in the ordinary table-geſture. Moſes appointed the Paſchal-Lamb to be eaten by the people ſtanding, with ſtaves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the Jews, who did eat it in the poſture common at meals, which our Saviour's practice juſtifies: ſo though Chriſt in his ſtate of humiliation did inſtitute this ordinance in ſo familiar a poſture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expreſſions of humility and devotion. The ancient Chriſtians received it ſtanding, and bowing their body downward: kneeling was afterwards uſed as a higher expreſſion of devout worſhip: but great difference is to be made between the adoration practiſed in the Church of Rome, in which, upon lifting up the hoſt, all fall down and worſhip, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued poſture of devotion. And if the Jews, who were more bound up to ceremonies, made a change in the poſture, at the memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Teſtament, it muſt be acknowledged, that the Chriſtian Church, which is more at liberty in ſuch matters, had authority to make the like change of the poſture, in this memorial of Chriſt's ſufferings. At this time ſix of the moſt eminent preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by turns, two at a time; and the other four were ſent as itinerant preachers into all the counties of England, in a circuit, for ſupplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

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King Charles the Second.

The maſs ſaid in Lady Mary's chapel was now again challenged. The Court was leſs afraid of the Emperor's diſpleaſure than formerly, and ſo would no longer bear with ſo public a breach of law: and the promiſe they had made

Lady Mary in trouble for having maſs ſaid.

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made being but temporary, and never given in writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperor aſſured her, that he had an abſolute promiſe for that privilege to her. This encouraged her ſo much, that when the Council wrote to her, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would follow the Catholic Church, and adhere to her father's religion. Anſwer was writ in the King's name, requiring her to obey the law, and not to pretend that the King was under age, ſince the late rebels had juſtified themſelves by that. The way of worſhip then eſtabliſhed was alſo vindicated, as moſt conſonant to the Word of God. But ſhe refuſed to engage into any diſputes, only ſhe ſaid ſhe would continue in her former courſes, and ſhe was thinking of going out of England, inſomuch that the Emperor ordered a ſhip to lie near the coaſt for her tranſportation: which was ſtrange advice; for it is probable, if ſhe had gone beyond ſea, ſhe had been effectually ſhut out from ſucceeding to the crown. The Emperor eſpouſed her quarrel ſo warmly, that he threatened to make war if ſhe ſhould be hardly uſed; and the merchants having then great effects at Antwerp, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and ſeizing on theſe; ſo the Council were willing to let the matter fall, and only adviſed her to have her maſs privately ſaid: yet the young King could not be eaſily induced to yield to that, for he ſaid, *he ought not to connive at idolatry*. The Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, to ſatisfy him in it: and they convinced him, that though he ought not to conſent to any ſin, yet he was not at all times obliged to puniſh it. He burſt out in weeping, lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and his own circumſtances, that obliged him to comply with ſuch an impious way of worſhip. Dr. Wotton was ſent over to the Emperor, to convince him that no abſolute promiſe was ever made: for Paget and Hobbey, whom the Emperor vouched for it, declared upon oath, that they made not any but what was temporary; and ſince the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperor's family, it was not reaſonable for him to interpoſe in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promiſed to her mother at her death to protect her, and ſo he was bound in honour to take care of her. But now when the Council were not in ſuch fear of the Emperor's diſpleaſure as formerly, they ſent to ſeize on two of her chaplains, that had ſaid maſs in her houſe when ſhe was abſent: they kept out of the way, and ſhe wrote to the Council to

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ſtop the proſecution, and continued to ſtand upon the promiſe made to the Emperor. A long anſwer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the matter of the promiſe was cleared, they urged her with the abſurdity of prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the Sacrament for the dead, and worſhipping images. All the ancients appealed upon all occaſions to the Scriptures; by theſe ſhe might eaſily diſcover the errors and cheats of the old ſuperſtition, that were ſupported only by falſe miracles and lying ſtories. They concluded, that they being truſted with the execution of the laws, were obliged to proceed equally. Mallet, one of the chaplains, was taken, and ſhe earneſtly deſired that he might be ſet at liberty; but it was denied her. The Council ſent for the chief officers of her houſe, and required them to let her know the King's pleaſure, that ſhe muſt have the new ſervice in her family; and to give the like charge to her chaplains and ſervants. This vexed her much, and did almoſt caſt her into ſickneſs: ſhe ſaid, ſhe would obey the King in every thing in which her conſcience was not touched; but charged them not to deliver the Council's meſſage to her ſervants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor Petre and Wingfield were ſent with the ſame orders to her; and carried to her a letter from the King, which ſhe received on her knees; but when ſhe read it, ſhe caſt the blame of it on Cecil, then Secretary of State. The Chancellor told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not ſuffer her to uſe a form of worſhip againſt law, and had ordered them to intimate this both to herſelf and her family. She made great proteſtations of duty to the King; but ſaid, ſhe would die rather than uſe any form of worſhip but that which was left by her father, only ſhe was afraid ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer on ſo good an account. When the King was of age, ſhe would obey his commands in religion; and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of war or policy, ſo much leſs could he judge in points of divinity. If her chaplains refuſed to ſay maſs, ſhe could have none; but for the new ſervice, ſhe was reſolved againſt it; and if it were forced on her, ſhe would leave her houſe. She deſired her officers might be ſent back to her, whom they had put in the Tower, for not intimating the Council's order to her ſervants; which had been ſtrange for them to have done when ſhe forbid it. She charged them to uſe her well for her father's ſake, who had raiſed them

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all out of nothing; ſhe was ſick by reaſon of their ill uſage; and if ſhe died, ſhe would lay it at their door. She inſiſted on the promiſe made to the Emperor, who wrote of it to her, and ſhe believed him more than them all: ſhe gave them a token to be carried to the King, and ſo diſmiſſed them. When they had laid a charge on her chaplains and ſervants to the ſame effect, and were going away, ſhe called after them, and deſired they would ſend her comptroller to her; for ſhe was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many loaves were made of a buſhel of meal. Upon this reſolution that ſhe expreſſed, the Council went no further; only after this, her maſs was ſaid ſo ſecretly, that ſhe gave no public ſcandal. From Copthall, where this was done, ſhe removed, and lived at Hunſden, and thither Ridley went to ſee her. She received him very civilly, and ordered her officers to entertain him at dinner: but when he begged leave to preach before her, ſhe at firſt bluſhed; but being further preſſed, ſhe ſaid he might preach in the pariſh-church, but neither ſhe nor her family would be there. He aſked her, if ſhe refuſed to hear the Word of God? She anſwered, they did not call that God's Word now, that they had called ſo in her father's days: and that in his time they durſt not have ſaid the things which they then preached. And after ſome ſharp and reproachful diſcourſe, ſhe diſmiſſed him. Wharton, one of her officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little; but he reflecting on that, blamed himſelf for it; for he ſaid, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have ſhaken off the duſt of his feet, and gone away. The King's ſiſter Elizabeth did in all things conform to the laws; for her mother at her death recommended her to Dr. Parker's care, who inſtructed her well in the principles of the Chriſtian religion.

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The Earl of Warwick's deſigns.

The Earl of Warwick began now to form great deſigns of bringing the crown into his family: the King was alienated from his ſiſter Mary, and the Privy Council had embroiled themſelves with her, and ſo would be eaſily engaged againſt her. The pretence againſt both the ſiſters was the ſame, that they ſtood illegitimated by two ſentences in the ſpiritual courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a diſgrace to the nation to let the crown devolve on baſtards: and ſince the fears of the eldeſt's revenge made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reaſon on which they could ground that muſt take place againſt the ſecond likewiſe. And therefore though

though the crown was provided to them both by act of Parliament and the late King's will, yet these being founded on an error that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the daughters of the French Queen, by Charles Brandon, stood next in the act, and yet it was generally believed that they were bastards: for it was given out that Brandon was secretly married to one Mortimer, at the time that he married the French Queen, and that Mortimer outlived her; so that the issue by her was illegitimate. The sweating sickness did this year break out in England with such contagion, that eight hundred died in one week of it in London; those that were taken with it were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died; but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. Charles Brandon's two sons by his last wife died within a day one of another. His eldest daughter, by the French Queen, was married to the Marquis of Dorset, a good but weak man, and so he was made Duke of Suffolk: they had no sons; their eldest daughter Jane Grey was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of Warwick projected a match between her and his fourth son Guilford, his three elder sons being then married: and because the Lady Elizabeth was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to send her out of England, and a match was treated for her with the King of Denmark.

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A splendid message was sent to France, with the order of the Garter. The Marquis of Northampton carried it; three Earls, the Bishop of Ely, and five Lords, were sent with him, and above two hundred gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a proposition of marriage for the King with a daughter of France. The Bishop of Ely made the first speech, and the Cardinal of Lorrain answered him. It was soon agreed on, yet neither party was to be bound, either in honour or conscience, till the lady should be of years to give consent. A noble embassy was sent in return from France to England, with the order of St. Michael. They desired in their master's name the continuance of the King's friendship, and that he would not be moved by rumours that might be raised to break their alliance. The young King answered on the sudden, "That rumours were not always to be believed, nor always to be rejected; for it was no less "vain to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: if "any differences happened to arise, he should be always "ready to determine them rather by reason than by

A treaty for a marriage to the King.

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"force, ſo far as his honour ſhould not be thereby di-"miniſhed." This was thought a very extraordinary anſwer to be made by one of fourteen on the ſudden.

1551. The Duke of Somerſet's fall.

There was at this time a great creation of Peers. Warwick was made Duke of Northumberland, the blood of the Piercies being then under an attainder; Paulet was made Marquis of Wincheſter; Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke; and a little before this, Ruſſel had been made Earl of Bedford, and Darcy was made a Lord. There was none ſo likely to take the King out of Northumberland's hands as the Duke of Somerſet, who was beginning to form a new party about the King: ſo upon ſome informations, both the Duke of Somerſet and his Ducheſs, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Arundel, and ſeveral others, of whom ſome were gentlemen of quality, and others were the Duke's ſervants, were all committed to the Tower. The committing of Palmer was to delude the world, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapped up as a complice, and then pretended to diſcover a plot: he ſaid the Duke intended to have raiſed the people, and that Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, having been invited to dine at the Lord Paget's, he intended to have ſet on them by the way, or have killed them at dinner; that Vane was to have two thouſand men ready; Arundel was to have ſeized on the Tower, and all the gendarmerie were to have been killed. All theſe things were told the young King with ſuch circumſtances, that he too eaſily believed them, and ſo was much alienated from his uncle, judging him guilty of ſo foul a conſpiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raiſed the city of London; one Crane confirmed Palmer's teſtimony, and both the Earl of Arundel and Paget were alſo committed as complices.

His trial.

On the firſt of December the Duke was brought to his trial: the Marquis of Wincheſter was Lord Steward, and twenty-ſeven Peers ſat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Earl of Pembroke. The particulars charged on him were, a deſign to ſeize on the King's perſon, to impriſon the Duke of Northumberland, and to raiſe the city of London. It ſeemed ſtrange to ſee Northumberland ſit a judge, when the crime objected was a deſign againſt his life; for though by the law of England no Peer can be challenged, yet by the law of nature no man can well judge where he is a party. The Chancellor, though a Peer, was left out, upon ſuſpicion of a reconciliation which he was making

making with the Duke: he was not well ſkilled in law, and neither objected to the indictment, nor deſired counſel to plead for him, but only anſwered to matters of fact: he denied all deſigns to raiſe the people, or to kill Northumberland: if he had talked of it, it was in paſſion, without any intention; and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a ſmall troop could deſtroy the gendarmerie, who were nine hundred. The armed men he had about him were only for his own defence; he had done no miſchief to his enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had ſurrendered himſelf without making any reſiſtance: he deſired the witneſſes might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them, chiefly to Palmer; but that was not done, and their depoſitions were only read. The King's counſel pleaded upon the ſtatute againſt unlawful aſſemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counſellors was felony; and to have men about him for his defence was alſo felony. The material defence was omitted; for by that ſtatute thoſe aſſemblies were not felonious, except being required to diſperſe themſelves, they had refuſed to do it; and it does not appear that any ſuch proclamation had been made in this caſe. The proofs of his raiſing rebellion were inſufficient, ſo he was acquitted of treaſon, which raiſed a great ſhout of joy, that was heard as far as Charing-croſs; but he was found guilty of felony, for intending to impriſon Northumberland. He carried himſelf, during the trial, with great temper; and all the ſharpneſs, which the King's counſel expreſſed in pleading againſt him, did not provoke him to any undecent paſſion. But when ſentence was given, he ſunk a little, and aſked the three lords, that were his enemies, pardon for his ill deſigns againſt them, and made ſuit for his life, and for his wife and children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found againſt him but an intention to impriſon a Privy Counſellor, that never took effect, one ſo nearly related to the King would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe in the King a great averſion to him: ſo a ſtory was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confeſſed a deſign to employ ſome to aſſaſſinate thoſe Lords; and the perſons named for that wicked ſervice were alſo perſuaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preſerve him: aſſaſſination being a crime of ſo barbarous a nature, that it poſſeſſed him with a horror, even to his uncle, when he thought him guilty of it:

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it: and therefore he was given up to his enemies' rage. Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel, and Vane, were tried next; the two firſt were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill uſe of their intereſt in the Duke during his greatneſs: the other two were much lamented. Arundel's jury was ſhut up a whole day and a night, and thoſe that were for the acquittal yielded to the fury of the reſt, only that they might ſave their own lives, and not be ſtarved. Vane had done great ſervices in the wars, and carried himſelf with a magnanimity that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and Partridge and he were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Biſhop of Ely.

The Lord Chancellor was become a ſecret friend to the Duke of Somerſet, and that was thus diſcovered: he went aſide once at Council, and wrote a note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation againſt him, and endorſed it only *for the Duke*, and ſent it to the Tower; but his ſervant not having particular directions, fancied it was to the Duke of Norfolk, and not to Somerſet, and carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, ſent this to him: Rich underſtanding the miſtake in which his ſervant had fallen, prevented the diſcovery, and went immediately to the King, and, pretending ſome indiſpoſition, deſired to be diſcharged; and upon that took his bed; ſo it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing further againſt him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Biſhop of Ely's hands. This was much cenſured; for all the Reformers had inveighed ſeverely againſt the ſecular employments and high places which Biſhops had in the Church of Rome; ſince by theſe they were taken wholly off from the care of ſouls, or thoſe ſpiritual exerciſes that might diſpoſe them for it, and aſſumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to ſerve their ambition and covetouſneſs, and by this the people were much prejudiced againſt them; ſo upon Goodrick's advancement, this was turned againſt the Reformers: it was ſaid, they only complained of thoſe things when their enemies enjoyed them, but changed their minds as ſoon as they fell into the hands of their friends. But Goodrick was no pattern; he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen Mary ſucceeded. Chriſt ſaid, *Who made me a judge?* St. Paul left it as a rule, *that no man that warreth, entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life.* This Saint Cyprian and the other Fathers underſtood as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's meddling with ſecular matters, and condemned

demned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at Chalcedon: but as the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria grew rich and powerful, they established a sort of secular principality in the Church; and other sees, as they increased in wealth, affected to imitate them. Charles the Great encouraged this every where, and gave great territories and privileges to the Church; upon which the Bishops and Abbots were not only admitted to a share in the public counsels by virtue of their lands, but to all the chief offices of the State; and then ecclesiastical preferments were given to courtiers, as rewards for their services: and by these means the Clergy became very corrupt; merit and learning being no more the standards by which men were esteemed or promoted; and Bishops were only considered as a sort of great men, who went in a peculiar habit, and on great festivities were obliged to say mass, or perform some other solemnities; but they wholly abandoned the souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings to their Vicars and Archdeacons, who made no other use of it but to squeeze the inferior Clergy, and to oppress the people: and it was not easy to persuade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the courts of Princes, and meddling so much in matters that did not belong to them, that they neglected those for which they were to account to God.

The Duke of Somerset's execution.

On the 22d day of January, the Duke of Somerset was executed at Tower-hill: the substance of his speech was a vindication of himself "from all ill designs; he confessed "his private sins, and acknowledged the mercies of God "in granting him time to repent: he declared that he "had acted sincerely in all he did in matters of religion "while he was in power; and rejoiced for his being in- "strumental in so good a work: he exhorted the people "to live suitably to the doctrine received among them, "otherwise they might look for great judgments from "God." As he was going on, there was an unaccountable noise heard, which so frighted the people, that many run away. Sir Anthony Brown came up riding towards the scaffold, which made the spectators think that he brought a pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of joy; but they soon saw their mistake; so the Duke went on in his speech: "he declared his cheerful submission to "the will of God, and desired them likewise to acquiesce "in it: he prayed for the King and his Council, and ex-

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"horted the people to continue obedient to them; and "aſked the forgiveneſs of all whom at any time he had "offended." Then he turned to his private devotions, and fitted himſelf for the blow, which, upon the ſignal given, ſevered his head from his body.

He was a man of extraordinary virtues, of great candour, and eminent piety: he was always a promoter of juſtice, and a patron of the oppreſſed. He was a better captain than a counſellor, and was too eaſy and open-hearted, to be ſo cautious as ſuch times and ſuch employments required. It was generally believed, all this conſpiracy, for which he and the other four ſuffered, was only a forgery: all the other complices were quickly diſcharged, and Palmer, the chief witneſs, became Northumberland's particular confident: and the indiſcreet words which the Duke of Somerſet had ſpoken, and his gathering armed men about him, was imputed to Palmer's artifices, who had put him in fear of his life, and ſo made him do and ſay thoſe things for which he loſt it. His four friends did all end their lives with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of their innocence; and the whole matter was looked on as a contrivance of Northumberland's, by which he loſt the affections of the people entirely. Some reflected on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey's death, occaſioned likewiſe by a conſpiracy of their own ſervants, in which it was thought this Duke was too active. Hs was alſo much cenſured for his brother's death. He had raiſed much of his eſtate out of the ſpoils of Biſhops' lands, and his palace out of the ruins of ſome churches; and to this ſome added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have ſaved him; and ſince he had ſo ſpoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular judgment on him, that he forgat it. But in this they were miſtaken; for in the act by which he was condemned, it was provided, that no Clergy ſhould purge that felony.

The affairs of Germany.

In Germany, Maurice began this year to form a great deſign: he entered into correſpondences not only with the Princes of Germany, but alſo with France and England; and having given intimations of his deſigns for the liberty of Germany, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, to ſome that had great credit at Magdeburg, he brought that town to a ſurrender, and having made himſelf ſure of the army, he quartered his troops in the territories of the Popiſh Princes; by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperor did not apprehend the danger

danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of France about Parma: the Pope threatened, if that King would not reſtore Parma, he would take France from him. Upon that, the Council being now again open at Trent, the King of France proteſted againſt it, and declared that he would call a national Council in France, and would not obey nor receive their decrees. The Emperor ſtill preſſed the Germans to ſend ambaſſadors and divines to Trent. The Council began with the points about the Euchariſt, and it was ordered that theſe ſhould be handled according to the Scriptures and ancient authors. The Italians did not like this, and ſaid the bringing many quotations was only an act of memory, and that way would give the Lutherans great advantages: the ſublime ſpeculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much ſafer weapons to deal with. A ſafe conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperor's conduct was not thought ſufficient; ſince at Conſtance, John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were burned, though they had the Emperor's ſafe conduct. The Council of Baſil had granted a very full one to the Bohemians, ſo the Lutherans demanded one in the ſame form; but though one was granted, yet it was in many things ſhort of that. The Elector of Brandenburgh ſent an ambaſſador to Trent, who made a general ſpeech of the reſpect his maſter had for them. The legates anſwered, and thanked him for ſubmitting to their decrees, of which the ambaſſador had not ſaid a word; but when he expoſtulated about it, the legates ſaid, they anſwered him according to that he ought to have ſaid, and not to that he did ſay. The Council decreed the manner of Chriſt's preſence to be ineffable; and yet added, that tranſubſtantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on. Then they decreed the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, that thereby prieſts might keep a proportion between penances and ſins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of ſlight penances, and eaſy abſolutions for the greateſt ſins, ſhewed there was no care taken to adjuſt the one to the other. The ambaſſador of the Duke of Wirtemburg came, and moved for a ſafe conduct to their divines to come and maintain their doctrine. The legates anſwered, they would enter into no diſputes with them; but if they came with an humble mind, and propoſed their ſcruples, they would ſatisfy them. Ambaſſadors from ſome towns arrived at Trent, and thoſe ſent by the Duke

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Duke of Saxe were on their way; upon which, the Emperor ordered his agents to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their deciſions till thoſe were heard;

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1552. A ſeſſion of Parliament.

The day after the Duke of Somerſet's execution, a ſeſſion of Parliament was aſſembled. The firſt act they paſſed was about the Common Prayer Book, as it was now amended: to it only one Earl, two Biſhops, and two Lords diſſented. The book was appointed to be every where received after Allhallows next. The Biſhops were required to proceed by the cenſures of the Church againſt ſuch as came not to it: they alſo authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the ſame penalties againſt offenders, that were in the act for the former book three years before. The Papiſts took occaſion, on the changes now made in the book, to ſay, that the new doctrines and ways of worſhip changed as faſt as the faſhions did. It was anſwered, that it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thouſand years, were not all diſcovered and thrown out at once; and ſince they had been every age making additions of new ceremonies, it might be excuſed, if the purging them out was done by ſuch eaſy degrees. The book was not to be received till Allhallows, becauſe it was hoped between that and then the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical laws would have been finiſhed. A bill concerning treaſons paſſed with only one diſſent: it was much oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons; for the multiplying of treaſons is always looked on as a ſeverity in the government. One bill was rejected, but another was agreed on: "If any "called the King, or his ſucceſſors, named in the ſtatute "of 35 Hen. VIII. heretic, tyrant, or other opprobrious "words, he was for the firſt offence to be puniſhed with "a forfeiture of goods and chattels, for the ſecond with "a *præmunire*, and the third offence was made treaſon: "but if it was done in printing or writing, the firſt of-"fence was treaſon. None were to be proſecuted for "words but within three months: and two witneſſes "were made neceſſary, who ſhould aver their depoſitions "to the party's face." This ſeems to relate to the proceedings againſt the Duke of Somerſet, in which the witneſſes did not appear, ſo that he loſt the advantage of croſs examining them: and many times innocence and guilt diſcover themſelves, when the parties are confronted. Another

other law passed for holidays and fasts. "No days were "to be esteemed holy in their own nature, but by reason "of those holy duties which ought to be done in them, "for which they were dedicated to the service of God. 1552. "Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the honour "of God, even those in which the saints were com- "memorated. Sundays and the other holidays were "to be religiously observed, and the Bishops were to pro- "ceed to censures against offenders, only labourers or "fishermen, in case of necessity, might work on them: "the eves before them were to be fasts, and abstinence "from flesh was enacted both in Lent and on Fridays "and Saturdays." This liberty to tradesmen to work on these days was abused to a public profanation of them; but the stricter clauses in the act were little regarded. An act passed, empowering Churchwardens to gather collections for the poor, and the Bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which, though it was a bill that taxed the people, yet had its first rise in the House of Lords. A bill was passed by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for securing the Clergy from falling under the lash of a *præmunire* by ignorance; and that they ought to be first prohibited by the King's writ, and not be sued, unless they continued, after that, stiff in their disobedience. An act passed for the marriage of the Clergy; four Earls and six Lords dissenting from it: "That where- "as the former act about it was thought only a per- "mission of it, as some other unlawful things were con- "nived at; upon which the wives and children of the "Clergy were reproachfully used, and the Word of God "was not heard with due reverence; therefore their "marriages were declared good and valid." The Marquis of Northampton procured an act, confirming his second marriage; and that occasioned another to be proposed in the House of Lords, that no man might put away his wife, and marry another, unless he were first divorced: but it was laid aside by the Commons. The bishopric of Westminster was reunited to London, only the collegiate church was still continued.

An act passed concerning usury, repealing a law made 37 Hen. VIII. "That none might take above 20 *per* "*cent.* All usury, or profit for money lent, was con- "demned, as contrary to the Word of God, and trans- "gressors were to be imprisoned, and fined at pleasure." This has been since that time repealed, and several regulations have been made of the gain by lent money, which

An act against usury.

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which is now reduced to 6 *per cent.* The prohibitions of usury by Moses have been thought moral; others have believed that they were founded only on the equal division of the land; and since it was then lawful to take usury of a stranger, they have inferred that the law was not moral, otherwise it must be of perpetual obligation: it was also a great incitement to industry not to lend upon profit, and it made every man lay out his money in some way of advantage; and their neighbourhood to Tyre and Sidon gave them a quick vent of their manufacture, without which it is not easy to imagine how such vast numbers could have lived in so narrow a country: so that these laws seemed to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the brotherly-kindness that ought to be among Christians to lend without gain; but at last canons were made against taking usury, and it was put among the reserved cases. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the use was paid as the rent of the land mortgaged, and not of the money lent. Inventions also were found for those who had no land to mortgage, to make such bargains that gain was made of the money, and yet not in the way of usury. These were tricks only to deceive people; and it is not easy to shew how the making such a gain as holds proportion to the value of land is immoral in itself; if the rule settled by law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable accidents are disabled from making payment. Another bill was passed against simony, the reserving pensions out of benefices, and granting advowsons while the incumbent was yet alive; but it had not the royal assent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many laws and canons have been made against it; but new contrivances are still found out to elude them all; and it is a disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as covetousness and ambition ferment so strongly in the minds of Churchmen.

A repeal of the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate.

A bill was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, repealing the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate, 23 Hen. VIII. made in favour of his children by his second wife, to exclude the children by his first, of whom are descended the Seymours of Devonshire; which some imputed to a jealousy he had of his first wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament, and so for fifteen days it was debated: a new bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the bill was not finished till the

the day before the diſſolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a proviſo, confirming the Duke of Somerſet's attainder; but that was caſt out by the Commons. Some writings had been ſealed with relation to a marriage between the Earl of Hertford, the Duke's ſon, and the Earl of Oxford's daughter; and the Lords ſent down a bill voiding theſe: but upon a diviſion in the Houſe of Commons, ſixty-eight were for it, and ſixty-nine were againſt it; ſo it was caſt out. The Houſe was now thin, when we find but one hundred and thirty-ſeven members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on deſign; and thoſe who at their firſt election were the repreſentatives of the people, after they have ſat long, become a cabal of men, that purſue their own intereſts more than the public ſervice. Tonſtall Biſhop of Durham, upon ſome informations, was put in priſon in the former year. The Duke of Northumberland intended to erect a great principality for his family in the North; and the acceſſion of the juriſdiction of the county palatine, which is in that ſee, ſeemed ſo conſiderable, that he reſolved to ruin Tonſtall, and ſo make way for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had proteſted againſt them in Parliament; he wrote alſo for the corporal preſence, but with more eloquence than learning: he was a candid and moderate man, and there was always a good correſpondence between Cranmer and him. And now when the bill was put in againſt him, he oppoſed it, and proteſted againſt it, by which he abſolutely loſt the Duke of Northumberland: but all the Popiſh complying Biſhops went along with it. There were ſome depoſitions read in the Houſe of Lords to juſtify it; but when the bill with theſe was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolved to put a ſtop to that way of condemning men without hearing them: ſo they ſent a meſſage to the Lords, that he and his accuſers might be heard face to face; and that not being done, they let the bill fall. By theſe indications, it appeared that the Houſe of Commons had little kindneſs for the Duke of Northumberland. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of Somerſet: ſo it was reſolved to have a new Parliament; and this, which had ſat almoſt five years, was on the 15th of April diſſolved.

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Tonſtall is impriſoned.

The Convocation did confirm the articles of religion that had been prepared the former year; and thus was the reformation of worſhip and doctrine now brought to ſuch

A reformation of eccleſiaſtical laws prepared.

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1552. ſuch perfection, that ſince that time there has been very little alteration made in theſe. But another branch of it was yet unfiniſhed, and was now under conſultation, touching the government of the Church, and the rules of the eccleſiaſtical courts. Two acts had paſſed in the former reign, and one in this, empowering thirty-two to reviſe all the laws of the Church, and digeſt them into a body. King Henry iſſued out a commiſſion, and the perſons were named, who made ſome progreſs in it, as appears by ſome of Cranmer's letters to him. In this reign it had been begun ſeveral times; but the changes in the government made it be laid aſide. Thirty-two were found to be too many for preparing the firſt draught, ſo eight were appointed to make it ready for them: theſe were Cranmer and Ridley, Cox and Peter Martyr, Traheron and Taylor, and Lucas and Goſnold; two Biſhops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that Cranmer drew it all himſelf, and the reſt only corrected what he deſigned. Haddon and Cheek were employed to put it in Latin, in which they ſucceeded ſo well, and arrived at ſo true a purity in the Roman ſtyle, that it looks like a work of the beſt ages of that ſtate, before their language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phraſes, with which all the later writings were filled; but none were more naufeouſly rude than the books of the canon law. The work was caſt into fifty-one titles; perhaps it was deſigned to bring it near the number of the books, into which Juſtinian digeſted the Roman law. The eight finiſhed it, and offered it to the thirty-two, who divided themſelves into four claſſes; every one was to offer his corrections, and when it had paſſed through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finiſhed, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I ſhall think it no uſeleſs part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

The heads of it.

The firſt title of it was concerning the Catholic faith: it was made capital to deny the Chriſtian religion. The books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four firſt General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be ſubmitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The ſecond enumerates and condemns many hereſies, extracted out of the opinions of the Church of Rome, and the tenets of the

the Anabaptiſts: and among others, thoſe who excuſed their lives, by the pretence of predeſtination, are reckoned up. 3. The judgment of hereſy was to lie in the Biſhops' court, except in exempted places. Perſons ſuſpected might be required to purge themſelves; and thoſe who were convicted were to abjure and do penance; but ſuch as were obſtinate were declared infamous, and not to have the benefit of the law, or of making teſtaments; and ſo all capital proceedings for hereſy were laid aſide. 4. Blaſphemy againſt God was to be puniſhed as obſtinate hereſy. 5. The ſacraments, and other parts of the paſtoral charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All magic, idolatry, or conjuring, was to be puniſhed arbitrarily, and, in caſe of obſtinacy, with excommunication. 7. Biſhops were appointed once a year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their flocks; and itinerant preachers were to be often employed for viſiting ſuch precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All marriages were to be after aſking of banns, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common Prayer. Corrupters of virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their goods, and ſuffer corporal puniſhment. Marriages made by force, or without conſent of parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and mothers were required to ſuckle their children. 9. The degrees of marriage were ſettled according to the Levitical law, but ſpiritual kindred was to be no bar. 10. A Clergyman guilty of adultery was to forfeit his goods and eſtate to his wife and children, or to ſome pious uſe, and to be baniſhed or impriſoned during life: a layman guilty of it was to forfeit the half, and to be baniſhed or impriſoned during life: wives that were guilty were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. The innocent party might marry again after a divorce. Deſertion, or mortal enmity, or the conſtant perverſeneſs of a huſband, might induce a divorce; but little quarrels nor a perpetual diſeaſe might not do it; and the ſeparation from bed and board, except during a trial, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give preſentations without making bargains; to chooſe the fitteſt perſons, and not to make promiſes till the livings were vacant. The Biſhops were required to uſe great ſtrictneſs in the trial of thoſe whom they ordained. All pluralities and non-reſidence were condemned, and all that were preſented were to purge themſelves of ſimony by oath. The twelfth and thirteenth were concerning the

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changing of benefices. The fourteenth was concerning the manner of purgation upon common fame: all ſuperſtitious purgations were condemned. Others followed, about dilapidations, elections, or collations. The nineteenth was concerning divine offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in cathedrals, and a ſermon was to be in them in the afternoon. Such as received the Sacrament were to give notice to the miniſter the day before, that he might examine their conſciences. The Catechiſm was appointed to be explained for an hour in the afternoon on holidays. After the Evening Prayer, the poor were to be taken care of, penances were to be enjoined to ſcandalous perſons, and the miniſter was to confer with ſome of the ancients of the people concerning the ſtate of the pariſh, that admonitions and cenſures might be applied, as there was occaſion given. The twentieth was concerning other church-officers. A rural Dean was to be in every precinct, to watch over the Clergy, according to the Biſhop's directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Biſhop over all; who was to have yearly ſynods, and viſit every third year. His family was to conſiſt of Clergymen, in imitation of St. Auſtin, and other ancient Biſhops; theſe he was to train up for the ſervice of the Church. When Biſhops became infirm, they were to have coadjutors: Archbiſhops were to do the epiſcopal duties in their dioceſe, and to viſit their province. Every ſynod was to begin with a communion; and after that, the miniſters were to give an account of their pariſhes, and follow ſuch directions as the Biſhop ſhould give them. Other heads followed concerning churchwardens, tithes, univerſities, viſitations, and ſeveral ſorts of cenſures. In the thirtieth, a large ſcheme was drawn of excommunication, which was entruſted to churchmen, for keeping the church pure, and was not to be inflicted, but for obſtinacy in ſome groſs fault. All cauſes upon which it was pronounced were to be examined before the miniſter of the pariſh, a juſtice of peace, and ſome other churchmen. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great ſerioufneſs, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the perſon cenſured, under the like pains, except thoſe of his own family. Upon his continuing forty days obſtinate under it, a writ was to be iſſued out for commitment, till the ſentence ſhould be taken off. Such as had the King's pardon for capital offences were yet liable to church-cenſures. Then followed the office of abſolving penitents. They were

were to come to the church-door, and crave admittance; and the miniſter having brought them in, was to read a long diſcourſe concerning ſin, repentance, and the mercies of God. Then the party was to confeſs his ſin, and to aſk God and the congregation pardon; upon which the miniſter was to lay his hands on his head, and to pronounce the abſolution. Then a thankſgiving was to be offered to God, at the communion-table, for the reclaiming that ſinner. The other heads of this work relate to the other parts of the law of thoſe courts. It is certain, that the abounding of vice and impiety flows in a great meaſure from the want of that ſtrictneſs of cenſure, which was the glory of the Chriſtian Church in the primitive times: and it is a public connivance at ſin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making ſinners aſhamed, and denying them the privileges of Chriſtians, till they have changed their ill courſe of life.

The poverty of the Clergy

There were at this time alſo remedies under conſideration, for the great miſery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were ſo much concerned to oppoſe all theſe, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King ſhould come to be of age himſelf, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance for the Clergy, out of their hands who had devoured their revenues. Both Heath and Day, and the Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, were this year deprived of biſhoprics by a court of delegates, that were all laymen: but it does not appear for what offences they were ſo cenſured. The biſhoprics of Glouceſter and Worceſter were both united, and put under Hooper's care; but ſoon after, the former was made an exempted archdeaconry, and he was declared Biſhop only of Worceſter. In every ſee, as it fell vacant, the beſt manors were laid hold on by ſuch hungry courtiers as had the intereſt to procure the grant of them. It was thought that the Biſhops' ſees were ſo out of meaſure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but ſuch haſte was made in ſpoiling them, that they were reduced to ſo low a condition, that it was hardly poſſible for a Biſhop to ſubſiſt in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good uſes, ſuch as the ſupplying the inferior Clergy, it had been ſome mitigation of ſo heinous a robbery: but their lands were ſnatched up by laymen, who thought of making no compenſation to the Church for the ſpoils thus made by them.

Affairs in Ireland.

This year the Reformation had ſome more footing in Ireland

BOOK II. 1552. Ireland than formerly. Henry VIII. had aſſumed to himſelf, by conſent of the Parliament of that kingdom, the title of King of Ireland; the former Kings of England having only been called Lords of it. The Popes and Emperors have pretended, that ſuch titles could be given only by them. The former ſaid, all power in heaven and earth was given to Chriſt, and by conſequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the title of Roman Emperor, pretended, that as they anciently beſtowed thoſe titles, ſo that devolved on them, who retained only the name and ſhadow of that great authority. But princes and ſtates have thought that they may bring themſelves under what titles they pleaſe. In Ireland, though the Kings of England were well obeyed within the Engliſh pale, yet the Iriſh continued barbarous and uncivilized, and depended on the heads of their names or tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel, as they directed them. In Ulſter they had a great dependence on Scotland, and there were ſome riſings there, during the war with Scotland, which were quieted by giving the leading men penſions, and getting them to come and live within the Engliſh pale. Monluc, Biſhop of Valence, being then in Scotland, went over thither to engage them to raiſe new commotions; but that had no effect. While he was there, his laſciviouſneſs came to be diſcovered by an odd accident; for a whore was brought to him by ſome Engliſh friars, and ſecretly kept by him: but ſhe ſearching among his clothes, fell on a glaſs, full of ſomewhat that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being diſcovered by the Biſhop too late, put him in a moſt violent paſſion: for it had been given him, as a preſent, by Soliman the Magnificent, when he was ambaſſador at his Court. It was called the richeſt balm of Egypt, and valued at two thouſand crowns. His rage grew ſo boiſterous, that all about him diſcovered both his paſſion and lewdneſs at once. The Reformation was ſet up in the Engliſh pale, but had made a ſmall progreſs among the Iriſh. This year Bale was ſent over to labour among them. He was a buſy writer, and was a learned zealous man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a divine. Goodaker was ſent to be Primate of Armagh, and he was to be Biſhop of Oſſory. Two Iriſhmen were alſo promoted with them, who undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbiſhop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old pontifical; and all, except Bale, were willing it ſhould be ſo, but he prevailed that

that it ſhould be done according to the new Book of Ordinations. After that he went into his dioceſe, but found all there in dark popery; and before he could make any progreſs, the King's death put an end to his deſigns. 1552.

A change in the Garter.

There was a change ſettled in the order of the Garter this year. A propoſition was made the former year, to conſider how the order might be freed from the ſuperſtition that was ſuppoſed to be in it. St. George's fighting with a dragon looked like a legend forged in dark ages to ſupport the humour of chivalry, then very high in the world. The ſtory was neither credible in itſelf, nor vouched by any good author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the ancients but George the Arian Biſhop, that was put in Alexandria when Athanaſius was baniſhed. Some knights were appointed to prepare a reformation of the order: and the Earl of Weſtmorland and Sir Andrew Dudley were this year inſtalled according to the new model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the order of the Garter, and no more the order of St. George: inſtead of the former George, there was to be on the one ſide of the jewel a man on horſeback with a Bible on his ſword's point: on the ſword was written *Protectio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and on the reverſe a ſhield, and *Fides* written upon it, to ſhew that they would maintain the Word of God both with offenſive and defenſive weapons. But all this was reverſed by Queen Mary, and the old ſtatutes were again revived, which continue to this day.

Northumberland's severity.

There was at this time a ſtrict enquiry made into the accounts of all who had been employed in the former part of this reign; for it was believed, that the viſitors had embezzled much of the plate of the churches: and theſe were the creatures of the Duke of Somerſet, which made Northumberland proſecute them more vehemently. On none did this fall more ſeverely than on the Lord Paget, who was not only fined in 6000*l.* but was degraded from the order of the Garter, with a particular mark of infamy on his extraction; yet he was afterwards reſtored to it with as much honour. He had been a conſtant friend to the Duke of Somerſet, and that made his enemies execute ſo ſevere a revenge on him. Northumberland was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a man of an inſolent temper, no leſs abject when he was low, than lifted up with proſperity, he thought extreme ſeverity was the only way to bring the nation eaſily to comply with his adminiſtration of affairs: but this, though it

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ſucceeded for ſome time, yet when he needed it moſt, it turned violently upon him: for nothing can work on a free people ſo much as juſtice and clemency in the government.

1552.

Trade flouriſhes much.

A great deſign was ſettled this year, which proved to be the foundation of all that wealth and trade that has ſince that time flouriſhed ſo much in this nation. Henry III. had been much ſupported in his wars by the aſſiſtance he got from the free towns of Germany; in recompenſe of which, he gave them great privileges in England. They were formed here in a corporation, and lived in the Still-yard near London-bridge. They had gone ſometimes beyond their charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited; but by great preſents they purchaſed new ones. They traded in a body, and ſo ruined others by underſelling them; and by making preſents at Court, or lending great ſums, they had the government on their ſide. Trade was now riſing much, courts began to be more magnificent, ſo that there was a greater conſumption, particularly of cloth, than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh, lying the one near the mouth of the Rhine, and the other at the mouth of the Elbe, had then the chief trade in theſe parts of the world; and their factors in the Still-yard had all the markets in England in their hands; and ſet ſuch prices, both on what they imported or exported, as they pleaſed, and broke all other merchants to ſuch a degree, that the former year they had ſhipped forty-four thouſand clothes, and all the other traders had not ſhipped above eleven hundred. So the merchant adventurers complained of the Still-yard men; and after ſome hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was diſſolved: nor could all the applications of the Hanſe towns, ſeconded by the Emperor's interceſſion, procure them a new charter. But a greater deſign was propoſed after this was ſettled; which was to open two free mart-towns in England, and to give them ſuch privileges as the free towns in the empire had, and by that means to draw the trade to England. Southampton and Hull were thought the fitteſt. This was ſo far entertained by the young King, that he wrote a large paper, balancing the conveniences and inconveniences of it; but all that fell with his life. This year Cardan, the great philoſopher of that age, paſſed through England, as he returned from Scotland. The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had ſent for him out of Italy to cure him of a dropſy; in which he had good ſucceſs; but

Cardan in England.

but being much converſant in aſtrology and magic, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King Edward as he returned, and was ſo charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always ſpake of him as the rareſt perſon he had ever ſeen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him. BOOK II. 1554.

"All the graces were in him: he had many tongues "when he was yet but a child; together with the Engliſh, "his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor "was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and "Spaniſh, and perhaps ſome more: but for the Engliſh, "French, and Latin, he was exact in them, and was apt "to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of logic, of "the principles of natural philoſophy, nor of muſic. The "ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became a mortal, "his gravity becoming the majeſty of a King, and his "diſpoſition was ſuitable to his high degree. In ſum, "that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch "expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. "Theſe things are not ſpoken rhetorically, and beyond "the truth, but are indeed ſhort of it." And afterwards he adds, "He was a marvellous boy: when I was with "him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he "ſpake Latin as politely and as promptly as I did. He "aſked me what was the ſubject of my book, *De Rerum "Varietate*, which I dedicated to him? I anſwered, that "in the firſt chapter I gave the true cauſe of comets, "which had been long enquired into, but was never "found out before. What is it? ſaid he. I ſaid, it was "the concourſe of the light of wandering ſtars. He an- "ſwered, How can that be, ſince the ſtars move in different "motions? How comes it that the comets are not ſoon "diſſipated, or do not move after them, according to their "motions? To this I anſwered, They do move after them, "but much quicker than they, by reaſon of the different "aſpect, as we ſee in cryſtal, or when a rainbow re- "bounds from a wall: for a little change makes a great "difference of place. But the King ſaid, How can that "be, where there is no ſubject to receive that light; as "the wall is the ſubject for the rainbow? To this I an- "ſwered, that this was as in the milky way, or where many "candles were lighted: the middle place, where their "ſhining met, was white and clear. From this little "taſte, it may be imagined what he was. And indeed

"the

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"the ingenuity and ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition had raiſed "in all good and learned men the greateſt expectation of "him poſſible. He began to love the liberal arts before "he knew them, and to know them before he could "uſe them: and in him there was ſuch an attempt "of nature, that not only England, but the world hath "reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. "How truly was it ſaid of ſuch extraordinary perſons, "that their lives are ſhort, and ſeldom do they come to be "old! He gave us an eſſay of virtue, though he did not "live to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a "King was needful, he carried himſelf like an old man; "and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became "his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs "of ſtate: and for bounty, he did in that emulate his "father; though he, even when he endeavoured to be "too good, might appear to have been bad. But there "was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the ſon, "whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of phi-"loſophy."

Theſe extraordinary bloſſoms gave but too good reaſon to fear, that a fruit which ripened ſo faſt could not laſt long.

Affairs in Scotland.

In Scotland there was a great change in the government: the governor was dealt with to reſign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this year from France, and was treated with all that reſpect that was due to her rank as ſhe paſſed through England. She brought letters to the governor, adviſing him to reſign it to her; but in ſuch terms, that he ſaw he muſt either do it, or maintain his power by force. He was a ſoft man, and was the more eaſily wrought on, becauſe his ambitious brother was then deſperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what he had done, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of Scotland's uncles propoſed a match for her with the Dauphin, which had been long in diſcourſe, and the King of France inclined much to it. Conſtable Montmorency oppoſed it: he obſerved how much Spain ſuffered in having ſo many territories at a diſtance; though thoſe were the beſt provinces of Europe. So he reckoned the keeping Scotland would coſt France more than ever it could be worth: a revolt to England would be eaſy, and the ſending fleets and armies thither would be a vaſt charge. He therefore adviſed the King rather to marry her to ſome of the Princes of the blood, and to ſend them to Scotland; and ſo by a ſmall penſion, that kingdom would be preſerved in the intereſts

interests of France. But the Constable was a sworn enemy to the house of Guise, and so those wise advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of so great a strengthening as this would have given to their interest at Court. In Scotland there were now two factions; the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to some lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the Earl of Murray, was the chief. These offered to serve the Queen in all her designs; in particular, in sending the matrimonial crown to France, upon their young Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, if she would defend them from the violence of the Clergy in matters of religion, which being made generally subservient to other interests in all courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own religion. 1552.

Affairs in Germany.

There was a great and unexpected turn this year in the affairs of Germany. The Emperor's ministers began to entertain some jealousy of Maurice; so that the Duke of Alva advised the Emperor to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages in his treating with other Princes. But the Bishop of Arras said, he had both his secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his negociations; and relied so on their intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperor not to provoke him, by seeming distrustful of him. But Maurice knew all this, and deluded his secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secretest negociations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears; and had managed his treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperor was so possessed with the advertisements that were sent him from all parts, that he writ to Maurice to come and clear himself: and then he refined it higher; for he presently left the army, and took post, with one of his secretaries, and a small retinue. After a day's riding, he complained of a pain in his side; so that he could not go on, but sent his secretary with his excuses. This appearance of confidence made the Emperor lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his ambassadors to Trent, and had ordered Melancthon and some Divines, to follow them slowly; and as soon as a safe conduct was obtained, to go to Trent. The Emperor's

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ror's agents had a hard taſk, between the Legates and the Lutherans. They dealt with the Legates to hear the others; but they anſwered, that it was againſt the rules of the Church to treat with profeſſed heretics. The Lutherans, on the other hand, made ſuch high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them. They preſſed them not to aſk too much at once; and promiſed, that, if they would proceed prudently, the Emperor would concur with them, to pull down the Pope's power, and to reform abuſes. A ſafe-conduct was demanded, ſuch as had been granted by the Council of Baſil, that their Divines might have a deciſive voice, and the free exerciſe of their religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted ſo much againſt the Papal authority, and had granted ſuch a conduct, that ſo they might unite Germany, and engage the empire to join with them againſt the Pope. The ambaſſadors from the Lutherans were heard in a general congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold compliment, and deſired a ſafe-conduct. The Pope underſtood that the Emperor was reſolved to ſet on the Spaniſh Biſhops, to bear down the power of the Court of Rome; therefore he united himſelf to France, and reſolved to break the Council on the firſt occaſion: upon which, he ordered the Legates to proceed to ſettle the doctrine; hoping the Proteſtants would upon that deſpair of favour, and go away. But while theſe things were in agitation, the war of Germany broke out, and the Legates ſuſpended the Council for two years.

1552.

An account of the Council of Trent.

After this, I ſhall have no occaſion to ſpeak more of this Council; ſo I ſhall offer this remark here, that this Council had been much deſired both by Princes and Biſhops, in hopes that differences of religion would have been compoſed in it, and that the corruptions of the Court of Rome would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehenſive of it. But ſuch was the cunning of the Legates, the number of Italian Biſhops, and the diſſenſions of the Princes of Europe, that it had effects quite contrary to what all ſides expected. The breach in religion was put paſt reconciling, by the poſitive deciſions they made: the abuſes of the Court of Rome were confirmed by the proviſos made in favour of the privileges of the Apoſtolic ſee: and the world was ſo cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been deſired ſince that time. The hiſtory of that Council

was

was writ with great exactneſs and judgment by Father Paul of Venice, while the thing was yet freſh in all men's memories; and though it diſcovered the whole ſecret of tranſactions there, yet none ſet himſelf to write againſt it for forty years after. Of late then, Pallavicini undertook it; and, upon the credit of many memorials, he in many things contradicts Father Paul: but as many of theſe are likely enough to be forged, ſo in the main of the hiſtory they both agree ſo far, that it is manifeſt things were not fairly carried, and that all matters were managed by intrigues and ſecret practices; in which it will be very hard to diſcern ſuch a particular conduct of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſhould induce the world to ſubmit to their authority. And indeed Pallavicini was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; "That there muſt be "a principality in the Church, ſupported by great wealth "and dignity; and many practices are now neceſſary, "that are contrary to what were in the primitive time, "which was the infancy of the Church, and ought not "to be a rule to it now, when it is grown up to its "full ſtate."

BOOK II. 1552.

Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augſburg, and ſeveral other towns. The King of France fell alſo in upon the empire with a great force, and by ſurpriſe made himſelf maſter of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and thought to have got Straſburg. Maurice ſent his demands to the Emperor for the Landgrave's liberty, and for reſtoring the freedom of the empire: and the Emperor being ſlow in making anſwer, he marched on to Inſpruck, where he ſurpriſed a poſt, and was within two miles of him before he was aware of it; ſo that the Emperor was forced to fly away by torch-light, and from thence went to Italy. Thus that very army and prince, that had been chiefly inſtrumental in the ruin of the empire, did now again aſſert its freedom; and all the Emperor's great deſign on Germany was now ſo blaſted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to diſcharge his priſoners, and to call in the proſcriptions. After ſome treaty, at laſt the edict of Paſſaw was made, by which the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was granted to the princes and towns. And ſo did that ſtorm, which had almoſt overwhelmed the princes of that perſuaſion, end, without any other conſiderable effect, beſides the tranſlation of the electoral dignity from John to Maurice. The Emperor's misfortunes increaſed on him; for, againſt all reaſon, he beſieged Metz in December; but after he had ruined

The Emperor's deſigns are blaſted.

BOOK II. ruined his army in it, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege. Upon that he retired into Flanders in ſuch diſcontent, that for ſome time he would admit none to come to him.

1552. Here it was believed he firſt formed that deſign, which ſome years after he put in execution, of forſaking the world, and exchanging the pomp of a court with the retirement of a monaſtery. This ſtrange and unlooked-for turn in his affairs gave a great demonſtration of an overruling Providence, that governs all human affairs; and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it ſeemed to be gone, without all hope, in Germany.

1553. In the beginning of this year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several committees had proper work aſſigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King Edward's hand. A new Parliament was called, and ſat down the firſt of March: a motion was made for a ſubſidy of two tenths and two fifteenths to be paid in two years. At the paſſing of the bill, there was a great debate about it in the Houſe of Commons, which ſeems to have been concerning the preamble; for it contained a high accuſation of the Duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration, and was ſet on by the Duke of Northumberland's party, to let the King ſee how well pleaſed the repreſentative of the nation was with his fall.

A bill propoſed, that laymen ſhould not hold church-dignities.

The ſons of the nobility and gentry had ordinarily prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their ſtudies, and make themſelves capable of entering into orders: and this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when ſo many of the dignities of the church were in lay-hands. Upon this, the Biſhops procured a bill to be paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, that none might hold theſe that was not either Prieſt or Deacon: but at the third reading the Commons threw it out.

An act ſuppreſſing the biſhopric of Durham.

Another bill paſſed for ſuppreſſing the biſhopric of Durham, and erecting two new ſees, the one at Durham, and the other at Newcaſtle; the former was to have two thouſand, and the latter one thouſand marks revenue: there was alſo a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at Newcaſtle. Ridley was deſigned to be made Biſhop of Durham. But though the ſecular juriſdiction of that ſee was given to the Duke of Northumberland, yet the King's death ſtopped the further progreſs of this affair. Tonſtall was deprived, as Heath and Day were, by a court of lay-

lay-delegates, upon the informations that had been brought againſt him of miſpriſion of treaſon, and was kept in the Tower till Queen Mary ſet him at liberty. The King granted a general pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that ſome words might be put, though that is not uſual to be done; for acts of pardon are commonly paſſed without any changes made in them. After the paſſing theſe acts, the Parliament was diſſolved on the laſt of March. For it ſeems either the Duke of Northumberland was not pleaſed with the proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, or he was reſolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the ſame, as the Duke of Somerſet had done. 1553.

Another viſitation.

Viſitors were ſent after this to examine what plate was in every church, and to leave them one or two chalices of ſilver, with linen for the communion-table and for ſurplices; and to bring in all other things of value to the treaſurer of the King's houſehold, and to ſell the reſt, and give it to the poor. This was a new rifling of churches, by which it ſeemed ſome reſolved not to ceaſe, till they had brought them to a primitive poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a primitive purity. The King ſet his hand to theſe inſtructions; from which ſome have inferred, that he was ill principled in himſelf, when at ſuch an age he joined his authority to ſuch proceedings. But he was now ſo ill, that it is probable he ſet his hand to every thing that the Council ſent him, without examining anxiouſly what it might import.

Biſhops made by the King's patents.

Skip Biſhop of Hereford dying, Harley ſucceeded him, and was the laſt that was promoted by the King's letters patents; as Barlow was the firſt, being removed by them from St. David's to Bath and Wells. The form of the patent was, "That the King appointed ſuch a one to be "Biſhop during his natural life, or as long as he behaved "himſelf well; and gave him power to ordain or deprive "miniſters, to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and per- "form all the other parts of the epiſcopal function, that "by the Word of God were committed to Biſhops; and "this they were to do in the King's name, and by his "authority." Ferrar was put in St. David's, upon Barlow's removal: he was an indiſcreet man, and drew upon himſelf the diſlike of his prebendaries; and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, diſcovered great weakneſs in him. At laſt he was ſued in a *præmunire*, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his courts;

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1553. courts; and was put in priſon, where he continued till Morgan, that was his chief accuſer, being put in his place by Queen Mary, condemned him to the fire; which turned all former cenſures, that he had given occaſion for by his ſimplicity, into eſteem and compaſſion. By theſe patents, the epiſcopal power was ſtill declared to flow from Chriſt; they were only preſentations to biſhoprics, ſuch as other patrons gave to inferior benefices, and ſuch as Chriſtian Princes in France, and other kingdoms, gave in elder times for biſhoprics. Their courts were ordered to be held in the King's name: but all this was repealed by Queen Mary. And when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, inſtead of reviving this, ſhe revived that made in the 25th of Henry VIII. by which Biſhops were authorized to hold their courts as they had done formerly. And though Queen Mary's repeal of the ſtatute of this King was afterwards taken away, ſo that this act ſeemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen Elizabeth's reviving that made by her father, was underſtood to be, in effect, a repeal of it. So that in King James's time, when ſome ſcruples were ſtarted about it, the judges did not think it neceſſary to make an explanatory act to clear the matter; for the thing did not ſeem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller catechiſm was this year compoſed by Poinet, and was publiſhed with the King's approbation.

Affairs in Germany. The ſtate of affairs beyond ſea was now quite turned; ſo that the progreſs the French had made, ſet the Engliſh Council on mediating a peace. The Emperor repreſented to them the danger the Netherlands were in, ſince the French were maſters of Metz, and ſo could in a great meaſure divide them from the aſſiſtance that they might receive from the empire; therefore he deſired that, according to the ancient leagues between England and the houſe of Burgundy, they would now engage againſt the French. The Council ſent over ambaſſadors, both to the Emperor and the French King, to mediate. The Emperor was then indiſpoſed; but his miniſters complained much, that the French had broken with them perfidiouſly, when they were making ſolemn proteſtations, that they intended to obſerve the peace religiouſly. The Germans propoſed a league between the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the empire. The Emperor moved, that the Netherlands might be comprehended within the perpetual league of the empire: but the Princes refuſed that, ſince thoſe provinces

vinces were like to be the perpetual ſeat of war, whenever it ſhould break out between France and Spain; unleſs they might have reciprocal advantages for expoſing themſelves to ſo much danger and charge. The French made extravagant propoſitions; by which it appeared that their King had a mind to carry on the war. They aſked the reſtitution of Milan, Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, and the ſovereignty of the Netherlands; and that Metz, Toul, and Verdun ſhould continue under the protection of France. The Engliſh would not receive theſe as mediators, but took them only as a paper of news, and ſo ordered their ambaſſadors to communicate them to the Emperor. But the King's death broke off this negociation. 1553.

The King's ſickneſs.

He had contracted great colds by violent exerciſes, which in January ſettled in a deep cough: and all medicines proved ineffectual. There was a ſuſpicion taken up, and ſpread all over Europe, that he was poiſoned; but no certain grounds appeared for juſtifying that. During his ſickneſs, Ridley preached before him; and, among other things, run out much on works of charity, and the duty of men of high condition, to be eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; ſo after ſermon he ſent for the Biſhop, and treated him with ſuch reſpect, that he made him ſit down, and be covered. Then he told him, what impreſſion his exhortation had made on him; and therefore he deſired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. Ridley took a little time to conſider of it; and after ſome conſultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, he brought the King a ſcheme of ſeveral foundations, one for the ſick and wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for orphans. So he endowed St. Bartholomew's hoſpital for the firſt, Bridewell for the ſecond, and Chriſt-Church near Newgate for the third; and he enlarged the grant he made the former year for St. Thomas's hoſpital in Southwark. The ſtatutes and warrants relating to theſe were not finiſhed before the 26th of June, though he gave order to make all the haſte that was poſſible: and when he ſet his hand to them, he bleſſed God that had prolonged his life till he finiſhed his deſigns concerning them. Theſe houſes have, by the good government and great charities of the city of London, continued to be ſo uſeful, and grown to be ſo well endowed, that now they may well be reckoned among the nobleſt in Europe.

BOOK II.

The King bore his ſickneſs with great ſubmiſſion to the will of God; and ſeemed concerned in nothing ſo much, as the ſtate that Religion and the Church would be in after his death. The Duke of Suffolk had only three daughters; the eldeſt of theſe was now married to the Lord Guilford Dudley; the ſecond to the Earl of Pembroke's eldeſt ſon; and the third, that was crooked, to one Keys. The Duke of Northumberland, for ſtrengthening his family, married alſo his own two daughters, the one to Sir Henry Sidney, and the other to the Earl of Huntington's eldeſt ſon. He grew to be much hated by the people; and the jealouſy of the King's being poiſoned was faſtened on him. But he regarded theſe things little, and reſolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning religion, to the advantage of the Lady Jane. The King was eaſily perſuaded to order the Judges, and his learned Council, to put ſome articles, which he had ſigned for the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the common form of law. They anſwered, that the ſucceſſion being ſettled by act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made treaſon to change the ſucceſſion, by an act paſſed in this reign; ſo they could not meddle with it. Mountague was Chief Juſtice, and ſpake in the name of the reſt. Northumberland fell in a great paſſion againſt him, calling him traitor, for refuſing to obey the King's commands; for that is always the language of an arbitrary miniſter, when he acts againſt law. But the Judges were not ſhaken by his threatenings; ſo they were again brought before the King, who ſharply rebuked them for their delays: but they ſaid, all that they could do would be of no force without a Parliament; yet they were required to do it in the beſt manner they could. At laſt, Mountague deſired they might have a pardon for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except Goſnald and Hales, agreed to the patent, and delivered their opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the ſeal to it, and that then it would be good in law: yet the former of theſe two was at laſt wrought on; ſo Hales was the only man that ſtood out to the laſt: who, though he was a zealous Proteſtant, yet would not give his opinion in this matter againſt his conſcience, upon any conſideration whatſoever. The Privy Counſellors were next required to ſet their hands to it. Cecil, in a relation he writ of this tranſaction, ſays, that hearing ſome of the

1553. The patents for the ſucceſſion to the crown.

the Judges declare so positively that it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Counsellor; but signed it only as a witness to the King's subscription. Cranmer stood out long; he came not to Council when it passed there; and refused to consent to it, when he was pressed to it; for he said, he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late master's daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his importunity prevailed with him to do it, and so the seal was put to the patents. The King's distemper continued to increase, so that the physicians despaired of his recovery. A confident woman undertook his cure, and he was put in her hands; but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the jealousy of the Duke of Northumberland, that had introduced her, and put the physicians away. At last, to crown his designs, he got the King to write to his sisters, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they, apprehending no danger, had begun their journey. 1553.

The King's death and character.

On the 6th of July, the King felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it in a most devout manner. He was often heard offering up prayers and ejaculations to God: particularly a few moments before he died, he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his spirit to him: he interceded very fervently for his subjects, that God would preserve England from Popery, and maintain his true religion among them. Soon after that, he breathed out his innocent soul, being in Sir Henry Sidney's arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death for some days, on design to draw his sisters into the snare, before they should be aware of it; but that could not be done.

Thus died Edward VI. in the sixteenth year of his age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only learned in the tongues and the liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a table-book, in which he had writ the characters of all the eminent men of the nation. He studied fortification, and understood the mint well. He knew the harbours in all his dominions, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the ambassadors that were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension; but being distrustful of his memory, he took notes of every

BOOK II. thing he heard that was conſiderable, in Greek characters; that thoſe about him might not underſtand what he writ, which he afterwards copied out fair in the journal
1553. that he kept.

His virtues were wonderful: when he was made believe that his uncle was guilty of conſpiring the death of the other counſellors, he upon that abandoned him. Barnaby Fitz Patrick was his favourite; and when he ſent him to travel, he writ oft to him to keep good company, to avoid exceſs and luxury, and to improve himſelf in thoſe things that might render him capable of employment at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper Oſſory in Ireland by Queen Elizabeth, and did anſwer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingneſs to ſign the warrant for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his faith, and loſes his credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himſelf liable to perpetual diſtruſt, and extreme contempt. He took ſpecial care of the petitions that were given him by the poor and oppreſſed people. But his great zeal for religion crowned all the reſt. It was not an angry heat about it that acted him; but it was a true tenderneſs of conſcience, founded on the love of God and his neighbours.

Theſe extraordinary qualities, ſet off with great ſweetneſs and affability, made him univerſally beloved by all his people. Some called him their Joſias, others Edward the Saint, and others called him the Phœnix that riſeth out of his mother's aſhes; and all people concluded, that the ſins of England muſt have been very great, ſince they provoked God to deprive the nation of ſo ſignal a bleſſing, as the reſt of his reign would have, by all appearance, proved. Ridley, and the other good men of that time, made great lamentations of the vices that were grown then ſo common, that men had paſſed all ſhame in them. Luxury, oppreſſion, and a hatred of religion, had over-run the higher rank of people, who gave a countenance to the Reformation merely to rob the Church; but by that, and their other practices, were become a great ſcandal to ſo good a work. The inferior ſort were ſo much in the power of the Prieſts, who were ſtill, notwithſtanding their outward compliance, Papiſts in heart; and were ſo much offended at the ſpoil they ſaw made of the good endowments, without putting other and more uſeful ones in their

their room, that they who underſtood little of religion laboured under great prejudices againſt every thing that was advanced by ſuch tools. And theſe things, as they provoked God highly, ſo they diſpoſed the people much to that ſad cataſtrophe, which is to be the ſubject of the next book.

BOOK II.

1553.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

BY King Edward's death, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldeſt ſiſter Mary, who was within half a day's journey to the Court, when ſhe had notice given her by the Earl of Arundel of her brother's death, and of the patent for Lady Jane's ſucceſſion; and this prevented her falling into the trap that was laid for her. Upon that ſhe retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, both to be near the ſea, that ſhe might eſcape to Flanders, in caſe of a misfortune; and becauſe the ſlaughter that was made of Ket's people by Northumberland, begat him the hatred of the people in that neighbourhood. Before ſhe got thither, ſhe wrote on the 9th of July to the Council, and let them know ſhe underſtood that her brother was dead, by which ſhe ſucceeded to the crown, but wondered that ſhe heard not from them: ſhe knew well what conſultations they had engaged in; but ſhe would pardon all that was done, to ſuch as would return to their duty, and proclaim her title to the crown. By this it was found, that the King's death could be no longer kept ſecret; ſo ſome of the Privy Council went to Lady Jane, and acknowledged her their Queen. The news of the King's death afflicted her much; and her being raiſed to the

Queen Mary ſucceeds.

BOOK III.

1553.

throne rather increaſed than leſſened her trouble. She was a very extraordinary perſon, both for body and mind. She had learned both the Greek and Latin tongues to great perfection, and delighted much in ſtudy. She read Plato in Greek, and drunk in the precepts of true philoſophy ſo early, that as ſhe was not tainted with the levities, not to ſay vices, of thoſe of her age and condition; ſo ſhe ſeemed to have attained to the practice of the higheſt notions of philoſophy: for in thoſe ſudden turns of her condition, as ſhe was not exalted with the proſpect of a crown, ſo ſhe was as little caſt down, when her palace was made her priſon. The only paſſion ſhe ſhewed was that of the nobleſt kind, in the concern ſhe expreſſed for her father and huſband, who fell with her, and ſeemingly on her account, though really Northumberland's ambition and her father's weakneſs ruined her. She rejected the offer of the crown when it was firſt made her; ſhe ſaid, ſhe knew that of right it belonged to the late King's ſiſters, and ſo ſhe could not with a good conſcience aſſume it: but it was told her that both the Judges and Privy Counſellors had declared, that it fell to her according to law. This joined with the importunities of her huſband, who had more of his father's temper than of her philoſophy in him, made her ſubmit to it. Upon this, twenty-one Privy Counſellors ſet their hands to a letter to Queen Mary, letting her know that Queen Jane was now their Sovereign, and that the marriage between her father and mother was null, ſo ſhe could not ſucceed to the crown; and therefore they required her to lay down her pretenſions, and to ſubmit to the ſettlement now made: and if ſhe gave a ready obedience to theſe commands, they promiſed her much favour.

But Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed.

The day after this they proclaimed Jane. In it they ſet forth, "That the late King had by patent excluded "his ſiſters; that both were illegitimated by ſentences "paſſed in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and confirmed in Par"liament; and at beſt they were only his ſiſters by the "half blood, and ſo not inheritable by the law of Eng"land. There was alſo cauſe to fear, that they might "marry ſtrangers, and change the laws, and ſubject the "nation to the tyranny of the ſee of Rome. Next to "them the crown fell to the Ducheſs of Suffolk; and it "was provided, that if ſhe ſhould have no ſons when the "King died, the crown ſhould devolve on her daughter, "who was born and married in the kingdom. Upon "which they aſſerted her right, and ſhe promiſed to "maintain

"maintain the true religion, and the laws of the land." This was not received with the ſhouts ordinary on ſuch occaſions: a vintner's boy expreſſed ſome ſcorn when he heard it; for which he was next day ſet on a pillory, and his ears were nailed to it, to ſtrike terror in the reſt. 1553.

Many deſcanted variouſly on this proclamation. Thoſe who thought that the King had his power immediately from God, ſaid, that then it muſt deſcend in the way of inheritance; and ſince the King's two ſiſters were both under ſentences of illegitimation, they ſaid the next heir in blood muſt ſucceed, and that was the young Queen of Scotland; but ſhe being of the Church of Rome, claimed nothing upon the ſentence againſt Queen Mary, eſteeming it unlawful and null; yet afterwards ſhe made her claim againſt Queen Elizabeth. Others ſaid, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reaſons he might alter the ſucceſſion from its natural courſe: for ſo David preferred Solomon to Adonijah. In England, the Kings claimed the crown by a long preſcription, confirmed by many laws, and not from a divine deſignation; and therefore they inferred, that the act of Parliament for the ſucceſſion ought to take place, and that by virtue of it the two ſiſters ought to ſucceed: and it was ſaid, that as the King could limit the prerogative, ſo he could likewiſe limit the ſucceſſion. It was alſo ſaid, that Charles Brandon's iſſue by the French Queen was unlawful, becauſe he was then married to one Mortimer; yet this was not declared in any court, and ſo could not take place. Others ſaid, if the right of blood could not be cut off, why was the Scotch Queen cut off? and her being born out of the kingdom could not exclude her as an alien; for though that held in other caſes, yet it was only a proviſion of law, which could not take away a divine right, and by ſpecial law the King's children were excepted. It was alſo urged, that the Ducheſs of Suffolk ought to be preferred to her daughter, who could only claim by her right: and though Maud the Empreſs, and Margaret Counteſs of Richmond, had not claimed the crown, but were ſatisfied that their ſons, two Henries, the Second and Seventh, ſhould reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a mother ſhould quit her right to a daughter: that of the half blood was ſaid to be only a rule in law for private families, and that it did not extend to the crown. The power of limiting the ſucceſſion by patent or teſtament was ſaid to be only a perſonal truſt lodged in King Henry the Eighth, and that it did not deſcend

Cenſures paſſed upon that.

BOOK III.

descend to his heirs; so that King Edward's patents were thought to be of no force.

1553. Many turn to Queen Mary.

The severity against the vintner's boy, in the beginning of a reign founded on so doubtful a title, was thought a great error in policy; and it seemed to be a well-grounded maxim, that all governments ought to begin with acts of clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the people. Northumberland's proceeding against the Duke of Somerset, upon so foul a conspiracy, and the suspicions that lay on him, as the author of the late King's untimely death, begat a great aversion in the people to him; and that disposed them to set up Queen Mary. She gathered all in the neighbouring counties about her. The men of Suffolk were generally for the Reformation; yet a great body of them came to her, and asked her, if she would promise not to alter the religion set up in King Edward's days: she assured them she would make no changes, but should be content with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon that, they all vowed that they would live and die with her. The Earl of Sussex, and several others, raised forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they sent the Earl of Huntington's brother to raise men in Buckinghamshire, and meet the forces that should be sent from London at Newmarket.

Northumberland marches against her.

The Duke of Northumberland was ordered to command the army. He was now much distracted in his thoughts. It was of equal importance to keep London and the Privy Counsellors steady, and to conduct the army well: a misfortune in either of these was like to be fatal to him. So he could not resolve what to do: there was not a man of spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind; and yet it was most necessary at once to dissipate the force that was daily growing about Queen Mary. The Lady Jane and the Council were removed to the Tower, not only for state, but for security; for here the Council were upon the matter prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady Jane's interests; and so he marched out of London, with two thousand horse and six thousand foot, on the 14th of July: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard as he passed through the streets. The Council gave the Emperor notice of the Lady Jane's succession, and complained of the disturbance that was raised by Queen Mary, and that his ambassador had officiously meddled in their affairs. But the Emperor would not receive their letters.

Ridley

Ridley was appointed to preach up Queen Jane's title, and to animate the people againſt Queen Mary, which he too raſhly obeyed. But Queen Mary's party increaſed every day. Haſtings went over to her with four thouſand men of Buckinghamſhire, and ſhe was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to ſee their danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of Arundel hated Northumberland. The Marquis of Wincheſter was dexterous in ſhifting ſides for his advantage. The Earl of Pembroke's ſon had married the Lady Jane's ſiſter, which made him think it neceſſary to redeem the danger he was in by a ſpeedy turn. To theſe many others were joined. They pretended it was neceſſary to give an audience to the foreign ambaſſadors, who would not have it in the Tower: and the Earl of Pembroke's houſe was pitched upon, he being the leaſt ſuſpected. They alſo ſaid it was neceſſary to treat with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for ſending more forces to Northumberland, concerning which he had writ very earneſtly. 1553.

When they got out, they reſolved to declare for Queen Mary, and rid themſelves of Northumberland's uneaſy yoke, which they knew they muſt bear if he were victorious. They ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and eaſily perſuaded them to concur with them; and ſo they went immediately to Cheapſide, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19th of July: and from thence they went to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was ſung. They ſent next to the Tower, requiring the Duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the Lady Jane to lay down the title of Queen. She ſubmitted with as much greatneſs of mind, as her father ſhewed of abjectneſs. They ſent alſo orders to Northumberland to diſmiſs his forces, and to obey the Queen: and the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were ſent to carry theſe welcome tidings to her. When Northumberland heard of the turn that was in London, without ſtaying for orders, he diſcharged his forces, and went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of Arundel was ſent to apprehend him; and when he was brought to him, he fell at his feet to beg his favour: for a mind that has no balance in itſelf turns inſolent or abject, out of meaſure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his ſons, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (that was his wicked inſtrument againſt the Duke of Somerſet,) were all ſent to the Tower. Now all people went

The Council declares for her.

BOOK III. went to implore the Queen's favour, and Ridley among the reſt; but he was ſent to the Tower; for ſhe was both offended with him for his ſermon, and reſolved to put 1553. Bonner again in the ſee of London. Some of the Judges, and ſeveral noblemen, were alſo ſent thither; among the reſt the Duke of Suffolk; but three days after he was ſet at liberty. He was a weak man, and could do little harm; ſo he was pitched on as the firſt inſtance, towards whom the Queen ſhould expreſs her clemency.

She comes to London. She came to London on the 3d of Auguſt; and on the way was met by her ſiſter, Lady Elizabeth, with a thouſand horſe, whom ſhe had raiſed to come to the Queen's aſſiſtance. When ſhe came to the Tower, ſhe diſcharged the Duke of Norfolk, the Ducheſs of Somerſet, and Gardiner, of whoſe commitment mention has been formerly made; as alſo the Lord Courtney, ſon to the Marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever ſince his father's attainder, whom ſhe made Earl of Devonſhire. And thus was ſhe now peaceably ſettled on the throne, notwithſtanding that great combination againſt her; which had not been ſo eaſily broken, if the head of it had not been a man ſo univerſally diſtaſteful.

Her former life. She was a lady of great virtues: ſhe was ſtrict in her religion to ſuperſtition: her temper was much corrupted by melancholy; and the many croſs accidents of her life increaſed this to a great degree. She adhered ſo reſolutely to her mother's intereſts, that it was believed her father once intended to have taken her life. Upon which her mother wrote a very devout letter to her, charging her to truſt in God, and keep herſelf pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of religion. She ſent her two Latin books for her entertainment: St. Jerome's Epiſtles, and a book of the life of Chriſt, which was perhaps the famous book of Thomas à Kempis. The King's diſpleaſure at her was ſuch, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Gardiner, durſt venture to intercede for her. Cranmer was the only man that hazarded on it, and did it ſo effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her mother's death, ſhe hearkened to other counſels; ſo that, upon Anne Boleyn's fall, ſhe made a full ſubmiſſion to him, as was mentioned before. She did alſo in many letters, which ſhe wrote both to her father and to Cromwell, "proteſt great ſorrow for her former "ſtubbornneſs, and declared that ſhe put her ſoul in his "hand, and that her conſcience ſhould be always direct-"ed by him:" and being aſked what her opinion was con-

concerning pilgrimages, purgatory, and relics; ſhe anſwered, "that ſhe had no opinion, but ſuch as ſhe received from the King, who had her whole heart in his "keeping; and might imprint upon it, in theſe and in "all other matters, whatever his ineſtimable virtue, high "wiſdom, and excellent learning, ſhould think convenient "for her." So perfectly had ſhe learned the ſtyle that ſhe knew was moſt acceptable to her father. After that, ſhe was in all points obedient to him, and during her brother's reign ſhe ſet up on that pretence, that ſhe would adhere to that way of religion that was ſettled by her father.

The counſels then laid down.

Two different ſchemes were now ſet before her; Gardiner, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that at firſt ſhe ſhould bring things back to the ſtate in which they were when her father died: and afterwards by eaſy and ſlow ſteps ſhe might again return to the obedience to the ſee of Rome. But ſhe herſelf was more inclined to return to that immediately; ſhe thought ſhe could not be legitimated any other way, and ſo was like to proceed too quick. Gardiner, finding that political maxims made no great impreſſion on her, and that he was looked on by her as a crafty temporizing man, addreſſed himſelf to the Emperor, who underſtood government and mankind better: and undertook, that, if he might have the ſeals, he would manage matters ſo, that in a little time he ſhould bring all things about to her mind; and that there was no danger, but in her precipitating things, and being ſo much governed by Italian counſels: for he underſtood that ſhe had ſent for Cardinal Pole. The people had a great averſion to the Papal authority, and the nobility and gentry were apprehenſive of loſing the abbey-lands; therefore it was neceſſary to remove theſe prejudices by degrees. He alſo aſſured the Emperor, that he would ſerve all his intereſts zealouſly, and ſhewed him how neceſſary it was to ſtop Cardinal Pole, who ſtood attainted by law: in this he was the more earneſt, becauſe he knew Pole hated him. The Emperor upon this writ ſo effectually to the Queen, to depend on Gardiner's counſels, that on the 13th of Auguſt he was made Lord Chancellor, and the conduct of affairs was put in his hands. The Duke of Norfolk being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal act that had paſſed againſt him; and by this he recovered his eſtate, all the grants that had been made out of it being declared void at common law.

He

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1553. Northumberland's trial:

He was made Lord Steward for the trial of the Duke of Northumberland, and his ſon the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton. All that they pleaded in their own defence lay in two points; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by order of Council, and the authority of the Great Seal, could be treaſon? The other was, whether thoſe that were as guilty as they were could ſit and judge them? The Judges anſwered, that the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no authority or indemnity: and that other Peers, if they were not convicted by record, might judge them. Theſe points being determined againſt them, they pleaded guilty, and ſubmitted to the Queen's mercy: ſo ſentence paſſed upon them. And the day after that, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and ſome others, were tried and condemned: but of all theſe, it was reſolved, that only Northumberland, Gates, and Palmer ſhould ſuffer.

And execution.

Heath was appointed to attend on Northumberland, and to prepare him for death. He then profeſſed he had been always of the old religion in his heart, and had complied againſt his conſcience in the former times: but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of life, as it cannot be certainly known, ſo it ſhews he had little regard to religion, either in his life, or at his death. But he was a man of ſuch a temper, that it was reſolved to put him out of a capacity of revenging himſelf on his enemies. On the 22d of Auguſt, he and the other two were beheaded. There paſſed ſome expoſtulation between Gates and him, each of them accuſing the other as the author of their ruin. But they were ſeemingly reconciled, and profeſſed they forgave one another. He made a long ſpeech, confeſſing his former ill life, and the juſtice of the ſentence againſt him: "He exhorted the "people to ſtand to the religion of their anceſtors, to re-"ject all novelties, and to drive the preachers of them "out of the nation; and declared he had temporiſed "againſt his conſcience, and that he was always of the "religion of his forefathers." He was an extraordinary man till he was raiſed very high; but that tranſported him out of meaſure. And he was ſo ſtrangely changed in the laſt paſſages of his life, that it increaſed the jealouſies that were raiſed of his having haſtened King Edward's death: and that the horrors of that guilt did ſo haunt him, that both the judgment and courage he had expreſſed in the former parts of his life ſeemed now to have

have left him. Palmer was little pitied; for he was believed the betrayer of his former master, the Duke of Somerset, and was upon that service taken into Northumberland's confidence. 1553.

There was no strict enquiry made into King Edward's death: all the honour done his memory was, that they allowed him funeral rites. On the 8th of August he was buried at Westminster; and the Queen had an exequie and masses for him at the Tower. Day was appointed to preach the sermon: in it he praised the King, but inveighed severely against the administration of affairs under him. It had been resolved to bury him according to the old forms; but Cranmer opposed that, and prevailed that he should be buried according to the form then settled by law: and he himself did officiate, and ended the solemnity with a communion; all which, it may be supposed, he did with a very lively sorrow, having both loved the King beyond expression, and looking on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and as a step to his own. King Edward's funeral.

On the 22d of August the Queen declared in Council, "That though she was fixed in her own religion, yet she "would not compel others to it; but would leave that to "the motions of God's Spirit, and the labours of good "preachers." The day after that, Bonner went to St. Paul's; and Bourn, that was his chaplain, preached: he extolled Bonner much, and inveighed against the sufferings he was put to. Upon this a tumult was raised, for the people could not hear reflections made on King Edward. Some flung stones at him, and one threw a dagger at the pulpit with such force, that it stuck fast in the wood. Rogers and Bradford were present, who were in great esteem with the people: so they stood up and quieted them, and conveyed Bourn safe home. This was a very welcome accident to the Papists, and gave them a colour to prohibit preaching, by a public inhibition in the Queen's name: in which she declared, "That her religion was the "same that it had been from her infancy; but that she "would compel none of her subjects in matters of religion, "till public order should be taken in it by common assent. "She required her people to live quietly, not to use the "terms of Papist, or Heretic, or other reproachful speeches, "and that none should preach without license: she also "charged them not to punish any on the account of the "late rebellion, but as they should be authorized by her. "She would be sorry to be driven to execute the severity "of A tumult at St. Paul's.

BOOK III. 1553.

"of the law; but was reſolved not to ſuffer rebellious "doings to go unpuniſhed." This gave great occaſion to cenſure, and was thought a declaration, not for her father's religion, but for popery: ſince it was that which ſhe profeſſed from her infancy. It was alſo obſerved, that ſhe limited her promiſe of not compelling others, till public orders ſhould be taken in it: the meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The reſtraint upon preaching without licenſe was juſtified from what had been done in King Edward's time; though then, at firſt, all might preach in their own churches without it; it was only neceſſary, if they preached any where elſe. Biſhops had alſo the power of licenſing in their dioceſes: and the total reſtraint that followed afterwards laſted but a ſhort while. But now all the pulpits were put under an interdict, till the preachers ſhould obtain a licenſe from Gardiner: and that he reſolved to grant to none, but thoſe that would preach as he ſhould direct them. The Queen's threatening to proceed againſt ſuch as were guilty of the late rebellion ſtruck a general terror in the city of London; for the greateſt part had been in ſome meaſure concerned in it.

Severe proceedings againſt the men of Suffolk and others.

In Suffolk the people thought their ſervices and the Queen's promiſes gave them a title to own their religion more avowedly: but orders were ſent to the Biſhop of Norwich to execute the Queen's injunctions, and to ſee that none ſhould preach that had not obtained a licenſe. Upon this, ſome of thoſe that had merited moſt came and put the Queen in mind of her promiſe: but ſhe ſent them home with a cold anſwer; and told them, they muſt learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her: and one that had ſpoken more confidently than the reſt was ſet in the pillory for it three days, as having ſaid words that tended to defame the Queen. This was a ſad omen of a ſevere government, in which the claiming of promiſes went for a crime. Bradford and Rogers were alſo ſeized on; and it was pretended, that the authority they ſhewed in quieting the tumult was a ſign that they had raiſed it. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtall, Heath, and Day, were reſtored to their biſhoprics: they had all appealed to the King before ſentence had paſſed againſt them; ſo commiſſions were given to ſome civilians to examine the grounds of theſe appeals, and they made report that they were good, and ſo that the ſentences againſt them were null. Gardiner had authority given him to grant

grant priests licenses to preach in any church, as he should appoint. By this the reformed were not only silenced, but their churches and pulpits were cast open to such as Gardiner pleased to send among them. They differed in their opinions how far they were bound to obey this prohibition. Some thought they might forbear public preaching, when they were so required: but they made that up by private conferences and instructions. Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to peace and order should have obliged them to submit to it: but since it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and preach at their peril; of this last sort several were put in prison for their disobedience, and among others, Hooper and Coverdale. 1553.

The people that loved the old superstition began now to set up images and the old rites again in many places: and though this was plainly against law, yet the government encouraged it all they could. Judge Hales thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary privilege. So when he went the circuit, he gave the charge in Kent, requiring the justices to see to the execution of King Edward's laws, that continued still in force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from prison to prison; which, with the threatenings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his throat, but not mortally. As he recovered, he made his submission, and obtained his liberty. Yet the disorder he was in never left him till he drowned himself. This shewed that former merit was not so much considered, as a readiness to comply in matters of religion. Judge Bromley, though he made no difficulty in declaring his opinion for the Queen's exclusion, yet, since he professed himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: and Montague, who had proceeded in it with great aversion, yet, because he was for the Reformation, was put in prison, and severely fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had sent his son and twenty men with him to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had six sons and ten daughters. Peter Martyr was forced to retire from Oxford: he came to Lambeth, but was not like to find long shelter there. Particularly against Judge Hales.

Cranmer kept himself quiet for some time, which gave the other party occasion to publish that he was resolved Cranmer's imprisonment.

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1553. to turn with the tide. Bonner writ upon that to a friend of his, that Mr. Canterbury (ſo he called him in deriſion) was become very humble; but that would not ſerve his turn, for he would be ſent to the Tower within a very little while. Some adviſed him to fly beyond ſea. He anſwered, that though he could not diſſuade others to fly from the perſecution they ſaw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a man in his ſtation, that had ſuch a hand in the changes formerly made. He prepared a writing, which he intended to have publiſhed: the ſubſtance of it was, "That he found the Devil was more than ordinary "buſy in defaming the ſervants of God; and that where- "as the corruptions in the maſs had been caſt out, and "that the Lord's Supper was again ſet up, according to "its firſt inſtitution; the Devil now, to promote the maſs, "which was his invention, ſet his inſtruments on work, "who gave it out, that it was now ſaid in Canterbury by "his order: therefore he proteſted that was falſe, and "that a diſſembling monk (this was Thornton, Biſhop Suf- "fragan of Dover) had done it without his knowledge. "He alſo offered that he and Peter Martyr, with ſuch "other four or five as he ſhould name, would be ready to "prove the errors of the maſs, and to defend the whole "doctrine and ſervice ſet forth by the late King, as "moſt conform to the Word of God, and to the practice "of the ancient Church for many ages." Before he had finiſhed this, Scory, that had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, coming to him, he ſhewed it him, and deſired his opinion in it. He being a hot man liked it ſo well, that he gave copies of it: and one of theſe was read publicly in Cheapſide. So three days after that he was cited to the Star-Chamber to anſwer for it: he confeſſed it was his, and that he had intended to have enlarged it in ſome things, and to have affixed it with his hand and ſeal to it at St. Paul's, and many other churches. He was at this time diſmiſſed: Gardiner ſaw the Queen intended to put Cardinal Pole in his room, and that made him endeavour to preſerve him. Some moved that a ſmall penſion might be aſſigned him, and that he ſhould be ſuffered to live private; for the ſweetneſs of his temper had procured him ſo univerſal a love from all people, that it was thought too hardy a ſtep to proceed to extremities with him. Others ſaid, he had been the chief author of all the hereſy that was in the nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to ſhew any favour to him, that had pronounced the ſentence of her mother's divorce. Within a week after

after this, both Latimer and he, and ſeveral other preachers, were put in priſon.

Peter Martyr, that had come over upon the public faith, had leave given him to go beyond ſea: ſo had alſo Alaſco, and the Germans: and about two hundred of them went away in December: but both in Denmark, where they firſt landed, and in Lubeck, Wiſmar, and Hamburgh, to which they removed, they were denied admittance, becauſe they were of the Helvetian Confeſſion, and in all theſe places the fierce Lutherans prevailed; who did ſo far put off all bowels, that they would not ſo much as ſuffer theſe refugees to ſtay among them till the rigours of the winter were over: but at laſt they found ſhelter in Frieſland. Many of the Engliſh, foreſeeing the ſtorm, reſolved to withdraw in time: ſo the ſtrangers being required to be gone, they went under that cover in great numbers. But the Council, underſtanding that about a thouſand had ſo conveyed themſelves away, gave order that none ſhould be ſuffered to go as ſtrangers, but thoſe that had a certificate from the ambaſſador of the Princes to whom they belonged. With thoſe that fled beyond ſea, divers eminent preachers went; among whom were Cox, Sandys, Grindal, and Horn; all afterwards highly advanced by Queen Elizabeth. 1553. The ſtrangers driven out of England.

Theſe things began to alienate the people from the government, therefore on the other hand great care was taken to ſweeten them. The Queen beſtowed the chief offices of the houſehold on thoſe that had aſſiſted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of paſt ſervices. An unuſual honour was done to Ratcliffe Earl of Suſſex; he had a licenſe granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his head in her preſence. On the 10th of October the Queen was crowned, Gardiner with ten other Biſhops performing that ceremony with the ordinary ſolemnity. Day being eſteemed the beſt preacher among them, preached the ſermon. There was a general pardon proclaimed, and with that, "the Queen diſcharged the ſubjects of the two tenths, "two fifteenths, and a ſubſidy that had been granted "by the laſt Parliament: and ſhe alſo declared that ſhe "would pay both her father's debts and her brother's; "and though her treaſure was much exhauſted, yet ſhe "eſteeming the love of her people her beſt treaſure, for-"gave thoſe taxes; in lieu of which ſhe deſired only the Popular arts uſed by Gardiner.

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"hearts of her ſubjects, and that they would ſerve God "ſincerely, and pray earneſtly for her."

1553. A Parliament meets, and repeals ſeveral laws.

On the 20th of October a Parliament met. There had been great violences uſed in many elections, and many falſe returns were made: ſome that were known to be zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turned out of the Houſe of Commons; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all acts made in it, might have been annulled. There came only two of the reformed Biſhops to the Houſe of Lords: the two Archbiſhops and three Biſhops were in priſon: two others were turned out; the reſt ſtayed at home: ſo only Taylor and Harley, the Biſhops of Lincoln and Hereford, came. When maſs began to be ſaid, they went out, as ſome report it, but were never ſuffered to come to their places again. Others ſay, they refuſed to join in that worſhip, and ſo were violently thruſt out. In the Houſe of Commons, ſome of the more forward moved, that King Edward's laws might be reviewed; but things were not ripe enough for that. Nowel, a prebendary of Weſtminſter, was returned burgeſs for a town: but the Houſe voted, that the Clergy being repreſented in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, could not be admitted to ſit among the Laity. The Commons ſent up a bill of tonnage and poundage, which the Lords ſent down amended in two proviſos; and the Commons did not then inſiſt on their privilege, that the Lords could not alter a bill of money. The only public bill that was finiſhed this ſeſſion was a repeal of all late ſtatutes, making any crime treaſon, that was not ſo by the 25th of Edward III. or felony, that was not ſo before King Henry VIII. excepting from the benefit of this act all that were put in priſon before the end of September laſt, who were alſo excepted out of the general pardon. The Marchioneſs of Exeter, and the Earl of Devonſhire her ſon, were reſtored in blood by two private acts; and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be ſaid, the firſt ſeſſion under the Queen was merely for acts of mercy.

The Queen's mother's marriage confirmed.

At their next meeting, after the bill of tonnage and poundage was paſſed, a bill paſſed through both Houſes in four days, repealing the divorce of the Queen's mother: "in which they declared the marriage to have been law-"ful; and that malicious perſons had poſſeſſed the King "with ſcruples concerning it; and had by corruption "procured the ſeals of foreign univerſities condemning it;

"and

" and had by threatenings and finiſtrous arts obtained the " like in England: upon which Cranmer had pronounced " the ſentence of divorce, which had been confirmed in " Parliament: they therefore, looking on the miſeries that " had fallen on the nation ſince that time as judgments " from God for that ſentence, condemn it, and repeal the " acts confirming it." Gardiner, in this, performed his promiſe to the Queen, of getting her to be declared legitimate, without taking notice of the Pope's authority: but he ſhewed that he was paſt ſhame, when he procured ſuch a repeal of a ſentence, which he had ſo ſervilely promoted: and he particularly knew the falſehood of this pretence, that the foreign univerſities were corrupted. He had alſo ſet it on long before Cranmer engaged in it, and ſat in court with him when it was pronounced. By this act the Lady Elizabeth was upon the matter again illegitimated, ſince the ground upon which her mother's marriage ſubſiſted, was the divorce of the firſt marriage: and it was either upon this pretence, or on old ſcores, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a ſiſter, began now to uſe her more ſeverely. Others ſuggeſt that a ſecret rivalry was the true ſpring of it. It was thought the Earl of Devonſhire was much in the Queen's favour; but he either not preſuming ſo high, or liking Lady Elizabeth better, who was both more beautiful, and was nineteen years younger than the Queen, made his addreſſes to her; which provoked the Queen ſo much, that it drew a great deal of trouble on them both.

King Edward's laws about religion repealed.

The next bill was a repeal of all the laws made in King Edward's reign concerning religion: it was argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons, and carried without a diviſion. By this, religion was again put back into the ſtate in which King Henry had left it: and this was to take place after the 20th of December next; but till then it was left free to all, either to uſe the old or the new ſervice, as they pleaſed. Another act paſſed againſt all that ſhould diſquiet any preacher for his ſermons, or interrupt divine offices, either ſuch as had been in the laſt year of King Henry, or ſuch as the Queen ſhould ſet out: by which ſhe was empowered to reſtore the ſervice in all things, as it had been before her father made the breach with Rome: offenders were either to be puniſhed by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, or by an impriſonment for three months. And the Houſe of Commons was now ſo forward, that they ſent up a bill for the puniſhing of all ſuch as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the

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old ſervice ſhould be again ſet up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the nation too much, let it fall. Another law was made, that if any, to the number of twelve, ſhould meet to alter any thing in religion, or for any riot, or ſhould by any public notice, ſuch as bells or beacons, gather the people together, and, upon proclamation made, ſhould not diſperſe themſelves; they, and all that aſſiſted them, were declared guilty of felony. And if any more than two met for theſe ends, they ſhould lie a year in priſon. And all people were required, under ſevere penalties, to aſſiſt the Juſtices, for repreſſing ſuch aſſemblies. So the favour of the former act of repeal appeared to be a mockery, when ſo ſoon after it ſo ſevere a law was made; by which, diſorders, that might ariſe upon ſudden heats, were declared to be felonies. The Marquis of Northampton's ſecond marriage was alſo annulled; but no declaration was made againſt divorces in general, grounded on the indiſſolubleneſs of the marriage bond; only that particular ſentence was condemned, as pronounced upon falſe ſurmiſes.

1553.

The Duke of Norfolk's attainder repealed.

An act alſo paſſed, annulling the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. Thoſe who had purchaſed ſome parts of his eſtate from the crown, oppoſed it much in the Houſe of Commons: but the Duke came down to the Houſe, and deſired them earneſtly to paſs it, and aſſured them, that he would refer all differences between him and the patentees, either to arbiters, or to the Queen: and ſo it was agreed to. "It ſet forth the pretences that were made uſe of to "attaint him; as, that he uſed coats of arms, which he "and his anceſtors had lawfully uſed. There was a com- "miſſion given to ſome to declare the royal aſſent to it; "but that was not ſigned, but only ſtamped by the King's "mark; and that not at the upper end, as was uſual, but "beneath: nor did it appear that the royal aſſent was "ever given to it; and they declared that in all time "coming, the royal aſſent ſhould be given either by the "King in perſon, or by a commiſſion under the Great "Seal, ſigned by the King's hand, and publicly declared "to both Houſes." Cranmer, Guilford Dudley, and his wife the Lady Jane, and two of his brothers, were tried for treaſon: they all confeſſed their indictments; only Cranmer appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had conſented to the excluſion of the Queen; and that he did it not till they, whoſe profeſſion it was to know the law, had ſigned it. They were all attainted of treaſon for levying war againſt the Queen: and their attainders

tainders were confirmed in Parliament; ſo was Cranmer legally diveſted of his archbiſhopric; but ſince he was put in it by the Pope's authority, it was reſolved to degrade him by the forms of the canon law, and the Queen was willing to pardon his treaſon, that it might appear ſhe did not act upon revenge, but zeal: ſhe was often prevailed with to pardon injuries againſt herſelf, but was always inexorable in matters of religion. 1553.

A treaty for reconciling England to the Pope.

But now her treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in ſome diſorder. When ſhe came firſt to the crown, the Pope's legate at Bruſſels ſent over Commendone, to ſee if he could ſpeak with her, and to perſuade her to reconcile her kingdom to the Apoſtolic ſee. The management of the matter was left to his diſcretion, for the legate would not truſt this ſecret to Gardiner, nor any of the other Biſhops. Commendone came over in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queen's ſervants, who had lived ſome years beyond ſea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured acceſs to the Queen. She aſſured him of her firm reſolution to return to the obedience of that ſee, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early diſcovered, it might diſturb her affairs, and obſtruct the deſign. By him ſhe wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal Pole; and inſtructed Commendone, in order to the ſending over Pole with a legatine power: ſhe alſo aſked him, whether the Pope might not diſpenſe with Pole to marry, ſince he was only in Deacon's orders? This was a welcome meſſage to the Court of Rome, and proved the foundation of Commendone's advancement. There was a public rejoicing for three days, and the Pope ſaid maſs himſelf upon it; and gave a largeſs of indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, becauſe they were like to come into credit again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that Commendone ſaid in the Conſiſtory was, that he underſtood from good hands that the Queen was well diſpoſed to a reunion. Some of the ſtiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Pope's dignity to ſend a legate, till an embaſſy ſhould come firſt from the Queen, deſiring it: yet the ſecret was ſo whiſpered among them, that it was generally known. It was ſaid, they ought to imitate the ſhepherd in the parable, who went to ſeek the ſtray ſheep: and therefore Pole was appointed to go legate, with ample powers. Gardiner was in fear of him, and ſo adviſed the Emperor to ſtop him in his journey; and, to

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touch the Emperor in a tender part, it is ſaid, that he let him know that the Queen had ſome inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now propoſed a match with her for his ſon, though he was nine years younger than ſhe was; yet ſhe being but thirty-ſeven, there was reaſon enough to hope for children; and the uniting England to the Spaniſh monarchy ſeemed to be all that was wanting to ſtrengthen it on all hands, ſo as to ruin the French kingdom. The Queen ſaw reaſons enough to determine her to entertain it: ſhe found it would be hard to bring the nation about in matters of religion, without the aſſiſtance of a foreign power: yet it is more reaſonable to think that Gardiner, who was always governed by his intereſts, would have rather promoted the match with Pole, for then he had been infallibly made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and had got Pole's hat; and the government would have been much eaſier if the Queen had married a ſubject, than it could be under a ſtranger, eſpecially one whoſe greatneſs made all people very apprehenſive of him.

1553. And for a match with the Prince of Spain.

Pole's advices to the Queen.

The reſtoring the Papal power, and the match with the Prince of Spain, were things of ſuch uneaſy digeſtion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor preſſed the Queen to begin with her marriage, and by that ſhe would be powerfully aſſiſted to carry on her other deſigns: and at laſt the Queen herſelf was perſuaded to ſend to Pole, to adviſe him to ſtop his journey for ſome time. She ſent over the acts of this Parliament, to let him ſee what progreſs ſhe was making, and to aſſure him ſhe would make all convenient haſte in the reunion: but the Parliament had expreſſed ſo great an averſion to the reſtoring the Pope's power, and were ſo apprehenſive of loſing the abbey-lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he ſhould come over before the people's minds were better prepared. She alſo deſired him to ſend her a liſt of thoſe that were fit to be made Biſhops, in the room of thoſe that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious anſwer: he rejoiced at the acts that were paſſed; but obſerved great defects in them. In that concerning her mother's marriage, there was no mention made of the Pope's bull of diſpenſation, by which only it could be a lawful marriage. The other for ſetting up the worſhip, as it was in the end of her father's reign, he cenſured more; for they were then in a ſtate of ſchiſm, and ſo this eſtabliſhed ſchiſm by a law: and he ſaid, that while the interdict lay on the nation,

nation, it was a ſin to perform divine offices. He had been very frankly diſpatched by the Pope and the Conſiſtory, with many favourable inſtructions; but if theſe were ſo deſpiſed, and he ſtill ſtopped, it might provoke him to recall his power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperor, who would perhaps adviſe her to follow ſuch political maxims as himſelf was governed by; but his ill ſucceſs in the buſineſs of the *Interim* might well frighten others from following ſuch counſels: and he was afraid that carnal policy might govern her too much, and that ſo ſhe would fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt. He deſired her to take courage, and to depend on God; and adviſed her to go herſelf to the Parliament, having beforehand prepared ſome to ſecond her, and to tell them that ſhe was touched in conſcience with a ſenſe of the ſin of ſchiſm, and that therefore ſhe deſired the act of attainder that ſtood againſt him might be repealed; and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apoſtolic ſee: and ſhe might aſſure them, that all neceſſary caution ſhould be uſed to prevent the nation's being brought under a thraldom to the Papacy. But the Queen was now poſſeſſed with Gardiner's counſels, and looked on Pole's advices as more candid than prudent. Gardiner perſuaded her, that though he was a good and learned man, yet he underſtood not the preſent genius of the nation; and Pole looked on Gardiner as a man of no conſcience, and that he was more converſant in intrigues of ſtate, than touched with any ſenſe of religion: but the Emperor was convinced that Gardiner's methods were ſurer, and preferred them to Pole's. 1553.

When the treaty of the Queen's marriage came to be known, the Houſe of Commons were much alarmed at it; and they ſent their Speaker, with twenty of their members, with an addreſs to her, not to marry a ſtranger: and they were ſo inflamed, that the Court judged it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament. Gardiner upon this let the Emperor know, that the jealouſies which were taken up on the account of the match were ſuch, that, except very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occaſion a general rebellion. He alſo writ to him, that great ſums muſt be ſent over both to gratify the nobility, and to enable them to carry the elections the next Parliament, in oppoſition to ſuch as would ſtand againſt them. As for conditions, it was reſolved to grant any that ſhould be demanded; for the Emperor reckoned that, if his ſon were once married to her, it would be eaſy for him to govern the councils

The Parliament oppoſes the match, and is diſſolved.

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cils as he pleaſed: and for money, there was four hundred thouſand pounds ordered to be divided up and down the nation, at the diſcretion of Gardiner, and the Emperor's ambaſſadors: a great part of it was paid in hand, and the reſt was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperor borrowed from ſome of the free towns of Germany; and when they were preſſing him for the repayment of it about a year after, he for his excuſe told them the charge he had been at for his ſon's marriage, but that he hoped to be reimburſed from England; which was thus bought and ſold by a practiſing Biſhop, and a corrupted Houſe of Commons. Gardiner did alſo make uſe of his power, as Chancellor, to force all people to comply with him; for there was no favour nor common juſtice ſhewed in his court of Chancery to any others.

A Convocation meets, and diſputes about the Sacrament.

With the Parliament a Convocation met: Harpsfield preached to them; he flattered the Queen, and the Biſhops that had been deprived in the late times, with a zeal that ſhewed how fervently he aſpired to preferment: he inveighed againſt the late times with great ſharpneſs; ſo that his ſermon was divided between ſatire and panegyric. Six of the reformed Divines were qualified by their dignities to ſit in the Lower Houſe, being either Deans or Archdeacons, who were Philpot, Philips, Haddon, Cheyney, Ailmer, and Young. They made a vigorous oppoſition to a motion that was propoſed for condemning the Catechiſm and Common Prayer Book that had been ſet out in King Edward's time, and particularly the articles againſt tranſubſtantiation: to this all agreed except thoſe ſix. It was pretended, that the Catechiſm was not ſet out by authority of Convocation: to which Philpot anſwered, that the Convocation had deputed ſome to compoſe it, and ſo it was on the matter their work. A diſputation was propoſed concerning the Sacrament, though all the reſt of the Convocation ſubſcribed the concluſion firſt; which was complained of as a prepoſterous method. The ſix deſired that Ridley and Rogers, with ſome others, might be ſuffered to come and join with them; but that was refuſed, ſince they were no members, and were then in priſon.

On the twenty-third of October the diſpute began, many of the nobility and others being preſent: Weſton was prolocutor; he opened it with a proteſtation, that they went not to diſpute, as calling the truth in queſtion, but only to ſatisfy the objections of a few. Haddon, Ailmer, and Young, foreſaw that it was reſolved to run them

them down with numbers and noiſe, ſo at firſt they refuſed to diſpute, and the laſt of them went away. Cheyney argued from St. Paul's calling the Sacrament *bread*, Origen's ſaying that *it nouriſhed the body*, and Theodoret's ſaying that *the elements did not depart from their former ſubſtance, form, and ſhape*. Moreman anſwered, that Theodoret's words were to be underſtood of an accidental ſubſtance: it was replied, that *form* and *ſhape* belonged to the accidents, but *ſubſtance* belonged to the nature of the elements. Philpot ſhewed that the occaſion of his uſing theſe words was to prove againſt the Eutychians, that there was a true human nature in Chriſt, notwithſtanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this ſimile, that the elements in the Euchariſt remained in their nature; ſo this muſt be underſtood of the ſubſtance of the bread and wine: but to this no anſwer was made; and when he ſeemed to preſs it too far, he was commanded to be ſilent. Haddon cited many paſſages out of the Fathers, to ſhew that they believed Chriſt was ſtill in heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his ſecond coming: he alſo aſked, whether they thought that Chriſt did eat his own natural body; and when that was confeſſed, he ſaid it was needleſs to diſpute with men who could ſwallow down ſuch an abſurdity. The diſputation continued ſeveral days: Philpot made a long ſpeech againſt the corporal preſence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propoſe an argument, but they would not hear him make harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the maſs, as they had it, was no ſacrament at all, and that the body of Chriſt was not preſent in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the court-gate. After ſome ſhort time ſpent in citing paſſages out of the Fathers, Philpot was commanded to hold his peace, otherwiſe they would ſend him to priſon. He claimed the privilege of the Houſe for freedom of ſpeech; but being much cried down, he ſaid they were a company of men who had diſſembled with God and the world in the late reign, and were now met together to ſet forth falſe devices, which they were not able to maintain. Theodoret's words were much and often inſiſted on; ſo Weſton anſwered, if Theodoret ſhould be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other ſide. Cheyney ſhewed out of Heſychius, that the cuſtom of Jeruſalem was to burn ſo much of the elements as was not conſumed: and he aſked, what it was that was burnt? One anſwered, it was

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was either the body of Chriſt, or the ſubſtance of bread put there by miracle: at which he ſmiled, and ſaid a reply was needleſs. When much diſcourſe had paſſed,

1553. Weſton aſked if the Houſe were not fully ſatisfied? To which the Clergy anſwered, Yes; but the ſpectators cried out, No, no; for the doors were opened: then Weſton aſked the five diſputants, if they would anſwer the arguments that ſhould be put to them? Ailmer ſaid, they would not enter into ſuch a diſputation, where matters were ſo indecently carried: they propoſed only the reaſons why they could not join with the vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament; but unleſs they had fairer judges, they would go no further. Weſton broke up all by ſaying, *You have the word, but we have the ſword*; rightly pointing out that wherein the ſtrength of both ſides conſiſted. It is not to be doubted, but that the Popiſh party pretended they had the victory, for that always the ſtrongeſt ſide does upon ſuch occaſions: yet it was viſible that this diſpute was not ſo fairly carried, as thoſe were in King Edward's days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were public diſputes in the univerſities, which were more proper places for them, than a town full of noiſe and buſineſs. The queſtion was alſo here determined firſt, and then diſputed: and the preſence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raiſe the one party, as it depreſſed the other. In the end of this year, Veſey was again repoſſeſſed of the ſee of Exeter, Coverdale being now a priſoner in the Tower.

1554. The treaty of marriage begun.

In the beginning of the next year a great embaſſy came from the Emperor, to agree the conditions of the marriage between his ſon and the Queen. Gardiner took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more eaſily to conſent to it, and to keep the Spaniards from being admitted to any ſhare in the government, that ſo he might keep it in his own hands. But the Emperor was reſolved to grant every thing that ſhould be aſked. It was agreed that the government ſhould be entirely in the Queen, and that though Prince Philip was to be named in all writs, and his image was to be on the coin and ſeals, yet the Queen's hand alone was to give authority to every thing, without his. No Spaniard was to be capable of any office. No change was to be made in the law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of England againſt her will; nor might their iſſue go out of England but by conſent of the nobility.

bility. The Queen was to have of jointure forty thouſand pounds out of Spain, and twenty thouſand pounds out of the Netherlands: if the Queen had a ſon, he was to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England: if daughters only, they were to ſucceed to her crowns, and to have ſuch portions from Spain, as was ordinary to be given to King's daughters: the Prince was to have no ſhare in the government after her death: and the Queen might keep up her league with France, notwithſtanding this match. 1554.

Which provokes ſome to rebel.

But this did not ſatisfy the nation, which looked on thoſe offers only as baits to hook them into ſlavery. The ſeverities of the Spaniſh government in all the provinces that were united to that crown, and the monſtrous cruelties exerciſed in the Weſt Indies, were much talked of; and it was ſaid England muſt now preſerve itſelf, or be for ever enſlaved. Carew and Wyat undertook to raiſe the country, the one in Cornwall, and the other in Kent; and the Duke of Suffolk promiſed to raiſe the midland counties: for the diſpoſition to riſe was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good heads to have led the people. But before it grew ripe the deſign was diſcovered, and upon that Sir Peter Carew fled to France.

Wyat's rebellion.

Wyat gathered ſome men about him, and on the 25th of January he made proclamation at Maidſtone, that he intended nothing but to preſerve the nation from the yoke of ſtrangers; and aſſured the people that all England would riſe. The Sheriff of Kent required him, under pain of treaſon, to diſperſe his company; but he did not obey his ſummons. One Knevet raiſed a body of men about Tunbridge, and marched towards him, but was intercepted, and routed by a force commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, who was ſent with two hundred horſe, and ſix hundred Londoners to diſſipate this inſurrection; but ſome, that came over from Wyat as deſerters, perſuaded the Londoners that it was a common cauſe, in which they were engaged, to maintain the liberty of the nation: ſo they all went over to Wyat. Upon this, the Duke of Norfolk retired back to London; and Wyat, who had kept himſelf under the defence of Rocheſter-bridge, advanced towards it. The Duke of Suffolk made a faint attempt to raiſe the country, but it did not ſucceed, and he was taken and brought to the Tower. The Queen ſent the offer of a pardon to Wyat and his men; but that not being received by them, ſhe ſent ſome of her Council

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to treat with him. He was blown up with his ſmall ſucceſs, and moved that the Queen would come to the Tower of London, and put the command of it into his hands, till a new Council were ſettled about her: ſo it appeared there was no treaty to be thought on. The Queen went into London, and made great proteſtations of her love to her people, and that ſhe would not diſpoſe of herſelf in marriage, but for the good of the nation. Wyat was now four thouſand ſtrong, and came to Southwark, but could not force the bridge of London: he was informed the city would all riſe, if he ſhould come to their aid; but he could not find boats for paſſing over to Eſſex, ſo he was forced to go to the bridge of Kingſton. On the fourth of February he came thither, but found it cut; yet his men mended it, and he got to Hyde Park next morning. His men were weary and diſheartened, and now not above five hundred; ſo that though the Queen's forces could eaſily have diſperſed them, yet they let them go forward, that they might caſt themſelves into their hands. He marched through the Strand, and got to Ludgate, where he hoped to have found the gate opened; but being diſappointed, he turned back, and was forſaken by his men, ſo that a herald, without uſing any force, apprehended him at Temple Bar. It was on Aſh-Wedneſday, and the Queen had ſhewed ſuch courage, that ſhe would not ſtir from Whitehall, nor would ſhe omit the devotions of that day; and this ſucceſs was looked on as a reward from heaven on her piety. This raw and ill-formed rebellion was as lucky for the ends of the Court, as if Gardiner had projected it; for in a weak government an ill-digeſted inſurrection raiſes the power of the Prince, and adds as much ſpirit to his friends as it depreſſes the faction againſt him; and it alſo gives a handle to do ſome things, for which it were not eaſy otherwiſe to find either colours or inſtruments. The Popiſh authors ſtudied to caſt the blame of this on the reformed preachers; but did not name any one of them that was in it: ſo it appears, that what ſome later writers have ſaid of Poinet's having been in it is falſe; otherwiſe his name had certainly been put in the number of thoſe that were attainted for it.

Lady Jane Grey's execution.

Upon this, it was reſolved to proceed againſt Lady Jane Grey and her huſband: ſhe had lived ſix months in the daily meditations of death, ſo ſhe was not much ſurpriſed at it. Fecknam, who was ſent to prepare her for death, acknowledged that he was aſtoniſhed at her calm behaviour,

our, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary ſenſe ſhe had of religion. She wrote to her father to moderate his grief for her death, ſince it was great matter of joy to her that ſhe was ſo near an end of her miſeries, and the enjoyment of eternal glory. One Harding, that had been her father's chaplain, and a zealous preacher in King Edward's time, had now changed his religion: to him ſhe wrote a long and pathetic letter, ſetting forth his apoſtaſy, and the judgments of God which he might expect upon it. She ſent her Greek New Teſtament to her ſiſter, with a letter in Greek, recommending the ſtudy of that book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: theſe were the laſt exerciſes of this rare young perſon. She was at firſt much moved, when ſhe ſaw her huſband led out to his execution; but recovered herſelf, when ſhe conſidered how ſoon ſhe was to follow him: and when he deſired they might take leave of one another, ſhe declined it; for ſhe thought it would increaſe their grief and diſorder: and continued ſo ſettled in her temper, that ſhe ſaw his beheaded body carried to the chapel in the Tower, without expreſſing any viſible concern about it. She was carried out next to a ſcaffold ſet up within the Tower, to hinder great crowds from looking on a ſight which was like to raiſe much compaſſion in the ſpectators. She confeſſed her ſin, in taking an honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor deſired by her; and acknowledged her other ſins againſt God; that ſhe had loved herſelf and the world too much; and thanked God for making her afflictions a means to her repentance: ſhe declared ſhe died a true Chriſtian, truſting only to the merits of Chriſt; then ſhe repeated the fifty-firſt Pſalm, and ſtretched out her head on the block, which, upon the ſignal given, was cut off. Her death was as much lamented, as her life had been admired. It affected Judge Morgan, that had pronounced the ſentence, ſo much, that he run mad, and thought ſhe ſtill followed him. The Queen herſelf was troubled at it; for it was rather reaſon of ſtate, than private reſentment, that ſet her on to it. 1554.

Her father was ſoon after tried by his peers, and condemned and executed. He was the leſs pitied, becauſe by his means his daughter was brought to her untimely end. Wyat was brought to his trial; he begged his life in a moſt abject manner; but he was condemned and executed, and ſo were fifty-eight more: ſix hundred of the rabble were appointed to come with ropes about their necks, Several others ſuffered.

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necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A ſlander was caſt on the Earl of Devonſhire and Lady Elizabeth, as if they had ſet on the riſing that was intended in the Weſt. Wyat, in hopes of life, had accuſed them, but he did them juſtice at his death; yet they were both put in priſon upon it. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was accuſed of the ſame crime, but after a long trial he was acquitted; yet his jury were hardly uſed, and ſeverely fined. Sir John Cheek was ſought for: ſo he fled beyond ſea; but both he and Sir Peter Carew, hoping that Philip would be glad to ſignalize his firſt coming to England with acts of grace, rendered themſelves to him: after that, Cheek was again taken in Flanders, upon a new ſuſpicion, and, to deliver himſelf out of his trouble, he renounced his religion: but though he got his liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; ſo he languiſhed for ſome time, and died.

The impoſture of the ſpirit in the wall.

There was at this time a baſe impoſture diſcovered in London; one ſeemed to ſpeak out of a wall, in a ſtrange tone of voice. Great numbers flocked about the houſe, and ſeveral things, both relating to religion and the ſtate, were uttered by it: but it was found to be one Elizabeth Crofts, who by the help of a whiſtle ſpoke thoſe words through a hole in the wall. There was no other complice found but one Drake, and they both were made to do penance for it publicly at St. Paul's.

Injunctions ſent to the Biſhops.

Injunctions were now given to the Biſhops, to execute ſuch eccleſiaſtical laws as had been in force in King Henry's time: that in their courts they ſhould proceed in their own names; that the oath of ſupremacy ſhould be no more exacted: none ſuſpected of hereſy was to be put in orders: they were required to ſuppreſs hereſy and heretics, and to turn out all married Clergymen, and to ſeparate them from their wives: if they left their wives, they might put them in ſome other cure, or reſerve a penſion for them out of their livings: none that had vowed chaſtity was to be ſuffered to live with his wife: thoſe that were ordained by the book ſet out in King Edward's time were to be confirmed by all the other rites then left out, and that was declared to be no valid ordination.

Many Biſhops turned out. Holgate, Ferrar, Bird, Buſh, Taylor, Hooper, Harley.

The Queen gave alſo a ſpecial commiſſion to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonſtall, Day, and Kitchin, to proceed againſt the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhops of St. David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, and to deprive them of their biſhoprics, for having contracted marriage, and thereby having broken

broken their vows, and defiled their function. "She also "authorized them to call before them the Bishops of "Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, who held their bi- "shoprics only during their good behaviour; and, since "they had done things contrary to the laws of God, and "the practice of the universal Church, to declare their "bishoprics void, *as they were indeed already void.*" And thus were seven of the reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured, that those who had married according to a law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: and this was a new severity; for in former times, when the Popes were most set against the marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their option, whether they would part with their wives, or with their benefices: but none were summarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bishops, without any form of process, or special matter objected to them, were turned out, by an act of mere arbitrary government. And all this was done by virtue of the Queen's being *Head of the Church*; which though she condemned as a sinful and sacrilegious power, yet she now employed it against those Bishops, whose sees were quickly filled with men in whom the Queen confided. Goodrick died this year: it seems he complied with the change now made, otherwise he that put the seal to Lady Jane's patents could not have escaped being questioned for it. He was an ambitious man, and so no wonder if earthly considerations prevailed more with him than a good conscience. Scory, who was Bishop of Chichester, renounced his wife, and did penance for his marriage; but soon after he fled beyond sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: so that his compliance was the effect of his weakness and fears. Barlow resigned Bath and Wells, and a book of recantation was published in his name, containing severe reflections both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation itself: but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a forgery put out in his name; for if he turned so heartily, as the strain of that book runs, it is not likely that he would have been put from his bishopric; but he fled beyond sea: yet it seems both Scory and he gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only surviving reformed Bishops when Queen Elizabeth succeeded, yet they were so far from being promoted, that they were not so much as restored to their former sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these deprivations and resignations there were sixteen

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new Biſhops made, which made no ſmall change in the face of the Engliſh Church. Now the old ſervice was every where ſet up, in which Bonner made ſuch haſte, that before the royal aſſent was given to the bill for it, he began the old ſervice and proceſſions. The firſt opening of it was ſomewhat ſtrange, for it being on St. Catharine's day, the choriſters went up to the ſteeple, and ſung the anthem there, according to the cuſtom for that day. Great numbers of the Clergy were ſummarily deprived for being married; they were eſtimated by Parker to be twelve thouſand, and moſt of them were judged upon common fame, without any proceſs but a citation; and many being then in priſon, yet were cenſured, and put out for contumacy, and held guilty. Many books were written againſt the marriage of the Clergy; and the accuſing them of impurity and ſenſuality on that account was one of the chief topics uſed by the Popiſh Clergy, to diſgrace the Reformers; which made ſome recriminate too indecently, and lay open the filthineſs of the unmarried Clergy, and thoſe that were called religious, who led moſt irregular lives; in particular, it was ſaid, Bonner had no reaſon to be a friend to that ſtate, for he was the baſtard of a baſtard, and his father, though a prieſt, begat him in adultery.

A new Parliament.

On the 2d of April a Parliament met, but the moſt conſiderable members were beforehand corrupted by Gardiner, who gave them penſions, ſome two hundred, and others one hundred pounds a year for their voices. The firſt act that paſſed was declaratory, that all the prerogatives and limitations, which by law belonged to the Kings of England, were the ſame, whether the crown fell into the hands of a male or a female. The ſecret of this was little known; ſome were afraid there was an ill deſign in it, and that it being declared that ſhe had all the authority which any of her progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that ſhe might pretend to a right of conqueſt, and ſo ſeize on the eſtates of the Engliſh, as William the Conqueror had done; but it was ſo conceived, that the Queen was put under the ſame limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the ſame prerogatives, with her progenitors: the ſecret of this was afterwards diſcovered. A projecting man, that had ſerved Cromwell, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in Lady Jane's buſineſs, and in the late inſurrection, and was now in danger of his life; ſo he made application to the Emperor's ambaſſador, and by his means

A propoſition to make the Queen abſolute.

means obtained his pardon. He offered a project, that the Queen ſhould declare, that ſhe ſucceeded to the crown by the common law, but was not tied by the ſtatute law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it: thus ſhe might pretend to be a conqueror, and rule at pleaſure; and by this means might reſtore both religion and the abbey-lands, and be under no reſtraint. This the ambaſſador brought to the Queen, and prayed her to keep it very ſecret: but ſhe diſliked it; yet ſhe ſent for Gardiner, and charged him to give her his opinion of it ſincerely, as he would anſwer to God for it at the great day. He read it carefully, and told her, it was a moſt pernicious contrivance, and begged her not to liſten to ſuch platforms, which might be brought her by baſe ſycophants: upon that ſhe burnt the paper, and charged the ambaſſador not to bring her any more ſuch projects. This gave Gardiner great apprehenſions of the miſchiefs that Spaniſh counſels might bring on the nation; and ſo he procured the act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the law as much as her anceſtors were. He alſo got an act to be paſſed, ratifying the articles of the marriage, with ſtrong clauſes for keeping the government entirely in the Queen's hands; that ſo Philip might not take it on him, as Henry the VIIth had done, when he married the heir of the houſe of York: for, as he ſet up a title in his own name, and kept the government in his own hands; ſo the Spaniards began to reckon a deſcent from John of Gaunt; which made Gardiner the more cautious. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſerving the nation out of the hands of the Spaniards was almoſt only owing to his care and wiſdom. The biſhopric of Durham was again reſtored, after a vigorous reſiſtance made by thoſe of Gateſide near Newcaſtle. The attainders of the Duke of Suffolk, and fifty-eight more, for the late rebellion, were confirmed. The Commons ſent up four ſeveral bills againſt Lollards, one confirming the act of the ſix Articles, and others againſt erroneous opinions; but they were all laid aſide by the Lords: for the corrupted members in the Lower Houſe were officious to ſhew their zeal for Spain and Popery. Another bill was ſent up by them, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have no authority to trouble any for poſſeſſing abbey-lands. But it was ſaid, this was prepoſterous to begin with a limitation of the Pope's authority, before they had acknowledged that he had any power at

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all in England: and that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the nation to him.

1554. New diſputations at Oxford with Cranmer.

During this Parliament the Convocation ſat; and that they might remove the objections that ſome made to the diſputations at their laſt meeting, that the ableſt men of the Reformers were kept in priſon while that cauſe was debated, they ſent a committee of their ableſt men to Oxford, to diſpute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were alſo ſent thither. The points to be diſputed about were tranſubſtantiation, and the ſacrifice of the maſs. When Cranmer was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church, he anſwered, that he was always for that unity which could conſiſt with truth. They fell into a long diſpute concerning the words of the inſtitution; that they muſt be true, for Chriſt was truth, and was then making his teſtament. Many paſſages of the Fathers were alſo alleged againſt him: it was ſaid, that he had tranſlated many things falſely out of the Fathers in his book: and the prolocutor called him often an *unlearned and impudent man*. But he carried himſelf with that gravity and mildneſs, that many were obſerved to be much affected at it, and to weep. He vindicated his ſincerity in his book; he ſhewed that figurative ſpeeches were true; and when the figures were clearly underſtood, they were likewiſe plain: he ſaid, the Sacrament was effectually and really Chriſt's body, as it was broken on the croſs, that is, his paſſion effectually applied to us. The whole action was carried with ſuch hiſſing and inſulting, and ended with ſuch ſhouts of triumph, as if Cranmer had been quite baffled, that it was viſible there was nothing intended, but to abuſe the ignorant people, and make them believe he was run down. Ridley was brought out next day: he began with deep proteſtations of his ſincerity, and that he had changed the opinion he had been bred up in, merely upon the force of truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that ſpeak of Chriſt's leaving the world, and ſitting at the right hand of God, and that the Sacrament was a memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was againſt the human nature to ſwallow down a living man; that this opinion was contrary to the humanity of Chriſt, and was a new doctrine unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later ages. Smith argued againſt him, from Chriſt's appearing to St. Stephen and to St. Paul, that he might be in more places at once.

Ridley

Ridley ſaid, Chriſt might either come down and appear to them, or a repreſentation might be made of him, but he could not be both in heaven and earth at once. Many of Chryſoſtom's expreſſions were alleged; but he ſaid, theſe were rhetorical figures, and to be explained by other plainer paſſages. The diſpute was carried on with the ſame inſultings that had been uſed the day before: and in concluſion, Weſton the prolocutor ſaid, they ſaw the obſtinacy, vainglory, and inconſtancy of that man, but they ſaw likewiſe the force of truth; ſo he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the victory:* upon which that was echoed over and over again by the whole aſſembly. Latimer was brought out next day: he told them he was fourſcore years old, and not fit for diſputing, ſo he would declare his opinion, and then leave them to ſay what they pleaſed. He thought the Sacrament was only a memorial of Chriſt; all who fed on Chriſt had eternal life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, ſince both good and bad received it: he ſaid, his memory was much impaired, but his faith was founded on the Word of God; ſo that though he could not diſpute well, yet his faith was firmly rooted. Upon this, there were extraordinary ſhouts raiſed, and during the whole debates, the noiſe and diſorder was ſuch, that it looked liker a country game, than a diſpute among Divines; four or five ſpoke oft at once, ſo that it was not poſſible to hear what they ſaid, much leſs to anſwer it. The committee of the Convocation condemned them all as obſtinate heretics, and declared them to be no members of the Church. They appealed from their ſentence to the judgment of God, and expreſſed great joy in the hopes they had, they ſhould glorify God by dying for his truth. Cranmer ſent a petition to the Council, complaining of the diſorder of theſe diſputes, and of huddling them up in ſuch haſte, that it was viſible nothing was intended by them, but to ſhuffle up things ſo, that the world might be more eaſily abuſed with the name of a diſputation. But this was not delivered, for it was intended to keep up this boaſting, that the champions of the Reformation were publicly baffled. 1554.

It was alſo reſolved to carry ſome of the priſoners that were in London to Cambridge, and there to erect new trophies in the ſame manner they had done at Oxford. Upon this, three of the impriſoned Biſhops, and ſeven Divines, ſigned a paper, by which they declared, that they would engage in no diſpute except it were in writing,

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unleſs it were in the preſence of the Queen, or the Council, or before either of the Houſes of Parliament. It was viſible, the deſign of diſputing was not to find out the truth, otherwiſe it had been done before theſe points had been ſo poſitively determined: but now there was no benefit to be expected by it; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their enemies were to be their judges: nor would they ſuffer them to ſpeak their minds freely; and after ſo long an impriſonment, their books and papers being kept from them, they could not be furniſhed to anſwer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a ſhort account of their perſuaſions in the chief points of controverſy, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms: and concluded with a charge to all people not to rebel againſt the Queen, but to obey all her commands that were not contrary to the law of God.

The Prince of Spain lands, and marries the Queen.

In July, Prince Philip landed at Southampton: when he ſet foot to land, he drew his ſword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted as a ſign that he intended to rule by the ſword; but his friends ſaid, it imported, that he would draw his ſword for the defence of the nation. The Mayor of Southampton brought him the keys of the town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the leaſt ſhew of his being pleaſed with this expreſſion of that reſpect done him. This not being ſuitable to the genius of the nation, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their princes, was thought a ſign of vaſt pride and moroſeneſs. The Queen met him at Wincheſter, where they were married; he being then in the twenty-ſeventh, and ſhe in the thirty-eighth year of her age. The Emperor reſigned to him his titular kingdom of Jeruſalem, and his more valuable one of Naples; ſo they were proclaimed with a pompous enumeration of their titles. The King's gravity was very unacceptable to the Engliſh, who love a mean between the ſtiffneſs of the Spaniards and the gaiety of the French. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of meaſure in love with his bounty and wealth; for he brought over a vaſt treaſure with him, the greateſt part of which was diſtributed among thoſe, who for his Spaniſh gold had ſold their country and religion. At his coming to London, he procured the pardon of many priſoners, and among others, of Holgate Archbiſhop of York, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his religion, otherwiſe it is not probable that Philip

Philip would have interceded for him. He alſo interpoſed for preſerving Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonſhire. Gardiner was much ſet againſt them, and thought they made but half work as long as ſhe lived. Wyat had accuſed them, in hopes of ſaving his life; but when that did not preſerve him, he did publicly vindicate them on the ſcaffold. The Earl of Devonſhire, to be freed from all jealouſy, went beyond ſea, and died a year after in Italy, as ſome ſay, of poiſon. Philip at firſt took care to preſerve Lady Elizabeth on a generous account, pitying her innocence, and hoping by ſo acceptable an act of favour to recommend himſelf to the nation: but intereſt did ſoon after fortify thoſe good and wiſe inclinations; for when he grew to be out of hope of iſſue by the Queen, he conſidered that the Queen of Scotland, who was ſoon after married to the Dauphin, was next in ſucceſſion after Lady Elizabeth; ſo if ſhe ſhould be put out of the way, the crown of England would have become an acceſſion to the French crown; and therefore he took care to preſerve her; and perhaps he hoped to have wrought ſo much on her by the good offices he did her, that if her ſiſter ſhould die without children, ſhe might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in England. He affected ſo extravagant a ſtate, and was ſo ſullen and ſilent, that it was not eaſy for any to come within the court; and acceſs to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almoſt as much formality as ambaſſadors uſed when they deſired an audience: ſo that a general diſcontent was quickly ſpread into moſt places of the kingdom; only Gardiner was well pleaſed, for the conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were ſpread of the Queen, particularly in Norfolk: at one of theſe the Queen was much concerned, which was, that ſhe was with child before the King came over; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

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The Biſhops went to make their viſitations this ſummer, to ſee whether the old ſervice, with all its rites, was again ſet up; they alſo enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their marriage, and their living chaſtely; whether they were ſuſpected of hereſy, or of favouring heretics? whether they went to taverns or alehouſes? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been ordained ſchiſmatically, before they were reconciled; or to preach, if they had not obtained a licenſe? whether

The Biſhops viſit their dioceſes.

BOOK III. 1554. they viſited the ſick, and adminiſtered the Sacraments reverently? whether they were guilty of merchandiſe or uſury? and whether they did not once every quarter, at leaſt, expound to the people the elements of the Chriſtian religion in the vulgar tongue? They did not proceed ſteadily in relation to the ordinations made in King Edward's time; for at this time all that they did was to add the ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations; but afterwards they carried themſelves as if they had eſteemed thoſe orders of no force; and therefore they did not degrade thoſe Biſhops or Prieſts that had been ordained by it: nor has the Church of Rome been ſteady in this matter; for though upon ſome ſchiſms they have annulled all ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the ordinations of the Greek Church, though they eſteem the Greeks both heretics and ſchiſmatics. Thus there were many queſtions put in among the articles of the viſitation; yet theſe were aſked only for form; the main buſineſs was hereſy, and the performing all offices according to the old cuſtoms: and the leaſt failing in theſe matters was more ſeverely enquired after, and more exemplarily puniſhed, than far greater offences. Bonner carried himſelf like a madman; and it was ſaid by his friends, to excuſe the violences of his rage, that his brains were a little diſordered by his long impriſonment: for if either the bells had not rung when he came near any church, or if he had not found the Sacrament expoſed, he was apt to break out into the foulеſt language: and not content with that, he was accuſtomed to beat his Clergy, when he was diſpleaſed with any thing; for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have thoſe places of Scripture, that had been painted on the walls of the churches, to be waſhed off: and upon this it was ſaid, that it was neceſſary to daſh out the Scripture, to make way for images, for they agreed ſo ill, that they could not decently ſtand together. Many mock poems and ſatires were flying up and down: but none was more provoking, than one that followed on an accident at St. Paul's on Eaſter-day. The cuſtom was to lay the Hoſt in the ſepulchre at even-ſong on Good-Friday, and to take it out on Eaſter morning; and the choir ſung theſe words, *He is riſen, he is not here*, when it was taken out: but when they looked to take it out, they found it was not there indeed, for one had ſtolen it away; but another was quickly brought; ſo a ballad was made, that

that their God was loſt, but a new one was put in his room. Great pains were taken to diſcover the author of this, but he was not found.

1554. Another Parliament.

The Queen's third Parliament met on the 11th of November: in the writ of ſummons the Queen's title of *Supreme Head* was left out, though ſhe had hitherto not only uſed the name, but had aſſumed the power imported by it, to a high degree. Pole was now ſuffered to come ſo near as Flanders: and the temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the Queen ſent two Lords, Paget and Haſtings, for him. Both King and Queen rode in ſtate to Weſtminſter, and each had a ſword of ſtate carried before them. The firſt bill that paſſed was a repeal of Pole's attainder; it was read by the Commons three times in one day; and the bill was paſſed without making a ſeſſion by a ſhort prorogation. He came over, and entered privately to London on the 24th of November; for the Pope's authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a legate. His inſtructions were full, beſides the authority commonly lodged with legates; which conſiſts chiefly in the many graces and diſpenſations that they are empowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they ſhould come rather to ſee the canons obeyed, than broken: only the more ſcandalous abuſes were ſtill reſerved to the Popes themſelves, whoſe ſpecial prerogative it has always been, to be the moſt eminent tranſgreſſors of all canons and conſtitutions.

The nation is reconciled to the ſee of Rome.

Pole made his firſt ſpeech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the name of the common Paſtor, inviting them to return to the ſheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a ſtrange emotion of joy within her, as he made his ſpeech, which ſhe thought was a child quickened in her belly; and the flattering court ladies heightened her belief of it. The Council ordered Bonner to ſing *Te Deum*; and there were bonfires, and all other public demonſtrations of joy, upon it. The Prieſts ſaid, that here was another John Baptiſt to come, that leaped in his mother's belly upon the ſalutation from Chriſt's Vicar. Both Houſes agreed on an addreſs to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the legate, to reconcile them to the ſee of Rome; and they offered to repeal all the laws they had made againſt the Pope's authority, in ſign of their repentance. Upon this the Cardinal came to the Parliament. He firſt thanked them for repealing his attainder, in recompenſe of which he was

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was now to reconcile them to the body of the Church. He made a long ſpeech, of the converſion of the Britons and Saxons to the faith, and of the obedience they had paid to the Apoſtolic ſee; and of the many favours that ſee had granted the crown, of which none was more eminent than the title of *Defender of the Faith*. The ruin of the Greek Church, and the diſtractions of Germany, and the confuſions themſelves had been in ſince they departed from the unity of the Church, might convince them of the neceſſity of keeping that bond entire. In concluſion, he gave them and the whole nation a plenary abſolution. The reſt of the day was ſpent in ſinging *Te Deum*, and the night in bonfires. The act, repealing all laws made againſt the Pope's authority, was quickly paſſed; only it ſtuck a little, by reaſon of a proviſo, which the Houſe of Lords put in for ſome lands which the Lord Wentworth had of the ſee of London, which the Commons oppoſed ſo much, that after the bill was offered to the royal aſſent, it was cut out of the parchment by Gardiner. "They did enumerate and repeal all acts made "ſince the 20th of Hen. VIII. againſt the Pope's au- "thority; but all foundations of biſhoprics and cathedrals, "all marriages, though contrary to the laws of the "Church, all inſtitutions, all judicial proceſſes, and the "ſettlements made either of church or abbey lands, "were confirmed. The Convocation of Canterbury had "joined their interceſſion with the Cardinal, that he "would confirm the right of the preſent poſſeſſors of "thoſe lands: upon which he did confirm them; but he "added a heavy charge, requiring thoſe that had any of "the goods of the Church, to remember the judgments "of God that fell on Belſhazzar, for profaning the holy "veſſels, though they were not taken away by himſelf, "but by his father; and that, at leaſt, they would take "care, that ſuch as ſerved the cures ſhould be ſufficiently "maintained: all which was put in the act, and con- "firmed by it; and it was declared, that all ſuits con- "cerning thoſe lands were to be tried in the civil courts; "and that it ſhould be a *præmunire*, if any went about "to diſturb the poſſeſſors, by the pretence of an eccleſi- "aſtical power. They alſo declared, that the title of *Su- "preme Head of the Church* did never of right belong to "the crown; and enacted that it ſhould be left out of "writs in all time coming. All exemptions granted to "monaſteries, and now continued in lay-hands, were "taken away, and all churches were made ſubject to "epiſcopal

"epiſcopal juriſdiction, except Weſtminſter, Windſor, "and the Tower of London. The ſtatute of Mortmain "was repealed for twenty years to come, and all things "were brought back to the ſtate in which they were in "the twentieth year of King Henry's reign." The Lower Houſe of Convocation gave occaſion to many clauſes in this act, by a petition which they made to the Upper Houſe, "conſenting to the ſettlement made of "church and abbey lands; and praying that the ſtatute "of Mortmain might be repealed, and that all the tithes "might be reſtored to the Church. They propoſed alſo "ſome things in relation to religion, for the condemning and "burning all heretical books, and that great care ſhould "be had of the printing and venting of books; that the "Church ſhould be reſtored to its former juriſdiction, that "pluralities and non-reſidence might be effectually con-"demned, and all ſimoniacal pactions puniſhed; that the "Clergy might be diſcharged of paying firſt-fruits and "tenths; that exemptions might be taken away; that all "the Clergy ſhould go in their habits, and that they "ſhould not be ſued in a *præmunire*, till a prohibition "were firſt ſerved, and diſobeyed, that ſo they might not "be ſurpriſed and ruined a ſecond time." By another bill all former acts made againſt Lollards were revived. The Commons offered another bill for voiding all leaſes made by married Prieſts, but it was laid aſide by the Lords. Thus were the penſioners and aſpiring men in the Houſe of Commons either redeeming former faults, or hoping to merit highly by the forwardneſs of their zeal. By another bill ſeveral things were made treaſon: and "it was declared, that if the Queen died before the "King, and left any children, the King ſhould have the "government in his hands till they were of age; and "during that time the conſpiring his death was made "treaſon; but none were to be tried for words, but with-"in ſix months after they were ſpoken. Another act "paſſed, declaring it treaſon in any to pray for the Queen's "death, unleſs they repented of it, and in that caſe they "were to ſuffer corporal puniſhment at the Judge's diſ-"cretion. A ſevere act was alſo paſſed againſt all that "ſpread lying reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, "Judges, or great officers." Some were to loſe their hands, others their ears, and others were to be fined according to the degree of their offence.

Gardiner's policy in the ſteps of this change.

And thus all affairs were carried in Parliament as well as the Court could wiſh: and upon this, Gardiner's reputation

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tation was much raiſed, for bringing about ſo great a change in ſo little time, with ſo little oppoſition. He took much pains to remove all the objections that were generally made uſe of: they were chiefly two; the one was the fear of coming under ſuch tyranny from Rome as their anceſtors had groaned under; and the other was the loſs of the abbey-lands. But to the firſt he ſaid, that all the old laws againſt proviſions from Rome ſhould ſtill continue in force: and to ſhew them that legates ſhould exerciſe no dangerous authority in England, he made Pole take out a licenſe, under the Great Seal, for his legatine power. As for the other, he promiſed both an act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the Pope ſhould ratify theſe, as well as his legate did now conſent to them. But to all this it was anſwered, that if the nation were again brought under the old ſuperſtition, and the Papal authority eſtabliſhed, it would not be poſſible to bridle that power, which would be no longer kept within limits, if once they became maſters again, and brought the world under a blind obedience. It was objected, that the church-lands muſt be certainly taken back, it was not likely the Pope would confirm the alienation of them; but though he ſhould do it, yet his ſucceſſors might annul that as ſacrilegious. And it was obſerved in the charge which Pole gave to all to make reſtitution, and by the repeal of the ſtatute of Mortmain, that it was intended to poſſeſs the nation with an opinion of the unlawfulneſs of keeping thoſe lands; which would probably work much on men that were near death, and could not reſiſt the terrors of purgatory, or perhaps of hell, for the ſin of ſacrilege; and ſo would be eaſily induced to make reſtitution of them, eſpecially at ſuch a time when they were not able to poſſeſs them any longer themſelves.

Conſultations about the way of proceeding againſt heretics.

Now the Parliament was at an end; and the firſt thing taken into conſideration was, what way they ought to proceed againſt the heretics. Pole had been ſuſpected to bear ſome favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occaſions of being any more blamed for that; and indeed he lived in that diſtruſt of all the Engliſh, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief confidents were two Italians that came over with him, Priuli and Ormaneto. Secretary Cecil, who in matters of religion complied with the preſent time, was obſerved to have more of his favour than any Engliſhman had. Pole was an enemy to all ſevere proceedings; he thought

thought Churchmen ſhould have the tenderneſs of a father, and the care of a ſhepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the ſtray ſheep: he had obſerved that cruelty rather inflamed than cured that diſtemper: he thought the better and ſurer way was to begin with an effectual reformation of the manners of the Clergy, ſince it was the ſcandals given by their ill conduct and ignorance that was the chief cauſe of the growth of hereſy: ſo he concluded, that if a primitive diſcipline ſhould be revived, the nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might in time be gained by gentle methods. Gardiner, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himſelf, thought the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt the Lollards was that to which they ought chiefly to truſt: if the preachers were made public examples, he concluded the people would be eaſily reclaimed: for he pretended, that it was viſible, if King Henry had executed the act of the ſix Articles vigorouſly, all would have ſubmitted. He confeſſed a reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: if they ſhould proceed ſeverely againſt ſcandalous Churchmen, the heretics would take advantage from that to defame the Church the more, and raiſe a clamour againſt all Clergymen. Gardiner's ſpite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his book of true Obedience, which was done at Straſburg, and ſent over. In it he had called King Henry's marriage with Queen Catharine, *inceſtuous*, and had juſtified his divorce, *and his ſecond marriage with his moſt godly and virtuous wife, Queen Anne.* This was a ſevere expoſing of him; but he had brow enough, and bore down theſe reproaches, by ſaying, *Peter had denied his maſter.* But others ſaid, that ſuch a compliance of twenty-five years continuance was very unjuſtly compared to a ſudden denial, that was preſently expiated with ſo ſincere a repentance. The Queen was for joining both theſe councils together, and intended to proceed at the ſame time both againſt ſcandalous churchmen and heretics. After the Parliament was over, there was a ſolemn proceſſion of many Biſhops and Prieſts, Bonner carrying the Hoſt, to thank God for reconciling the nation again to St. Peter's chair; and it having been done on St. Andrew's day, that was appointed to be an anniverſary, and was called, *The feaſt of the Reconciliation.*

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But ſoon after began the perſecution; Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, and ſeven more, were brought before the

1555. A perſecution ſet on foot.

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the Council, and aſked one by one, if they would return to the union of the Catholic Church, and acknowledge the Pope: but they all anſwered reſolutely, that they had renounced the Pope's power, as all the Biſhops had alſo done: they were aſſured he had no authority, but over his own dioceſe, for the firſt four ages; ſo they could not ſubmit to his tyranny. Gardiner told them, mercy was now offered them; but if they rejected it, juſtice would be done next: ſo they were all ſent back to priſon, except one, who had great friends; ſo he was only aſked, if he would be an honeſt man, and upon that promiſe was diſmiſſed. They began with Rogers, whoſe impriſonment was formerly mentioned. Many had adviſed him to make his eſcape, and fly to Germany: but he would not do it, though a family of ten children was a great temptation.

Rogers and Hooper condemned and burnt.

Both he and Hooper were brought before Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtall, and three other Biſhops. They aſked them, whether they would ſubmit to the Church, or not? But they anſwered, that they looked on the Church of Rome as Antichriſtian. Gardiner ſaid, that was a reproach on the Queen. Rogers ſaid, they honoured the Queen, and looked for no ill at her hands, but as ſhe was ſet on to it by them. Upon that Gardiner and the other Biſhops declared, that ſo far were they from ſetting on the Queen to the executing of the law, that ſhe commanded them to do it; and this was confirmed by two Privy Counſellors that were preſent. In concluſion, they gave them time till next morning to conſider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obſtinate heretics, and degraded them: but they did not eſteem Hooper a Biſhop, ſo he was only degraded from the order of prieſthood. Rogers was not ſuffered to ſee his wife nor his children; yet ſo little did this terrible ſentence fright him, that the morning of his execution he was ſo faſt aſleep, that he was not eaſily awakened: he was carried from Newgate to Smithfield on the 4th of February; a pardon was offered him at the ſtake if he would recant, but he refuſed it on ſuch terms; and ſaid, he would not exchange a quick fire for everlaſting burnings; but declared that he reſigned up his life with joy, as a teſtimony to the doctrine which he had preached. Hooper was ſent to Glouceſter, at which he rejoiced, for he hoped by his death to confirm many there. He ſpake to ſeveral whom he had formerly known: ſome of them, in compaſſion to him, wept by him, which made him

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shed tears; but he said, all he had suffered in his imprisonment had not moved him to do so much. He was burnt on the 9th of February: a pardon was also offered him at the stake, but to no effect. A great wind blew while he was burning, and hindered the flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his vitals; so that he was near three quarters of an hour in great torment; but he continued still calling on God; his last words were, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Saunders, who had been Minister at Coventry, and Taylor, that was Minister at Hadley, were at the same time condemned, and sent to be burnt at the places where they had served: the former was first committed for preaching without license, after the Queen's prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some priests, that broke violently into his church, and said mass in it. Gardiner was in hope, that these four executions being made in several parts of England, would have struck so general a terror in the whole party, that there would have been little occasion for further severities: but when he saw six more were soon after apprehended on the same account, and that the spirits of those called heretics were now rather inflamed than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those trials; and turned over that invidious matter to Bonner, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

The burning much condemned.

These severities were very hateful to the nation. It was observed, that, in King Edward's time, those that opposed the laws were only turned out of their benefices, and some few of them were put in prison; but now men were put in prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till laws were made, by which they were condemned merely for their opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to law. One piece of cruelty was also singular: when the Council sent away those that were to be burnt in the country, they threatened to cut out their tongues, if they would not promise to make no speeches to the people; which they, to avoid that butchery, were forced to promise. Some made reflections on the length and sharpness of Hooper's torment, as a punishment on him for the contest he had raised in the Church about the vestments. Ridley and he had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate letters to one another. The sense they had of those differences, when they were preparing for another world, and that bitter passage through which they were to go to it, ought to inspire all others with more moderate thoughts in such matters. Those that loved

BOOK III. loved the Reformation were now poſſeſſed with great averſion to the Popiſh party; and the whole body of the nation grew to diſlike this cruelty, and came to hate 1555. King Philip for it. Gardiner and the other counſellors had openly ſaid, that the Queen ſet them on to it; ſo the blame of it was laid on the King, the ſourneſs of whoſe temper, together with his bigotry in matters of religion, made it ſeem reaſonable to charge him with it. He finding that this was like to raiſe ſuch prejudices againſt him, as might probably ſpoil his deſign of making himſelf maſter of England, took care to vindicate himſelf; ſo his confeſſor Alphonſus, a Franciſcan, preached a ſermon at Court, againſt the taking of people's lives for opinions in religion; and inveighed againſt the Biſhops for doing it: by this, the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them ſtop for ſome weeks; but at laſt they reſolved rather to bear the blame of the perſecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

Arguments againſt them. At this time a petition was printed beyond ſea, by which the Reformers addreſſed themſelves to the Queen. They ſet before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal to deſtroy the members of Chriſt, as St. Paul had done before his converſion. They remembered her of Cranmer's interpoſing to preſerve her life in her father's time. They cited many paſſages out of the books of Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonſtall, by which ſhe might ſee that they were not acted by true principles of conſcience, but were turned as their fears or intereſts led them. They ſhewed her how contrary perſecution was to the ſpirit of the Goſpel; that Chriſtians tolerated Jews; and that Turks, notwithſtanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the cruelty of their religion, yet tolerated Chriſtians. They remembered her, that the firſt law for burning in England was made by Henry IV. as a reward to the Biſhops, who had helped him to depoſe Richard the Second, and ſo to mount to the throne. They repreſented to her, that God had truſted her with the ſword, which ſhe ought to employ for the protection of her people, and was not to abandon them to the cruelty of ſuch wolves. The petition alſo turned to the nobility, and the reſt of the nation; and the dangers of a Spaniſh yoke and a bloody inquiſition were ſet before them. Upon this, the Popiſh authors writ ſeveral books in juſtification of thoſe proceedings. They obſerved that the Jews were commanded to put blaſphemers to death; and ſaid, the heretics blaſphemed the body of Chriſt, and called it only a piece of bread. It became

became Chriſtians to be more zealous for the true religion, than heathens were for the falſe. St. Peter by a divine power ſtruck Ananias and Sapphira dead. Chriſt in the parable ſaid, *Compel them to enter in.* St. Paul ſaid, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* St. Auſtin was once againſt all ſeverities in ſuch caſes, but changed his mind when he ſaw the good effects that ſome baniſhments and fines had on the Donatiſts: that on which they inſiſted moſt, was the burning of Anabaptiſts in King Edward's time. So they were now fortified in their cruel intentions, and reſolved to ſpare none, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoever they might be. 1555.

Bonner kept one Tomkins, a weaver, ſome months in his houſe, who was found to doubt of the preſence in the Sacrament: he uſed divers violences to him, as the tearing out the hair of his beard, and the holding a candle to his hand till the veins and ſinews burſt; and theſe not prevailing to make him change, he was at laſt burnt in Smithfield. One Hunter, an apprentice, not above nineteen years old, was condemned and burnt on the ſame account. Bonner was ſo much concerned to preſerve him, that he offered him forty pounds to change: ſo mercenary did he think other men's conſciences were, meaſuring them probably by his own. Two gentlemen, Cauſton and Higbed, one Lawrence a prieſt, and two meaner perſons, were burnt near their own houſes in Eſſex. The method in theſe, and in all the other proceedings, during the reſt of this reign, was ſummary, and *ex officio*: upon complaints made, perſons were impriſoned, and articles containing the points for which they were ſuſpected were offered to them, which they were required to anſwer; and if their anſwers were heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved againſt them. Ferrar, who had been Biſhop of St. David's, was dealt with in the ſame manner by his ſucceſſor Morgan. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal Pole; but that had no other effect, ſave that his execution was ſtopped three weeks. Rawlins White, a poor fiſherman, was condemned by the Biſhop of Llandaff, and afterwards burnt: Marſh, a prieſt, was burnt at Cheſter; and to the ordinary cruelty of burning, they added a new invention of pouring melted pitch on his head. One Flower, a raſh and furious man, wounded a prieſt at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, as he was officiating; for which, being ſeized on, and found to be an heretic, he was condemned and burnt. The fact was diſapproved by all the

BOOK III.

reformed, and he became ſincerely penitent for it before he died. After this, for ſome weeks, there was a ſtop put to thoſe ſeverities.

1555. The Queen reſtores the church-lands.

The Queen about this time ſent for her treaſurer, and ſome of the other officers of her revenue, and told them, that ſhe thought herſelf bound in conſcience to reſtore all the lands of the Church that were then in her hands: ſhe thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a ſin; therefore ſhe declared ſhe would have them diſpoſed of as Cardinal Pole ſhould think fit. Some imputed this to a bull ſet out by the Pope, excommunicating all that kept any lands belonging to abbeys or churches: this alarmed many in England; but Gardiner pacified them, and told them, that bull was made only for Germany, and that no bull did bind in England till it was received. But this did not ſatisfy inquiſitive people; for a ſin in Germany was likewiſe a ſin in England; and if the Pope's authority came from Chriſt, it ought to take place every where equally.

Marcellus choſen Pope. Paul the Fourth ſucceeds.

Pope Julius died in March, and Marcellus was choſen to ſucceed him: he turned his thoughts wholly to the reformation of abuſes: he ſuffered none of his nephews, nor kindred, to come to Court, and reſolved effectually to put down non-reſidence and pluralities: but he found it very difficult to bring about the good deſigns he had projected, and that the Pope's power was ſuch, that it was more eaſy for him to do miſchief than good; which made him once cry out, that he did not ſee how any could be ſaved that ſat in that chair. Theſe things wrought ſo much on him, that he ſickened within twelve days of his election, and died ten days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the French to conſent to the promotion of Cardinal Pole, which ſhe did without his knowledge or approbation: but at Rome they were ſo apprehenſive of another Pope ſet on reformations, that they made haſte in their choice, and ſet up Caraffa, called Paul the Fourth, who was the moſt extravagantly ambitious and inſolent Pope that had reigned of a great while.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors come to Rome.

On the day of his election, the Engliſh ambaſſadors entered Rome in great ſtate, having in their train one hundred and forty horſe of their own attendants; but the Pope would not admit them to an audience, till they had accepted of a grant of the title of the kingdom of Ireland; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer thoſe titles. The ambaſſadors, it ſeems, knew it was the Queen's mind

that

that they ſhould in every thing ſubmit to the Pope, and ſo took that grant from him. Their public audience was given in great ſolemnity, in which the Pope declared, that, in token of his pardoning the nation, "he had added "to the crown the title of the kingdom of Ireland, by "that ſupreme power which God had given him to de- "ſtroy or to build kingdoms at his pleaſure. But in "private diſcourſe he complained much, that the abbey- "lands were not reſtored. He ſaid it was beyond his "power to confirm ſacrilege; and all were obliged, "under the pains of damnation, to reſtore to the laſt "farthing every thing that belonged to the Church: he "ſaid likewiſe, that he would ſend over a collector to "gather the Peter-pence; for they could not expect that "St. Peter would open heaven to them, ſo long as they "denied him his rights upon earth." Theſe were heavy tidings to the Lord Mountacute, (Sir Anthony Brown,) whoſe eſtate conſiſted chiefly of abbey-lands, that was one of the ambaſſadors. But the Pope would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

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The Engliſh grow backward in the perſecution.

In England, orders were ſent to the juſtices to look narrowly to the preachers of hereſy, and to have ſecret ſpies in every pariſh, for giving them information of all people's behaviour. This was imputed to the fourneſs of Spaniſh counſels, and ſeemed to be taken from that baſe practice of the Roman Emperors, that had their informers, (or *delatores*,) that went into all companies, and accommodated themſelves to all men's tempers, till they had drawn them into ſome diſcourſes againſt the ſtate, and thereby ruined them. People grew ſo averſe to cruelty, that Bonner himſelf finding how odious he was become, and obſerving the ſlackneſs of the other Biſhops, refuſed to meddle any further, and burnt none in five weeks time: upon which the Queen writ to him, and required him to do the office of a good paſtor, and either to reclaim the hereticks, or to proceed againſt them according to law: and he quickly ſhewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon ſuch an admonition.

The Queen's delivery in vain looked for.

In the beginning of May the Court was in expectation of the Queen's delivery. The envoys were named, that were to carry the good news to the neighbouring Courts: the tidings of it did fly over England, and *Te Deum* was ſung upon it in ſeveral cathedrals. But it proved to be a falſe conception, and all hopes of iſſue by her vaniſhed. This tended much to alienate King Philip from her; and he

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he finding it more neceſſary to look after his hereditary crowns, than to ſtay in England, where he had no hopes of making himſelf maſter, left her, and that increaſed her melancholy.

More heretics burnt.

New fires were kindled. Cardmaker, that had been a prebendary at Bath, and Warne a tradeſman, were burnt in Smithfield in May. The body of one that ſuffered for robbery, but at his execution ſaid ſomewhat favouring of hereſy, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in ſeveral parts of Eſſex. They were condemned by Bonner, and ſent down to be burnt near the places of their abode. The Council writ to the great men of the country, to gather many together, and aſſiſt at thoſe ſpectacles: and when they heard that ſome had come of their own accord to the burnings at Colcheſter, they writ to the Lord Rich to give their thanks to thoſe perſons for their zeal; ſo dexterouſly did they ſtudy to cheriſh a ſpirit of cruelty among the people. Bradford, who had been committed ſoon after he had ſaved Bourne in the tumult at Saint Paul's, had been condemned with the reſt, and was preſerved till July. He was ſo much conſidered, that Heath, Archbiſhop of York, and Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, Weſton and Harpsfield, with the King's Confeſſor, and Alphonſus à Caſtro, went to ſee if they could prevail on him, and had long conferences with him in priſon, but all to no purpoſe. Bourne was made Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and his brother was Secretary of State; but though Bradford had preſerved his life, yet he neither came to viſit him, nor did he interpoſe for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to Bradford, that by his carriage in ſuppreſſing that tumult, it appeared that he had ſet it on: but he appealed to God, who ſaw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to Bourne, who was ſitting among the Biſhops that judged him, if he had not prayed him for the paſſion of Chriſt to endeavour his preſervation, and if he had not done it at the hazard of his own life: but Bourne, as he was aſhamed to accuſe him, ſo he had not the honeſty nor the courage to vindicate him. A young apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his ſufferings, and in tranſports of joy he hugged the faggots that were laid about him. Thornton, Harpsfield, and others, ſet on a perſecution at Canterbury, though Cardinal Pole was averſe to it, but he durſt not now diſcover ſo much; for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was reſolved upon the firſt occaſion to recall him; and for that end, he entered into a cor-

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correſpondence with Gardiner, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and upon the hopes he had of that, he ſtill preſerved Cranmer; for though he was now condemned for hereſy, yet the ſee was not eſteemed void till he was formally degraded. Some ſaid it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of hereſy in England. But Gardiner ſaid, it was better to try if it could be poſſible to ſhake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole party, if he could be wrought on to forſake it; whereas if he ſhould be burnt, and ſhould die with ſuch reſolution as others expreſſed, it would much raiſe the ſpirits of his followers. The ſee of Canterbury was now only ſequeſtered in Pole's hands, and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's rage, was willing to let the cruel prebendaries do what they pleaſed. They burnt two prieſts and two laymen at Canterbury, and ſent a man and a woman to be burnt in other places in Kent. Two that belonged to the dioceſes of Winchester and Chicheſter were condemned by Bonner, and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time ſeveral pretended diſcoveries of plots both in Dorſetſhire and Eſſex: and orders were given to draw confeſſions from ſome that were apprehended, by torture; but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the ſurmiſes of the Clergy.

Religious houſes ſet up.

The Queen was this year rebuilding the houſe of the Franciſcans at Greenwich, and had recalled Peyto and Elſton, of which mention was made, Book I. The one ſhe made her confeſſor, and the other was to be guardian of that houſe. The people expreſſed ſuch hatred of them, that, as they were paſſing upon the river, ſome threw ſtones at them: but they that did it could not be diſcovered. Judge Raſtal publiſhed Sir Thomas More's works at this time; but, as was formerly obſerved, he left out his letter concerning the Nun of Kent; though it lies among his other letters, in that very manuſcript out of which he publiſhed them. He prefixed nothing concerning More's life to his works, which makes it highly probable that he never writ it; for this was the proper time and place for publiſhing it, if he had ever writ it. So that manuſcript life of More's, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted ſince that time, to the diſgrace of King Henry, and Anne Boleyn, muſt be a later forgery contrived in ſpite to Queen Elizabeth. "The Queen did now go on "with her intentions, of founding religious houſes out of

More's works publiſhed.

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"thoſe abbey-lands that were ſtill in the crown. She "recommended it alſo to the Council's care, that every "where there might be good preaching, and that there "might be a viſitation of the Univerſities. She deſired "that juſtice might be done on the heretics in ſuch a "manner, that the people might be well ſatisfied about "it; and preſſed them to take care that there might be "no pluralities in England, and that the preachers might "give good example, as well as make good ſermons."

The burnings went on: ſeven were burnt in Auguſt in ſeveral places; ſix more were burnt in one fire at Canterbury, and four were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In September five were burnt at Canterbury, and ſeven in other places. In October two were burnt at Ely, by Shaxton's means, who now completed his apoſtaſy by his cruelty. The 16th of that month became remarkable by the ſufferings of Ridley and Latimer. Three Biſhops, Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Briſtol, were ſent with a commiſſion from Cardinal Pole to proceed againſt them. Ridley ſaid he paid great reſpect to Pole, as he was of the royal family, and eſteemed him much for his learning and virtues; but as he was the Pope's legate, he would expreſs no reverence to him, nor would uncover himſelf before any that acted by authority from him. The Biſhop of Lincoln exhorted him "to "return to the obedience of the ſee of St. Peter, on whom "Chriſt had founded his Church, to which the ancient "Fathers had ſubmitted, and which himſelf had once "acknowledged." He began his anſwer with a proteſtation, "that he did not thereby ſubmit to the autho-"rity of the Pope or his legate: he ſaid Chriſt had "founded his Church not on St. Peter, but on the faith "which he had confeſſed: the Biſhops of Rome had been "held in great eſteem, but that was either on the account "of their perſonal worth, or by reaſon of the dignity of "the city. He confeſſed he had once been involved in "that ſuperſtition; but St. Paul was once a blaſphemer: "and he had diſcovered ſuch errors in that ſee, that he "would never acknowledge it any more." Latimer adhered to what he ſaid. A night's reſpite was granted them, but they continuing ſtedfaſt next day, they were condemned as obſtinate heretics, and delivered to the ſecular arm, and the writs were ſent down for their burning. They prepared themſelves for it with ſuch patience and cheerfulneſs, as very much amazed their keepers. As they were led out, they looked up to Cranmer's window;

Ridley and Latimer are burnt.

dow; but he was not in it, for he was then held in dispute by some Friars; yet he looked after them with a very tender sense of their condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their sufferings. When they came to the stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. Smith preached on those words, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth nothing:* and he compared their dying for heresy, to Judas's that hanged himself. Ridley desired leave to answer some points in his sermon; but it was told him, that he was not to be suffered to speak, except he intended to recant: so he turned himself to God, when he saw men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a desire to the Queen, in behalf of the tenants of the bishopric of London, from whom he had taken fines, for which he had renewed their leases; and prayed that either their leases might be confirmed, or that their fines might be restored out of his goods, which had been seized on when he was first put in prison: after both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the fire was kindled. Some gunpowder was hanged about their necks, and that being fired put Latimer quickly out of his pain: but Ridley had a more lingering torment; for they threw on so much wood, that it was long before the flame broke through it, and his legs were almost wholly consumed before the flame choked him. Thus did these two Bishops end their days and their ministry: the one was esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation, both for piety, learning, and solidity of judgment: the other was looked on as a truly primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the simplicity of the first ages, than the politeness or the learning of later times. Ridley was ill-rewarded both by Bonner and Heath: he had used Bonner's mother and friends with great kindness while he was Bishop of London, and had kept the latter a year and a half in his house, after he fell in trouble; but he made him ill returns; and when he went through Oxford, he did not so much as visit him: and so far had men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their imprisonment in Oxford, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their necessities.

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It was observed that Gardiner was very impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him that the fire was kindled: but at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of urine, of which he died

Gardiner's death.

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the twelfth of November. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty-firſt of October, but could go abroad no more; he expreſſed great ſorrow for his former ſins, and often ſaid, *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him.* He was believed to be of noble extraction, though baſely born; for his true father was ſuppoſed to be Richard Woodvill, that was brother to Edward the Fourth's Queen, grandmother to King Henry the Eighth: and this was believed to be the occaſion of his ſudden preferment to the ſee of Winchester. So thoſe that reflected on him for his oppoſition to the married ſtate, ſaid, that no wonder if perſons baſely born, as both he and Bonner were, had no regard to that ſtate of life. He was learned in the civil and canon law; he had a good Latin ſtyle, and had ſome knowledge in the Greek tongue, but was a very indifferent divine: he had a quickneſs of apprehenſion, with a great knowledge of mankind, and the intrigues of courts: he had all the arts of inſinuation and flattery, and was inferior to none in profound diſſimulation. He died now, when he had the proſpect of a Cardinal's hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. Heath was made Chancellor during pleaſure; and the Queen gave to the ſee of York the Duke of Suffolk's houſe, fallen to her by his attainder, in recompenſe for Whitehall, and it was afterwards called York Houſe.

The Parliament ill pleaſed with the Queen's conduct.

The Parliament was now aſſembled, and it appeared that the nation was much turned in their affections. It was propoſed to give the Queen a ſubſidy, and two fifteenths. This was the firſt aid that the Queen had aſked, though ſhe was now in the third year of her reign; and what was now deſired was no more than what ſhe might have exacted at her firſt coming to the crown; and ſince ſhe had forgiven ſo much at her coronation, it ſeemed unreaſonable to deny it now: yet great oppoſition was made to it. Many ſaid, the Queen was impoveriſhing the crown, and giving away the abbey-lands, and therefore ſhe ought to be ſupplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity. But it was anſwered, that the Convocation had given her ſix ſhillings in the pound, but that would not ſerve her preſent occaſions; ſo the debate grew high: but, to prevent further heats, the Queen ſent a meſſage, declaring that ſhe would accept the ſubſidy without the fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him,

ſhe

she could not with a good conscience exact the tenths and first-fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to her father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the Supreme Head of the Church: she also thought, that all tithes and impropriations were the patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part passed easily in the House; but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion; for it was looked on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the laity: yet upon a division of the House, it went so near, that 126 were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 voices. A bill was put in against the Duchess of Suffolk, and several others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond sea, that they might freely enjoy their consciences; requiring them to return, under severe penalties: the Lords passed it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another bill, for incapacitating some to be justices of peace, who were complained of for their remissness in prosecuting heretics. An act was put in for debarring one Bennet Smith, who had hired some assassins to commit a most detestable murder, from the benefit of Clergy; which by the course of the common law would have saved him. This was an invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entering into orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a widow, could read, and vowed to take orders, he was to be saved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the ecclesiastical immunity; which made divers of the Bishops oppose this act; yet it passed, though four of them, and five temporal Lords, protested against it. There was such heat in the House of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir Anthony Kingston, who was a great stickler, called one day for the keys of the House: but when the Parliament was dissolved, he was sent to the Tower for it: he was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and six others were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: he died before he was brought up to London; the other six were hanged; but the evidence against them does not appear on record.

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Cardinal Pole called a convocation, having first procured a license from the Queen, empowering them both to meet, and to make such canons as they should think fit.

Pole's decrees for the reformation of the Clergy.

BOOK III. 1555. fit. This was done to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown, and to ſecure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a *præmunire*. In it ſeveral decrees were propoſed by Pole, and aſſented to by the Clergy: 1. For obſerving the feaſt of the reconciliation made with Rome with great ſolemnity: they alſo condemned all heretical books, and received that expoſition of the faith, which Pope Eugenius ſent from the Council of Florence to the Armenians. 2. For the decent adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly feaſts in the dedications of churches. 3. They required all Biſhops and Prieſts to lay aſide ſecular cares, and to give themſelves wholly to the paſtoral charge: and all pluraliſts were required to reſign all their benefices, except one, within two months, otherwiſe to forfeit all. 4. Biſhops were required to preach often, and to provide good preachers for their dioceſes, to go over them as their viſitors. 5. All the pomp and luxury of the tables, ſervants, and families of the Biſhops was condemned; and they were required chiefly to lay out their revenues on works of charity. 6. They were required not to give orders, but after a long and ſtrict trial; which they ought to make themſelves, and not to turn it over to others. 7. They were charged not to beſtow benefices upon partial regards, but to confer them on the moſt deſerving, and to take them bound by oath, to reſide upon them. 8. Againſt giving advowſons before benefices fell vacant. 9. Againſt ſimony. 10. Againſt dilapidations. 11. For ſeminaries in every cathedral for the dioceſe; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their benefices for their maintenance. The twelfth was about viſitations.

It was deſigned alſo to ſet out four books of Homilies: the firſt for points of controverſy; the ſecond was for the expoſition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Ave, and the Sacraments; the third was to be a paraphraſe on all the leſſons on holy-days; and the fourth was to be concerning the ſeveral virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church. In theſe, the wiſe and good temper of Cardinal Pole may be well diſcerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the ſcandals they ſaw in the Clergy, than by the arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned if pluralities and non-reſidences, and the other abuſes of Churchmen, could have been removed, and if he could have brought the Biſhops to have lived better and laboured more, to be ſtricter in giving orders,

orders, and more impartial in conferring benefices, and if he could have eſtabliſhed ſeminaries in cathedrals, hereſy might have been driven out of the nation by gentler methods than by racks and fires. In one thing he ſhewed the meanneſs of his ſpirit, that though he himſelf condemned cruel proceedings againſt heretics, yet he both gave commiſſions to other Biſhops and Archdeacons to try them, and ſuffered a great deal of cruelty to be exerciſed in his own dioceſe; but he had not courage enough to reſiſt Pope Paul the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down hereſy, but by ſetting up courts of inquiſition every where. He had clapped up Cardinal Morone, that was Pole's great friend, in priſon, upon ſuſpicion of hereſy; and would very probably have uſed himſelf ſo, if he had got him at Rome. BOOK III. 1555.

The Jeſuits were at this time beginning to grow conſiderable: they were tied, beſides their other vows, to an abſolute obedience to the ſee of Rome; and ſet themſelves every where to open free-ſchools, for the education of youth, and to bear down hereſy. They were excuſed from the hours of the choir, and ſo were looked on as a mungrel order between the Regulars and the Seculars. They propoſed to Cardinal Pole, that ſince the Queen was reſtoring the abbey-lands, it would be to little purpoſe to give them again to the Benedictine order, which was now rather a clog than a help to the Church: and therefore they deſired that houſes might be aſſigned to them for maintaining ſchools and ſeminaries; and they did not doubt but they ſhould quickly both drive out hereſy, and recover the church-lands. Pole did not liſten to this, for which he was much cenſured by the fathers of that ſociety. It is not certain whether he had then the ſagacity to foreſee that diſorder which they were like to bring into the government of the Church, and that corruption of morals that hath ſince flowed from their ſchools, and has been infuſed by them generally in confeſſions, ſo that their whole Church is now over-run with it. Three were burnt at one ſtake in Canterbury in November; and Philpot was burnt in Smithfield in December: he had been put in priſon ſoon after that Convocation was diſſolved, in which he had diſputed in the beginning of this reign; and was now brought out to the ſtake. In all, ſixty-ſeven were burnt this year, of whom four were Biſhops, and thirteen were Prieſts.

He refuſes to bring the Jeſuits to England.

More of the reformed are burnt.

In Germany a diet was held, in which it was left free to all the temporal Princes to ſet up what religion they pleaſed;

Affairs in Germany.

BOOK III.

pleaſed; but a reſtraint was put on the eccleſiaſtical Princes. Both Ferdinand and the Duke of Bavaria appointed the chalice to be given to the laity in their dominions; at which the Pope ſtormed highly, and threatened to depoſe them: for that was his common ſtyle, when he was diſpleaſed with any Prince. The reſignation of Charles the Fifth, which was begun this year, and completed the next, drew the eyes of all Europe upon it. He had enjoyed his hereditary dominions forty years, and the empire thirty-ſix. He had endured great fatigues by the many journeys he had made; nine into Germany, ſix into Spain, ſeven into Italy, four through France: he was ten times in the Netherlands, made two expeditions to Africe, and was twice in England; and had croſſed the ſea eleven times. He had unuſual ſucceſs in his wars; he had taken a Pope, a King of France, and ſome German Princes, priſoners; and had a vaſt acceſſion of wealth and empire from the Weſt Indies. But now as ſucceſs followed him no more, ſo he was much afflicted with the gout, and grew to be much out of love with the pomp and vanities of this world, and ſo ſeriouſly to prepare for another life. He reſigned all his dominions with a greatneſs of mind that was much ſuperior to all his other conqueſts. He retired to a private lodge of ſeven rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the confines of Portugal: he kept only twelve ſervants to wait upon him, and reſerved for his expence one hundred thouſand crowns penſion. In this retreat he lived two years: his firſt year was ſpent chiefly in mechanical inventions, in which he took great pleaſure: from that he turned to the cultivating his garden, in which he uſed to work with thoſe hands, that now preferred the grafting and pruning tools, to ſceptres and ſwords. But after that he addicted himſelf more to ſtudy and devotion, and did often diſcipline himſelf with a cord. It was alſo believed, that in many points he came to be of the opinion of the Proteſtants before he died. His confeſſor was ſoon after his death burnt for hereſy, and Miranda, Archbiſhop of Toledo, that converſed much with him at this time, was clapped into priſon on the ſame ſuſpicions. At the end of two years he died, having given a great inſtance of a mind ſurfeited with the glories of this world, that ſought for quiet in a private cell, which it had long in vain ſearched after in palaces and camps.

1555.

Charles the Fifth's reſignation.

1556. Cranmer's ſufferings.

In March next year came on Cranmer's martyrdom. In September laſt, Brooks, Biſhop of Glouceſter, came down

down with authority from Cardinal Pole to judge him; with him two delegates came to assist him in the King and Queen's name. When he was brought before them, he paid the respect that was due to those that sat in the King and Queen's name, "but would shew none to "Brooks, since he sat there by an authority derived from "the Pope, which he said he would never acknowledge. "He could not serve two masters; and since he had sworn "allegiance to the crown, he could never submit to the "Pope's authority. He also shewed, that the Pope's power "had been as unjustly used, as it was ill grounded: that "they had changed the laws settled by Christ, which he "instanced, in denying the chalice; in the worship in an "unknown tongue; and in their pretences to a power to "depose Princes: he remembered Brooks, that he had "sworn to maintain the King's supremacy; and when he "studied to cast that back on him, as an invention of his, "he told him, that it was acknowledged in his prede-"cessor Warham's time, and that Brooks had then set "his hand to it." Brooks and the two delegates, Martin and Scory, objected many things to him; as, that he had flattered King Henry, that so he might be preferred by him; and that he had condemned Lambert for denying the presence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the same heresy himself. But he vindicated himself from all aspirings to the see of Canterbury, which appeared visibly by the slowness of his motions, when he was called over out of Germany, to be advanced to it; for he was seven weeks on his journey: He confessed, he had changed his opinion in the matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice married; which he thought was free to all men, and was certainly much better than to defile other men's wives. After much discourse had passed on both sides, Brooks required him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, and answer to the things that should be objected to him: he said, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a prisoner.

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1556.

In February this year, Bonner and Thirleby were sent to degrade him, for his contumacy in not going to Rome, when he was all the while kept in prison. He was clothed with all the pontifical robes made of canvass, and then they were taken from him, according to the ceremony of degradation; in which Bonner carried himself with all the insolence that might have been expected from him. Thirleby was a good-natured man, and had been Cranmer's particular

14 Feb.

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particular friend, and performed his part in this ceremony with great expreſſions of ſorrow, and ſhed many tears at it. In all this, Cranmer ſeemed very little concerned: he ſaid, it was groſs injuſtice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was ſhut up in priſon; but he was not ſorry to be thus cut off, even with all this pageantry, from any relation to that Church: he denied the Pope had any authority over him, ſo he appealed from his ſentence to a free General Council.

He recants.

But now many engines were ſet on work to make him recant: both Engliſh and Spaniſh Divines had many conferences with him, and great hopes were given him not only of life, but of preferment, if he would do it: and theſe at laſt had a fatal effect upon him; for he ſigned a recantation of all his former opinions, and concluded it with a proteſtation, that he had done it freely, only for the diſcharge of his conſcience. But the Queen was reſolved to make him a ſacrifice to her reſentments; ſhe ſaid it was good for his own ſoul that he repented, but ſince he had been the chief ſpreader of hereſy over the nation, it was neceſſary to make him a public example: ſo the writ was ſent down to burn him; and after ſome ſtop had been made in the execution of it, new orders came for doing it ſuddenly. This was kept from Cranmer's knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the ſtake, without giving him any notice, and ſo hoped to make him die in deſpair: yet he ſuſpecting ſomewhat, writ a long paper, containing a confeſſion of his faith, ſuch as his conſcience, and not his fears, had dictated.

He repents, and is burnt.

He was on the 21ſt of March carried to St. Mary's, where Dr. Cole preached, and vindicated the Queen's juſtice in condemning Cranmer; but magnified his converſion much, and aſcribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him great hopes of heaven, and promiſed him all the relief that dirges and maſſes could give him in another ſtate. All this while Cranmer was obſerved to be in great confuſion, and floods of tears run from his eyes; at laſt, when he was called on to ſpeak, he began with a prayer, in which he expreſſed much inward remorſe and horror: then, after he had exhorted the people to good life, obedience, and charity, he in moſt pathetic expreſſions confeſſed his ſin, that the hopes of life had made him ſign a paper contrary to the truth, and againſt his conſcience; and he had therefore reſolved, that the hand that ſigned it ſhould be burnt firſt: he alſo declared, that he had the ſame belief concerning the Sacra-

Sacrament, which he had publiſhed in the book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great conſternation in the whole aſſembly: but they reſolved to make an end of him ſuddenly; ſo, without ſuffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the ſtake, and gave him all the diſturbance they could by their reproaches and clamours: but he made them no anſwer, having now turned his thoughts wholly towards God. When the fire was kindled, he held his right hand towards the flame till it was conſumed, and often ſaid, *That unworthy hand:* he was ſoon after quite burnt, only his heart was found entire among the aſhes: from which his friends made this inference, that though his hand had erred, yet it appeared his heart had continued true. They did not make a miracle of it, though they ſaid the Papiſts would have made a great matter of it, if ſuch a thing had fallen out in any that had died for their religion. BOOK III. 1556.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. He was a man of great candour, and a firm friend; which appeared ſignally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the Duke of Somerſet. He rather excelled in great induſtry and good judgment, than in a quickneſs of apprehenſion, or a cloſeneſs of ſtyle. He employed his revenues on pious and charitable uſes; and in his table he was truly hoſpitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor neighbours often at it. The gentleneſs and humility of his deportment were very ſingular: his laſt fall was the greateſt blemiſh of his life, yet that was expiated by a ſincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom: and thoſe that compared ancient and modern times, did not ſtick to compare him not only to the Chryſoſtoms, the Ambroſes, and the Auſtins, that were the chief glories of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, but to thoſe of the firſt ages, that immediately followed the Apoſtles, and came neareſt to the patterns which they had left the world; to the Ignatiuſes, the Polycarps, and the Cyprians. And it ſeemed neceſſary that the reformation of the Church, being the reſtoring of the primitive and apoſtolical doctrine, ſhould have been chiefly carried on by a man thus eminent for primitive and apoſtolical virtues. In January five men and two women were burnt at one ſtake in Smithfield, and one man and four women were burnt at Canterbury. In March two women were burnt at Ipſwich, and three men at Saliſbury. In April ſix men of Eſſex were burnt in Smithfield: a man and a woman were burnt at Rocheſter, and

His character.

More burnings.

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and another at Canterbury; and ſix, who were ſent from Colcheſter, were condemned by Bonner, without giving them longer time to conſider whether they would recant, than till the afternoon; for he was now ſo hardened in his cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his priſoners ſome time, and of taking pains on them, to make them recant: he ſent them back to Colcheſter, where they were burnt. He condemned alſo a blind man, and an aged cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame fire at Stratford. In May three women were burnt in Smithfield; the day after that, two were burnt at Glouceſter, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at Beccles in Suffolk; five were burnt at Lewes, and one at Leiceſter. But on the 27th of June Bonner gave the ſignaleſt inſtance of his cruelty that England ever ſaw: for eleven men and two women were burnt in the ſame fire at Stratford. The horror of this action, it ſeems, had ſome operation on himſelf; for he burnt none till April next year. In June three were burnt at St. Edmundſbury, and three were afterwards burnt at Newbury. This cruelty was not kept within England, but it extended as far as to the adjacent iſlands. In Guernſey a mother and her two daughters were burnt at the ſame ſtake: one of them was a married woman, and big with child: the violence of the fire burſting her belly, the child, that proved to be a boy, fell out into the flame: he was ſnatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the reſt: but the other barbarous ſpectators, after a little conſultation, threw it back again into the fire. This was murder without queſtion, for no ſentence againſt the mother could excuſe this inhuman piece of butchery; which was thought the more odious, becauſe the Dean of Guernſey was a complice in it: yet ſo merciful was the government under Queen Elizabeth, that he, and nine others, that were accuſed for it, had their pardons. Two were after this burnt at Greenſtead, and a blind woman at Derby: four were burnt at Briſtol, and as many at Mayfield in Suſſex, and one at Nottingham; ſo that in all eighty-five were this year burnt, without any regard had either to age or ſex, to young or old, or the lame and the blind; which raiſed ſo extreme an averſion in this nation to that religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehenſions of being again brought under ſo tyrannical a yoke, break out into moſt violent and convulſive ſymptoms.

The reformed increaſe upon this.

By theſe means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſhed, that it ſpread daily more and more, and the zeal

zeal of thoſe that profeſſed it grew quicker. They had frequent meetings, and ſeveral teachers that inſtructed them: and their friends that went beyond ſea, and ſettled in Straſburg, Francfort, Embden, and ſome other places in Germany, took care to ſend over many books for their inſtruction and comfort. 1556.

The troubles at Francfort.

An unhappy difference was begun at Francfort, which has had ſince that time great and fatal conſequences: ſome of the Engliſh thought it was better to uſe a Liturgy agreeing with the Geneva forms; whereas the reſt thought that, ſince they were a part of the Church of England that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the Engliſh Liturgy; and that the rather, ſince thoſe who had compiled it were now ſealing it with their blood. This raiſed much heat; but Doctor Cox that lived in Straſburg, being held in great eſteem, went thither, and procured an order from the ſenate, that the Engliſh ſhould continue to uſe the forms of their own Church: but the fire was not thereby quenched; for Knox, and ſome other hot ſpirits, began to make exceptions to ſome parts of the Liturgy, and got Calvin to declare on their ſide; upon which ſome of them retired to Geneva. Another conteſt aroſe concerning the cenſuring of offenders, which ſome ſaid belonged only to the miniſter, and others thought that the congregation ought to be admitted to a ſhare in it. Great animoſities were raiſed by theſe debates, which gave ſcandal to the ſtrangers among whom they lived, and many reflected on the ſchiſms of the Novatians and Donatiſts, that rent the churches of Afric; the one during the perſecutions, and the other immediately after they were over.

Pole made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In England, Pole was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury the day after Cranmer was burnt; which gave occaſion to many to apply the words of Elijah to him, *Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion.* A week after that he came into London in great ſtate, and had the pall put about him by Heath in Bow-church: and after that he made a cold ſermon concerning the beginning, the uſe and virtues of the pall, without either learning or eloquence; for it was obſerved, that he had ſo far changed his ſtyle, which in his youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither life nor beauty in it. The pall was a device of the Popes in the twelfth century, in which they began firſt to ſend thoſe cloaks to Archbiſhops, as a badge of their being the Pope's legates born.

More religious houſes.

The Queen had founded a houſe for the Franciſcans of the Obſervance in Greenwich laſt year: this year ſhe

 founded

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founded houſes for the Franciſcans and Dominicans in London, as alſo a houſe for the Carthuſians at Sheen, and a nunnery at Sion: ſhe alſo converted the church of Weſtminſter into an abbey. And, that way might be made to the reſtoring religious orders, ſhe took care to have all the reports, confeſſions, and other records, that tended to the diſhonour of their houſes, raſed; ſo that no memory might remain of them to the next age. For this end ſhe gave a commiſſion to Bonner, and others, to ſearch all regiſters, and to take out of them every thing that was either againſt the ſee of Rome, or the religious houſes: and they executed this commiſſion ſo carefully, that the ſteps of it appear in the defectiveneſs of all the records of that time: yet many things have eſcaped their diligence. This expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the heathens in the laſt perſecution, who deſtroyed all the books and regiſters that they could find among the Chriſtians. The monks of Glaſſenbury were in hope to have got their houſe, that had been dedicated to the honour of Joſeph of Arimathea, raiſed again: they deſired only the houſe, and a little land about it; which they reſolved to cultivate, and did not doubt but the people of the country would contribute towards their ſubſiſtence: and it is probable that the like deſigns were ſet on foot for the other houſes: and it was not to be doubted, but that as ſoon as they had again infuſed in the nation the belief of purgatory, they would have perſuaded thoſe that held their lands, eſpecially if they could come near them when they were dying, to deliver themſelves from the ſin and puniſhments of ſacrilege, by making reſtitution. It is true, the nobility and gentry were much alarmed at theſe proceedings; and at the laſt Parliament many in the Houſe of Commons laid their hands on their ſwords, and declared that they would not part with their eſtates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at Court made their way to it by founding chantries for maſſes to be ſaid for them and their anceſtors, and took out licenſes from the Queen for making thoſe endowments.

The Pope ſets on a war between France and Spain.

A truce was now concluded between France and Spain for five years: but the violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the houſe of Auſtria, and chiefly at Ferdinand's aſſuming the title of Emperor, without his conſent: he uſed to ſay, *That all kingdoms were ſubject to him: that he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: and that he would ſet the world on fire, rather than be driven to do any*

any thing below his dignity. He pretended that he had reformed the abuſes of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuſes that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great collection to be made. When he was preſſed to call a council, he ſaid, *He needed none; for he himſelf was above all*; and the world had already ſeen twice, to how little purpoſe it was to ſend about ſixty weak Biſhops, and forty Divines, that were not the moſt learned, to Trent: he reſolved it ſhould never meet there any more; but he would call one to ſit in the Lateran: he ſignified this to the ambaſſadors of Princes only in courteſy; for he would aſk advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: and if Princes would ſend none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the world ſee, what a Pope that had courage could do. This imperious humour of his made him talk ſometimes like a madman: he intended, as was believed, to raiſe his nephew to be King of Naples, and, in order to that, he ſent one of his nephews to France, to abſolve the King from the truce which he had ſworn: and promiſed to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make war on Spain; though to the Queen's ambaſſadors, and all others at Rome, he gave it out, that he would mediate a peace between the crowns; for a truce did not ſufficiently ſecure the quiet of Europe. The French King was too eaſily perſuaded by the inſtigation of the Pope, and the houſe of Guiſe, to break his faith, and begin the war. The Pope alſo began it in Italy, and put the Cardinals of the Spaniſh faction in priſon, and threatened to proceed to cenſures againſt King Philip, for protecting the Colonneſi, who were his particular enemies. He made ſome levies among the Griſons, that were heretics; but ſaid, he looked on them as angels of God, and was confident God would convert them. The Duke of Alva had that reverence for the Papacy, that he took arms againſt the Pope very unwillingly: he could have taken Rome, but would not; and for the places that he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next Pope. It gave great ſcandal to the world, to ſee the Pope ſet on ſo perfidious a breach of truce; and it was thought ſtrange, that in the ſame year a great Prince, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, ſhould retire to a monaſtery, and that one bred a monk, and eighty years old, ſhould ſet Europe in a flame.

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The next year Pole ſent Ormaneto with ſome Engliſh 1557.

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Divines to viſit Cambridge. They put the churches, in which the bodies of Bucer and Fagius lay, under an interdict. They made a viſitation of all the colleges and chapels, in which Ormaneto ſhewed great integrity; and, without reſpect of perſons, he chid ſome heads of houſes, whom he found guilty of miſapplying the revenues of their houſes. The two dead bodies were burnt with great ſolemnity: they were raiſed and cited to appear, and anſwer for the hereſies they had taught; and if any would anſwer for them, they were required to come. The dead ſaid nothing for themſelves; and the living were afraid to do it, for fear of being ſent after them; ſo witneſſes were examined, and in concluſion they were condemned as obſtinate heretics, and the dead bodies, with many heretical books, were all burnt in one fire. Pern was Vice-Chancellor at this time, and happened to be in the ſame office four years after, when, by Queen Elizabeth's order, public honours were done to the memory of theſe learned men; and he obeyed both theſe orders with ſo much zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the leſſon, ſo much ſtudied in that age, of ſerving the time. After this there was a viſitation of all the colleges in Oxford, and there it was intended to act ſuch pageantry on the body of Peter Martyr's wife, as had been done at Cambridge. But ſhe that could ſpeak no Engliſh had not declared her opinions, ſo that no witneſſes could be found to convict her of hereſy: yet ſince it was notoriouſly known that ſhe had been a nun, and had broken her vow of chaſtity, they raiſed her body, and buried it in a dunghill: but her bones were afterwards mixed with St. Frideſwide's, by Queen Elizabeth's order.

1557. A viſitation of the univerſities.

A ſevere inquiſition of heretics.

The juſtices of peace were now every where ſo ſlack in the proſecution of heretics, that it ſeemed neceſſary to find out other tools. So the courts of inquiſition were thought on. Theſe were ſet up firſt in France againſt the Albigenſes, and afterwards in Spain for diſcovering the Moors, and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was uncontrollable; they ſeized on any they pleaſed, upon ſuch informations or preſumptions as lay before them. They managed their proceſſes in ſecret, and put their priſoners to ſuch ſorts of torture as they thought fit, for extorting confeſſions or diſcoveries from them. At this time both the Pope and King Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that theſe were the only ſure means for extirpating hereſy. "So, as a

"ſtep

"ſtep to the ſetting them up, a commiſſion was given to "Bonner, and twenty more, the greateſt part laymen, to "ſearch all over England for all ſuſpected of hereſy, that "did not hear maſs, go in proceſſions, or did not take "holy-bread, or holy-water: they were authorized, "three being a quorum, to proceed either by preſent- "ments, or other politic ways: they were to deliver all "that they diſcovered to their ordinaries, and were to "uſe all ſuch means as they could invent; which was left "to their diſcretions and conſciences, for executing their "commiſſion." Many other commiſſions ſubaltern to theirs were iſſued out for ſeveral counties and dioceſes. This was looked on as ſuch an advance towards an inquiſition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorouſly in ſome places, and but coldly in moſt parts, for the diſlike of them grew to be almoſt univerſal. 1557.

In January ſix were burnt in one fire at Canterbury, and four in other parts of Kent: twenty-two were ſent out of Colcheſter to Bonner; but it ſeems Pole had chid him ſeverely for the fire he had made of thirteen the laſt year; ſo he writ to Pole for directions. The Cardinal employed ſome to deal with the priſoners, and they got them to ſign a paper in general words, acknowledging "that Chriſt's body was in the Sacrament; and declar- "ing that they would be ſubject to the Church of Chriſt, "and to their lawful ſuperiors." And upon this they were ſet at liberty. By which it appeared that Pole was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one hand preſerve the lives of thoſe that were informed againſt, and yet not be expoſed to the rage of the Pope, as a favourer of heretics. In April three men and one woman were burnt in Smithfield: in May three were burnt in Southwark, condemned by White, the new Biſhop of Wincheſter, and three at Briſtol. Five men and nine women were burnt in Kent in June: and in the ſame month ſix men and four women were burnt at Lewes. In July two were burnt at Norwich; and in Auguſt ten were burnt in one day at Colcheſter. They were ſome of thoſe twenty-two that were by Pole's means diſcharged: but the cruel prieſts informed againſt them, and ſaid, the favour ſhewed to them had ſo encouraged all others, that it was neceſſary to remove the ſcandal, which that mercy of the Cardinal's gave, and to make examples of ſome of them. In Auguſt one was burnt at Norwich, two at Rocheſter, and one at Litchfield. One Eagle, More burnings.

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that went much about from place to place, from which he was called Trudge-over, was condemned as a traitor, for ſome words ſpoken againſt the Queen. But all this cruelty did not ſatisfy the Clergy; they complained that the magiſtrates were backward, and did their duty very negligently: upon which ſevere letters were written to ſeveral towns from the Council-board; and zealous men were recommended to be choſen mayors in ſundry towns. In September three men and one woman were burnt at Iſlington, and two at Colcheſter; one at Northampton, and one at Laxefield: a woman was burnt at Norwich: a prieſt with thirteen other men and three women were burnt at Chicheſter. In November three were burnt in Smithfield. Rough, a Scotchman that had a benefice in King Edward's time, kept a private meeting at Iſlington: but one of the company being corrupted, diſcovered the reſt, ſo they were apprehended as they were going to the communion, and he and a woman were burnt in December; ſo ſeventy-nine were burnt in all this year.

1557.

The Lord Stourton hanged.

This year a horrid murder of one Argol and his ſon was committed by the Lord Stourton, and ſome of his ſervants; who, after they had butchered them in a moſt barbarous manner, buried them fifteen foot deep in the ground. The Lord Stourton was a zealous Papiſt, and had proteſted againſt all the acts that had paſſed in King Edward's time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not ſo much as change the infamous death of hanging into a beheading; not becauſe the prerogative extends not ſo far, as ſome have without reaſon aſſerted; for both the Duke of Somerſet, condemned in the reign of King Edward, and the Lord Audley, condemned under King Charles the Firſt, for felony, were beheaded: but the Queen reſolved in this caſe to ſhew no favour. All the diſtinction was, that the Lord Stourton was hanged in a ſilken rope. This was much extolled as an inſtance of the Queen's impartial juſtice; and it was ſaid, that ſince ſhe left her friends to the law, her enemies had no cauſe to complain, if it was executed on them.

The Queen joins in the war againſt France.

The war breaking out between Spain and France, King Philip had a great mind to engage England in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the fugitives that fled out of England to France; and it was believed, that the French ſecretly ſupplied and encouraged them to embroil her affairs. One Stafford had this year gathered many of them together, and landing in Yorkſhire, he ſurpriſed the caſtle of Scarborough, and

and publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the Queen, that, by bringing in ſtrangers to govern the nation, ſhe had forfeited her right to the crown: but few came in to him; ſo he and his complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. The Engliſh ambaſſador in France, Dr. Wotton, diſcovered that the Conſtable had a deſign to take Calais; for he ſent his own nephew, whom he had brought over and inſtructed, ſecretly to him: he pretended he was ſent from a great party in that town, who were reſolved to deliver it up; at which the Conſtable ſeemed not a little glad, and entered into a long diſcourſe with him of the methods of taking it. Yet all this made no great impreſſion on the Queen; all her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were againſt engaging, for they ſaw that would oblige them to ſlacken their ſeverities at home; ſo the King found it neceſſary to come over himſelf, and perſuade her to it. He prevailed with her; and after a denunciation of war, ſhe ſent over eight thouſand men to his aſſiſtance, who joined the Spaniſh army conſiſting of fifty thouſand that were ſet down before St. Quintin. 1557.

The battle of St. Quintin.

The Conſtable of France came with a great force to raiſe the ſiege; but when the two armies were in view of one another, the French, by a miſtake in the word of command, fell in diſorder; upon which, the Spaniards charged them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the whole army was defeated: many were killed on the place, and many were taken priſoners, among whom was the Conſtable himſelf: and the Spaniards loſt only fifty men. Had Philip followed this blow, and marched ſtraight to Paris, he had found all France in a great conſternation; but he ſat ſtill before St. Quintin, which held out till the terror of this defeat was much over. The Conſtable loſt his reputation in it, and all looked on it as a curſe upon that King for the breach of his faith.

The Pope recalls Pole.

The French troops were called out of Italy, upon which, the Pope, being now expoſed to the Spaniards, fell in ſtrange fits of rage: particularly, he inveighed much againſt Pole, for ſuffering the Queen to join with the enemies of the Apoſtolic ſee: and having made a general decree, recalling all his legates and nuncios in the Spaniſh dominions, he recalled Pole's legatine power among the reſt: and neither the interceſſions of the Queen's ambaſſadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter it; only, as an extraordinary grace, he conſented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: he made Friar Peyto a Cardinal: he liked him

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for his railing againſt King Henry to his face, and thought that ſince the Queen had made him her confeſſor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled Pole's powers, and required him to come to Rome, and anſwer to ſome complaints made of him, for the favour he had ſhewed to heretics: he alſo declared Peyto his legate for England, and writ to the Queen to receive him. But the Queen ordered the bulls and briefs that were ſent over to be laid up without opening them, which had been the method formerly practiſed, when unacceptable bulls were ſent over: ſhe ſent word to Peyto not to come into England, otherwiſe ſhe would ſue him, and all that owned him, in a *præmunire*. He died ſoon after. Cardinal Pole laid aſide the enſigns of a legate, and ſent over Ormaneto with ſo ſubmiſſive a meſſage, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a treaty of peace being ſet on foot, this ſtorm went over. The Duke of Alva marched near Rome, which was in no condition to reſiſt him: ſo the Pope in great fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was reſolved to ſuffer martyrdom, without being daunted; which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himſelf by his ambition and rage, could ſcarce hear without laughter. Yet the Duke of Alva was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief points, yet in the punctilios of ceremonies he ſtood ſo high upon his honour, which he ſaid was Chriſt's honour, that he declared he would ſee the whole world ruined, rather than yield in a tittle. In that the Duke of Alva was willing enough to comply with him; ſo he came to Rome, and in his maſter's name aſked pardon for invading the patrimony of St. Peter; and the Pope gave him abſolution in as inſolent a manner, as if he had been the conqueror. The news of this reconciliation was received in England with all the publickeſt expreſſions of joy. In Scotland the Queen Regent ſtudied to engage that nation in the war: all that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy oppoſed it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and ſent in D'Oiſel to beſiege a caſtle in England. But the Scotch Lords complained much of that, and required him to give over his attempt, otherwiſe they would declare him an enemy to the nation. So, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes on the borders, the matter was put up on both ſides. This made the Queen Regent write to France, preſſing them to conclude the marriage between the Dauphin and the Queen: upon which

which a meſſage was ſent from that Court, deſiring the Scots to ſend over commiſſioners to treat about the articles of the marriage, and ſome of every ſtate were diſpatched for ſettling that matter. There was this year great want of money in the Exchequer of England: and the backwardneſs of the laſt Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what ſums could be raiſed by loan upon Privy Seals: but ſo little came in that way, that at laſt one was ſummoned to meet in January; yet in the mean while advertiſements were given them of the ill condition in which the garriſons of Calais and the neighbouring places were, and that the French had a deſign on them; but either they thought there was no danger during the winter, or they wanted money ſo much, that no care was taken to ſecure them. 1557.

Affairs in Germany.

In Germany the Papiſts did this year blow up the differences between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians with ſo much artifice, that a conference, which was appointed for ſettling matters of religion, was broken up without any good effect: only it diſcovered a common practice of the Popiſh party, in engaging thoſe that divided from them into heats and animoſities one againſt another, by which their ſtrength was not only much weakened, but their zeal, inſtead of turning againſt the common enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many experiments that have been made of this have not been able to infuſe that moderation and prudence in many of the reformed churches which might have been expected. In France the numbers of the reformed increaſed ſo much, that two hundred aſſembled in St. Germain's, one of the ſuburbs of Paris, to receive the communion. This was obſerved by the people of the neighbourhood, and a tumult was raiſed: the men for the moſt part eſcaped, but one hundred and ſixty women, and ſome few men, were taken: of theſe ſix men and one woman were burnt; and moſt horrid things were publiſhed of that meeting; and, among other calumnies, it was ſaid, they ſacrificed and eat a child. All theſe were confuted in an apology, printed for their vindication. The German Princes and the Cantons interpoſed ſo effectually, and their alliance was then ſo neceſſary to the crown of France, that a ſtop was put to further ſeverities. The Pope complained much of that, and of ſome edicts that the King had ſet out, annulling marriages without conſent of parents, and requiring churchmen to reſide at their benefices, as invaſions on the ſpiritual authority.

The

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1558. Calais and other places taken by the French.

The beginning of the next year was famous by the loſs of Calais. The Duke of Guiſe ſat down before it on the firſt of January. The garriſon conſiſted but of five hundred men, ſo that two forts about it, of which the one commanded the avenue to it by land, and the other commanded the harbour, were eaſily taken: for the Lord Wentworth, that was governor, could not ſpare men enough to defend them. The French drew the water out of the ditches, and made the aſſault, and carried the caſtle; which was thought impregnable: after that, the town could do little, ſo it was ſurrendered, and the governor with fifty officers were made priſoners of war. Thus was this important place, which the Engliſh had kept two hundred and ten years, loſt in a week, and that in winter. From this the Duke of Guiſe went to beſiege Guiſnes, which had a better garriſon of eleven hundred men; but they were much diſheartened by the loſs of Calais: they retired into the caſtle, and left the town to the French; but yet they beat them once out of it. The French, after a long battery, gave the aſſault, and forced them to capitulate: the ſoldiers, as at Calais, had leave to go away, but the officers were made priſoners of war. The garriſon that was in Hammes, ſeeing themſelves cut off from the ſea, and loſt, abandoned the place before the French ſummoned them. The loſs of Calais raiſed great complaints againſt the Council; and they, to excuſe themſelves, caſt the blame on the Lord Wentworth, and ordered a citation to be made of him, when he was a priſoner with the French: his defence was not fit to be heard, otherwiſe it had been eaſy for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number that was neceſſary to defend the place; and in time of war had no more than were uſually kept there in times of peace: of this, both he, and Sir Edward Grimſton, that was comptroller, gave full and timely advertiſements, but had not thoſe ſupplies ſent them that were neceſſary. They both came over in Queen Elizabeth's time, and offered themſelves to trial, and were acquitted. Grimſton was unwilling to pay the great ranſom that was ſet on him: ſo, after two years impriſonment, he made his eſcape out of the Baſtile, and came to England, and lived till the ninety-eighth year of his age. He was great grandfather to Sir Harbottle Grimſton, the author's noble patron and benefactor. The French after this took Sark, a little iſland in the Channel; but it was ingeniouſly retaken by a Fleming, who pretended that he

deſired

desired to bury a friend of his, that had died aboard his ship, in that island. The French were very careful to search the men that came ashore, that they should have no arms about them; but did not think of looking into the coffin, which was full of arms; and when they thought the seamen were burying their dead friend, they armed themselves, and took all the French that were in the castle. The ingeniousness, rather than the importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning. 1558.

Great discontents in England.

The discontent that the loss of Calais gave to the English was such, that the Queen could not hope ever to overcome it; and it sunk so deep in her mind, that it hastened her death not a little. Both sides took upon them to draw arguments from this loss: the Reformers said, it was a judgment on the nation for the contempt of the true religion, and the cruelties that had been of late practised: the Papists said, the heretics had found such shelter and connivance there, that no wonder the place was lost. Philip sent over and offered his assistance to go and retake the place, before the fortifications should be repaired, if the English would send over a force equal to such an undertaking: but they, upon an estimate made of the expence that this and a war for the next year would put them to, found it would rise to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; and as the treasure was exhausted, and could not furnish such a sum, so they had no reason to expect such liberal supplies from the people. The Bishops were afraid lest the continuance of the war should make it necessary to proceed more gently against heretics, and thought it better to sit down with the loss of Calais, than hazard that: they seemed confident, that within a year they should be able to clear the kingdom of heresy; and therefore moved that preparations might be made for a war to begin the year after this.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament assembled; for which the Abbot of Westminster and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem had their writs, and sat in it. The Lords desired a conference with the Commons concerning the safety of the nation; and upon that a subsidy, a tenth, and a fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. The Abbot of Westminster moved, that the privileges of sanctuary might be again restored to his house; but that was laid aside. The procurers of wilful murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy; but great opposition was made to it in the

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the Houſe of Lords. A bill was brought in, confirming the letters patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the foundations of religious houſes; but one Coxley oppoſed this; and inſinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to diſpoſe of the crown, in prejudice of the right heir: at which the Houſe expreſſed ſo great a diſlike, as ſhewed they would not have it ſo much as imagined the Lady Elizabeth could be excluded. He had a public reprimand given him for inſinuating a thing ſo much to the Queen's diſhonour.

The carriage and uſage of Lady Elizabeth all this reign.

A propoſition of marriage was at this time privately made by the King of Sweden to Lady Elizabeth: but ſhe rejected it, becauſe it was not ſent to her by the Queen; though the meſſenger declared that his maſter, as he was a gentleman, began at her; and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propoſe it next to the Queen. But ſhe aſſured him, that if the Queen would leave her to herſelf, ſhe would not change her ſtate of life. When the Queen knew of this, ſhe approved much of her ſiſter's anſwer, and ſent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the propoſition was made to her: but ſhe expreſſed her diſlike of a married ſtate ſo firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It ſeems her averſion was very great, otherwiſe the condition ſhe was then in was neither ſo eaſy, nor ſo ſecure, but that ſhe had reaſon to deſire to be out of her keeper's hands, and to apprehend that her danger increaſed, as the Queen's health was impaired: for many of the Biſhops were offering cruel counſels againſt her. She had been firſt ſent for upon the breaking out of Wyat's conſpiracy; and though ſhe lay then ſick in bed, ſhe was forced to come to Court: there ſhe was at firſt confined to her lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the traitor's gate, and was ſtrictly guarded: her ſervants were put from her, and none had acceſs to her, but thoſe that were ſpies upon her; nor was ſhe ſuffered to walk on the leads, or have the ordinary comforts of air. Some were put to the rack to draw confeſſions from them; but none accuſed her, except Wyat, and he retracted what he had ſaid, in hopes of a pardon, when he was upon the ſcaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to Woodſtock; and was kept under ſtrict guards, and very roughly uſed by Sir Henry Bennefield. But King Philip ſo far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to Court, and to admit her to her preſence. Gardiner, and many others, dealt

dealt much with her to confeſs her offences, and aſk the Queen's pardon: but ſhe always ſtood upon her innocence, and ſaid, ſhe had never offended her, not ſo much as in her thoughts. When ſhe was brought to the Queen, ſhe renewed the ſame proteſtations to her, and begged that ſhe would entertain a good opinion of her. The Queen, though ſhe preſſed her much to acknowledge ſome faultineſs, yet ſeemed to be ſatisfied with what ſhe ſaid; and parted with her in good terms; of which King Philip had ſome apprehenſions, for he had conveyed himſelf ſecretly into a corner of the room, that he might prevent a further breach, in caſe the Queen ſhould fall into heats with her. After this, her guards were diſcharged, and ſhe ſeemed to be at liberty: but ſhe had ſo many ſpies about her, that, to avoid all ſuſpicion, ſhe meddled in no ſort of buſineſs, but gave herſelf wholly to ſtudy: thus was ſhe employed for five years; during which time ſhe was under continual apprehenſions of death; which was perhaps a neceſſary preparation for that long courſe of proſperity and glory, with which ſhe was afterwards bleſſed.

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During the ſitting of Parliaments, the Biſhops did always intermit their cruelties; but as ſoon as they were over, they returned to them. Cuthbert Simpſon, one in Deacon's Orders, had been taken at the meeting in Iſlington, and was racked with extreme ſeverity, to make him confeſs all the friends they had in London: but nothing was drawn from him; ſo in March he and two others were burnt in Smithfield. In April one was burnt at Hereford; and in May three were burnt at Colcheſter: ſeveral books were printed beyond ſea, and ſecretly conveyed into England: upon which, a proclamation of a very ſtrange nature was ſet out; "That if any received "any of theſe books, and did not preſently burn them, "without either reading them, or ſhewing them to any "perſon, they were to be executed immediately by mar-"tial law." Seven were burnt in Smithfield in the end of May, and another proclamation was at that time made in the Queen's name, againſt all that ſhould ſpeak to them, or pray for them: but no authority could reſtrain thoſe prayers which devout minds offered up ſecretly to God. Six were burnt at Brentford in July: a miniſter was burnt at Norwich in that month. In Auguſt a gentleman was burnt near Wincheſter: at St. Edmundſbury four were burnt in Auguſt, and three more in November; at the ſame time a man and a woman were burnt at Iſpwich; a woman was alſo burnt at Exeter; and on the

More burnings.

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the 10th of November three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury; in all thirty-nine this year. All that were burnt during this reign, as far as I could gather the number, were two hundred and eighty-four; though Grindall, that lived in that time, writes, that in two years eight hundred were burnt: many more were impriſoned; ſixty died in priſon; others, after much cruel uſage, Bonner himſelf often diſciplining them with whips and tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep averſion to that cruelty which had tempted them to ſuch apoſtaſy. At firſt pardons were offered at the ſtake, to tempt the martyrs to the laſt moment of their life; but afterwards the prieſts' cruelty, as it continued to the laſt week of the Queen's life, ſo it increaſed to that degree, that Bembridge, who was burnt near Wincheſter, in Auguſt, crying out, when he felt the violence of the fire, that he recanted; the ſheriff made his people put out the fire, and hoped that, ſince the Clergy pretended that they deſired the converſion, and not the deſtruction of the heretics, this act of mercy would not diſpleaſe them: but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the ſentence, and to take care that he ſhould die a good catholic; for it was ſaid, if he recanted ſincerely, he was fit to die; and if he did it not ſincerely, he was not fit to live: and when this was done, the ſheriff was put in the Fleet for his preſumption.

Ill ſucceſs, and ſtrange accidents.

This year the Lord Clinton was ſent with a fleet of 120 ſhips, and 7000 landmen in it, againſt France; he made but one deſcent, and loſt 600 men in it; ſo, after an inglorious and expenſeful voyage, he returned back. The Engliſh had loſt their hearts, and began to think that Heaven was againſt them. Extraordinary accidents increaſed thoſe apprehenſions: thunder broke violently in Nottingham; the Trent ſwelled exceſſively, and did much miſchief. Hail-ſtones of a huge bigneſs fell in ſome places. Intermitting fevers were ſo univerſal and contagious, that they raged like a plague: ſo that in many places there were not people enough to reap the harveſt: all which tended to increaſe the averſion to the government, and that diſpoſed the Queen to hearken to overtures of peace. This was projected between the Biſhop of Arras and the Cardinal of Lorrain, who were the chief favourites to the two Kings, and were both much ſet on extirpating hereſy, which could not be done during the continuance of the war. The Cardinal of Lorrain was more earneſt in it, becauſe the Conſtable, who was the head

head of the faction againſt the houſe of Guiſe, was ſuſpected to favour it, and his three nephews, the Colignies, were known to incline to it. The King of France had alſo loſt another battle this year, at Gravelines, which made him deſire a peace; for he thought the driving the Engliſh out of France did compenſate both that and his loſs at St. Quintin: ſo both thoſe Princes reckoned they had ſuch advantages, that they might make peace with honour; and they being thus diſpoſed to it, a treaty was opened at Cambray. Philip in his own diſpoſition was much inclined to extirpate hereſy, and the brothers of Guiſe poſſeſſed the King of France with the ſame maxims: which ſeemed more neceſſary, becauſe hereſy had then ſpread ſo much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of Navarre declared themſelves for the Reformation; and great numbers in the public walks about Paris uſed to aſſemble at nights, and ſing David's Pſalms in verſe. The King of Navarre was the firſt Prince of the blood, and ſo was in great conſideration for his rank; but he was a weak man: his Queen was the wonder of her age, both for great parts, eminent virtues, and a moſt extraordinary ſenſe of religion. There was an edict ſet out, forbidding this pſalmody; but the dignity of theſe crowned heads, and the numbers of thoſe that were engaged in it, made it ſeem not adviſable to puniſh any for it, at leaſt till a general peace had been firſt made.

The Dauphin and Queen of Scotland married.

In April was the Dauphin married to the Queen of Scotland, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by Buchanan, reckoned to be one of the rareſt pieces of Latin poetry. The deputies ſent from Scotland were deſired to offer the Dauphin the crown of Scotland, in the right of his wife: but they ſaid, that exceeded the bounds of their commiſſion, ſo they only promiſed to repreſent the matter to the ſtates of Scotland, but could not conceal the averſion they had to it. Soon after, four of the ſeven that were ſent over died, and the fifth eſcaped narrowly. It was generally ſuſpected that they were poiſoned. When the reſt returned to Scotland, an aſſembly of the ſtates was called, in which it was agreed to allow the Dauphin the title of King, but with this proviſo, that he ſhould have no power over them; and that it was only a bare title which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him by the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrew's, who had been the chief ſticklers for the French intereſt, in hopes of the Queen Regent's protection againſt the rage of the Biſhops, in matters of religion.

In

BOOK III.

1558. A Parliament in England.

In England a Parliament was called the fifth of November: the Queen being ill, ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the nation, and the neceſſity of putting it in a poſture of defence: but the Commons were ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of affairs, that they could come to no reſolution; ſo on the 14th of that month twelve of the chief lords of both eſtates came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired them to grant a ſubſidy to defend the nation, both againſt the French and Scots: but the Commons came to no concluſion, till the Queen's death, on the 17th, put an end to the Parliament.

The Queen's death.

Her falſe conception, and the melancholy that followed it, which received a ſurcharge from the loſs of Calais, brought her into an ill habit of body, and that turned to a dropſy, which put an end to her unhappy reign, in the forty-third year of her age, after ſhe had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days. Sixteen hours after her, Cardinal Pole died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He left Priuli, a noble Venetian, that had lived twenty-ſix years in an entire friendſhip with him, his executor: but as Pole had not ſtudied to heap up much wealth, ſo Priuli, who had refuſed a Cardinal's hat, rather than be obliged thereby to loſe his company, gave it all away, and reſerved nothing to himſelf, but his breviary and diary.

Pole's death and character.

Pole was a learned, humble, prudent, and moderate man, and had certainly the beſt notions of any of his party then in England: but he was almoſt alone in them; ſo that the Queen, whoſe temper and principles were fierce and ſevere, preferred the bloody counſels of Gardiner and Bonner, to the wiſer and better methods which he propoſed. And though his ſuperſtition for the ſee of Rome continued ſtill with him, yet his eyes were opened in many things. His being legate at Trent, and his retirement at Viterbo, had both enlightened and compoſed his mind; and that, joined to the probity and ſweetneſs of his temper, produced great effects in him. His character deſerves the more to be enlarged on, becauſe there were no others of the Clergy at that time, concerning whom even a partial hiſtorian can find much good to relate; for their temporiſing and diſſimulation in the changes that were made, and their cruelty when power was put in their hands, were ſo ſcandalous, that it is ſcarce poſſible to write of them with that ſoftneſs of ſtyle that becomes an hiſtorian.

The

The Queen had been bred to ſome more than ordinary knowledge: a froward ſort of virtue, and a melancholy piety, are the beſt things that can be ſaid of her. She left the conduct of affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave herſelf up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: and though ſhe eſteemed Pole beyond them all, yet ſhe imputed the moderateneſs of his counſels rather to his temper than to his judgment; and perhaps thought that the Pope, who preſſed all Princes to ſet up courts of inquiſition for extirpating of hereſy, was more likely to be infallible than the Cardinal: and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the Lateran to extirpate heretics, under the pain of forfeiting their dominions; ſo the Pope had ſet out a decree this year, by the advice of his Cardinals, confirming all canons againſt heretics, declaring that ſuch Princes as fell into hereſy did thereby forfeit all their rights, without any ſpecial ſentence; and that any that could, might ſeize on their dominions. The Biſhops had alſo this to ſay for their ſeverities, that, by the oath which they took at their conſecrations, they were bound to *perſecute heretics with all their might*; ſo that the principles of that religion working on ſour and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that cruel counſels were more acceptable than moderate ones.

1558. The Queen's character.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Of the Settlement of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

THE morning after Queen Mary died, the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and communicated to them the news of her death, and then sent for the Commons, and declared it to them; and added, that the crown was now devolved on their present Queen Elizabeth, whose title they were resolved to proclaim. This was echoed with repeated acclamations, which were so full of joy, that it appeared how weary the nation was of the cruel and weak administration of affairs under the former reign, and that they hoped for better times under the next. And indeed the proclaiming the new Queen, both at Westminster and in the city of London, was received with such unusual transports of joy, as gave the melancholy priests just cause to fear a new revolution in matters of religion; and though the Queen's death affected them with a very sensible sorrow, yet the joy in this change was so great and so universal, that a sad look was thought criminal, and the priests were glad to vent their griefs at their forsaken altars, which were now like to be converted again to communion-tables. 1558. Queen Elizabeth proclaimed.

The Queen came from Hatfield, where she had lived private, The Queen came to London.

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private, to London. The Biſhops met her at Highgate: ſhe received them all kindly, only ſhe looked on Bonner as defiled with ſo much blood, that it ſeemed indecent to treat him with the ſweetneſs that always attends the beginnings of reigns; for common civility to a perſon ſo polluted might ſeem ſome countenance to his crimes. She paſſed through London, in the midſt of all the joys that people, delivered from the terror of fires and ſlavery, could expreſs. She quickly ſhewed, that ſhe was reſolved to retain no impreſſions of the hardſhips ſhe had met with in her ſiſter's time, and treated thoſe that had uſed her worſt with great gentleneſs, Benneſield himſelf not excepted; only with a ſharpneſs of raillery ſhe uſed to call him her Jaiſor. She gave notice of her coming to the crown to all foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King Philip, for the good offices he had done her. Among the reſt, ſhe writ to Sir Edward Karn, that was her ſiſter's ambaſſador at Rome. But the Pope in his uſual ſtyle told him, that England was a fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high preſumption in her to take the crown without his conſent, eſpecially ſhe being illegitimate: but he ſaid, if ſhe would renounce her pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, ſhe might expect from him all the favour that could conſiſt with the dignity of the Apoſtolic ſee. The Queen, hearing this, recalled Karn's power; but he, being a zealous Papiſt, continued ſtill at Rome.

Philip propoſes marriage to the Queen, but in vain.

Philip propoſed marriage to the Queen, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation for it from Rome: but the Queen, as ſhe continued all her life averſe to that ſtate of life, ſo ſhe knew how unacceptable a ſtranger, and particularly a Spaniard, would be to her people. She did not much value the Pope's diſpenſation; and if two ſiſters might marry the ſame perſon, then two brothers might likewiſe marry the ſame woman; which would have overthrown all the arguments for her father's divorce with Queen Catharine, upon which the validity of her mother's marriage and her legitimation did depend. Yet though ſhe firmly reſolved not to marry King Philip, ſhe thought that, during the treaty at Cambray, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes; ſo he ſent to Rome for a diſpenſation; but the French ſent to oppoſe it, and ſet up a pretenſion for the young Queen of Scotland, as the rightful heir to the crown of Scotland.

The counſels about changing religion.

The Queen continued to employ moſt of her ſiſter's Privy Counſellors; and they had turned ſo often before, in matters

matters of religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that point: but to these she added divers others; the most eminent of whom were Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon. She ordered all that were imprisoned on the account of religion to be set at liberty: upon which, one, that used to talk pleasantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still prisoners, and that the people longed much to see them at liberty. She answered, she would talk with themselves, and know their own mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen Mary's Parliaments, because force was used in the first, and the writs for another were not lawful, since the title of *Supreme Head* was left out in the summons, before it was taken away by law: but it was thought a precedent of dangerous consequence, to annul Parliaments upon errors in writs, or particular disorders. The Queen desired, that all the changes that should be made might be so managed, as to breed as little division among her people as was possible: she did not like the title of *Supreme Head*, as importing too great an authority. She loved magnificence in religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her inclined to keep images still in churches: and, that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides. A scheme was formed of the method in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in Cecil's hands.

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A scheme proposed.

"It was thought necessary to do nothing till a Parliament were called. The Queen had reason to look for all "the mischief that the Pope could do her, who would set on "the French, and, by their means, the Scots, and perhaps "the Irish, against her. The Clergy, and those that "were employed in Queen Mary's time, would oppose "it, and do what they could to inflame the nation; and "the greater part of the people loved the pomp of the "old ceremonies. It was therefore proposed, that the "Queen should on any terms make peace with France, "and encourage the party in Scotland that desired a "reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for "their cruelty, and it would be easy to bring them with-"in the statute of *præmunire*. Care was also to be taken "to expose the former counsellors, for the ill conduct of "affairs in Queen Mary's time, and so to lessen their "credit. It was also proposed to look well to the com-"missions, both for the peace and the militia, and to the

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"universities. Some learned men were to be ordered to "consider what alterations were fit to be made, and by "what steps they should proceed." It was thought fit to begin with the communion in both kinds.

The impatience of some.

Now did the exiles, that had fled beyond sea, return again; and some zealous people began in many places to break images, and set up King Edward's service again. Upon this, the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the service, should be said in English, and that no elevation should be used in the mass: but required her subjects by proclamation to avoid all innovations, and use no other forms but those that she kept up in her chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. She ordered her sister's funeral to be performed with the ordinary magnificence: White, Bishop of Winchester, that preached the sermon, not only extolled her government much, but made severe reflections on the present state of affairs; for which he was confined to his house for some time.

27 Decem.

Parker refuses the see of Canterbury long.

Many sees were now vacant; so one of the first things that came under consultation was the finding out fit men for them. Dr. Parker was pitched on, as the fittest man for the see of Canterbury: he had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and had been employed in instructing the Queen in the points of religion when she was young: he was well known to Sir Nicholas Bacon, and both he and Cecil gave so high a character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular esteem, made them resolve on advancing him. But as soon as he knew it, he used all the arguments he possibly could against it, both from the weakness of his body, and his unfitness for so great a charge. He desired that he might be put in some small benefice of twenty nobles a year; so far was he from aspiring to great wealth or high dignities: and, as Cranmer had done before him, he continued for many months so averse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such promotions are generally, if not greedily, sought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken; but this looked liker the practices in ancient than modern times. In the best ages of the Church, instead of that *ambitus* which has given such scandal to the world in later times, it was ordinary for men to fly from the offer of great preferments, and to retire to a wilderness or a monastery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thought above their merit or capacity to discharge. And this will still shew itself in all such as have a just sense of the pastoral care, and consider

ſider the diſcharging that, more than the raiſing or enriching themſelves or their families. And it was thought no ſmall honour to the Reformation, that the two chief inſtruments that promoted it, Cranmer and Parker, gave ſuch evidences of a primitive ſpirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanced. 1558.

The ſeals were taken from Heath, and put in Bacon's hands, who was declared Lord Keeper, and had all the dignity and authority of the Chancellor's office, without the title; which was perhaps an effect of his great modeſty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was eminent in himſelf, ſo he was happy in being father to the great Sir Francis Bacon, one of the chief glories of the Engliſh nation. 1559. Bacon made Lord Keeper.

On the 13th of January the Queen was crowned. When ſhe entered into her chariot at the Tower, ſhe offered up an humble acknowledgment to God for delivering her out of that lion's den, and preſerving her to that joyful day. She paſſed through London in great triumph, and received all the expreſſions of joy from her people with ſo much ſweetneſs, as gained as much on their hearts, as her ſiſter's ſourneſs had alienated them from her. Under one of the triumphal arches, a child came down as from heaven, repreſenting Truth with a Bible in his hand, which ſhe received on her knees, and kiſſed it, and ſaid, ſhe preferred that above all the other preſents that were that day made her. She was crowned by Oglethorp, Biſhop of Carliſle, for all the other Biſhops refuſed to aſſiſt at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that ſhe intended to make changes in religion; and though many of them had changed often before, yet they reſolved now to ſtick firmer to that which they had ſo lately profeſſed, and for which they had ſhed ſo much blood. The Queen is crowned.

The Parliament was opened on the 25th of January. Bacon made a long ſpeech both concerning matters of religion, and the ſtate of the nation. He deſired they would examine the former religion without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborne, and extremes avoided; and that things might be ſo ſettled, that all might agree in an uniformity in divine worſhip. He laid open the errors of the former reign, and aggravated the loſs of Calais; but ſhewed, that it could not be eaſily recovered. He made a high panegyric on the Queen: but when he ſhewed the neceſſities ſhe was in, he ſaid, ſhe would deſire no ſupply, but what they ſhould A Parliament is called.

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freely and cheerfully offer. The Houſe of Commons began at a debate, whether the want of the title of *Supreme Head* in the enumeration of the Queen's titles, made a nullity in the writs, by which this and ſome former Parliaments had been ſummoned: but they concluded in the negative.

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The peace at Cambray.

The treaty at Cambray ſtuck chiefly at the reſtitution of Calais; and King Philip for a great while inſiſted ſo poſitively on it, that he refuſed to make peace on other terms. England had loſt it by a war, in which they engaged on his account; ſo in honour he was bound to ſee to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vaniſhed, and when he ſaw ſhe was going to make changes in religion, he grew more careleſs of her intereſts, and told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that, unleſs they would enter into a league for keeping up the war ſix years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs, and make peace. So the Queen liſtened to propoſitions ſent her from France. She complained of the Queen of Scotland's aſſuming the title and arms of England. It was anſwered, that, ſince ſhe carried the title and arms of France, ſhe had no reaſon to quarrel much on that account. She ſaw ſhe could not make war with France alone, and knew that Philip had made a ſeparate peace. She had no mind to begin her reign with a war, that would probably be unſucceſsful, or demand ſubſidies that would be ſo grievous, as that thereby ſhe might loſe the affections of her people. The loſs of Calais was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her ſiſter's memory. And ſince ſhe intended to make ſome changes in matters of religion, it was neceſſary to be at quiet with her neighbours: upon this, ſhe reſolved to make peace with France on the beſt terms that could be obtained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight years Calais ſhould either be reſtored, or five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid the Queen: yet if during that time ſhe made war, either on France or Scotland, ſhe was to forfeit her right to Calais. Aymouth in Scotland was to be raſed, and all differences on the borders there were to be determined by ſome deputed on both ſides. This being adjuſted, a general peace between the crowns of England, France, and Spain was concluded: and thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous conſultations that the continuance of a war might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to ſettle matters at home.

Acts paſſed in Parliament.

The firſt bill that was brought to try the temper of the Parliament, was for the reſtitution of the tenths and firſt-fruits

fruits to the crown. Againſt this all the Biſhops proteſted; but that was all the oppoſition made to it. By it, not only that tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the impropriated benefices, which Queen Mary had ſurrendered, were reſtored to the crown. 1559.

The Commons pray the Queen to marry.

After this, the Commons made an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to chooſe ſuch a huſband as might make both herſelf and the nation happy. She received this very kindly, ſince they had neither limited her to time nor nation; but declared, that as hitherto ſhe had lived with great ſatisfaction in a ſingle ſtate, and had refuſed the propoſitions that had been made her both in her brother's and ſiſter's reign, ſo ſhe had no inclination to change her courſe of life. If ever ſhe did it, ſhe would take care that it ſhould be for the good and to the ſatisfaction of her people. She thought ſhe was married to the nation at her coronation, and looked on her people as her children; and ſhe would be well contented, if her tombſtone might tell poſterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned ſo long, and lived and died a virgin.* There was little more progreſs made in this matter, ſave, that a committee was appointed by both Houſes to conſider what ſhould be the authority of the perſon whom the Queen might happen to marry; but ſhe ſent them a meſſage, to proceed to other affairs, and let that alone.

Her title to the crown acknowledged.

A bill for the recognition of her title to the crown was put in: it was not thought neceſſary to repeal the ſentence of her mother's divorce, for the crown purged all defects; and it was thought needleſs to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at leaſt caſting ſome reproach on her father; ſo it was in general words enacted, "That they did aſſuredly believe and declare, "that by the laws of God and the realm ſhe was their "lawful Queen, and was rightly and lineally deſcended." This was thought a much wiſer way, than if they had examined the ſentence of divorce, that paſſed upon the confeſſion of a precontract, which muſt have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in ſilence.

Acts concerning religion.

Bills were put in for the Engliſh ſervice, for reviving King Edward's laws, and for annexing the ſupremacy again to the crown. To that concerning the ſupremacy, two temporal Lords, and nine Biſhops, with the Abbot of Weſtminſter, diſſented. It was propoſed to revive the law for making the Biſhops by letters patents, as was in King Edward's time: but they choſe rather to revive the act for electing them, made in the 25 Hen. VIII. They revived

BOOK IV. vived all acts made againſt the Pope's power in King Henry's time, and repealed thoſe made by Queen Mary. They enacted an oath, for acknowledging the Queen

1559. *Supreme Governor in all cauſes, and over all perſons.* Thoſe that refuſed it were to forfeit all offices that they held either in Church or State, and to be under a diſability during life. If any ſhould advance the authority of a foreign power, for the firſt offence they were to be fined or impriſoned, for the ſecond to be in a *præmunire*, and the third was made treaſon. The Queen was alſo empowered to give commiſſions for judging and reforming eccleſiaſtical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be hereſy, but what had been already ſo judged by the authority of the Scriptures, or the firſt four General Councils. All points that were not decided either by expreſs words of Scripture, or by thoſe Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The title of *Supreme Head* was changed, partly becauſe the Queen had ſome ſcruples about it, partly to moderate the oppoſition which the Popiſh party might otherwiſe make to it: and the refuſing the oath was made no other way penal, but that all offices or benefices were forfeited upon it; which was a great mitigation of the ſeverity in King Henry's time. The Biſhops are ſaid to have made ſeveral ſpeeches againſt this in the Houſe of Lords: but that which goes under the name of Heath's ſpeech muſt be a forgery; for in it the ſupremacy is called a new and unheard-of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had ſworn it ſo often, both under King Henry and King Edward. Tonſtall came not to this Parliament; and he was ſo offended with the cruelties of the laſt reign, that he had withdrawn himſelf into his dioceſe, where he burnt none himſelf: upon that it was now thought, that he was ſo much alienated from thoſe methods, that ſome had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. Heath had been likewiſe very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the power given the Queen, to appoint ſome to reform and direct all eccleſiaſtical matters, was the court called the *High Commiſſion Court* founded; which indeed was nothing but the ſharing that authority, which was in one perſon in King Henry's time, into many hands: for that court had no other authority but that which was lodged formerly in Cromwell, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be truſted to one man.

Great complaints were made of ſeditious ſermons, preached

preached by the Popiſh Clergy: upon which the Queen followed the precedent that her ſiſter had made, and forbid all preaching, excepting only by ſuch as obtained a licenſe under the Great Seal for it: ſhe likewiſe ſent an order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a *præmunire*, to make no canons. Yet the Lower Houſe, in an addreſs to the Upper Houſe, declared for the corporal preſence, and that the maſs was a propitiatory ſacrifice, and for the ſupremacy, and that matters of religion fell only under the cognizance of the paſtors of the Church. The greateſt part of both the univerſities had alſo ſet their hands to all theſe points, except the laſt.

1559. Preaching without licenſe forbidden.

This, it ſeems, was the rather added by the clerks of convocation, to hinder a public conference, which the Queen had appointed between the Biſhops and the reformed Divines. It was firſt propoſed to Heath, who was ſtill a Privy Counſellor; and he, after ſome conference about it with his brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a ſide were to diſpute about three points: worſhip in an unknown tongue; the power that every particular Church had to alter rites and ceremonies; and the maſs's being a propitiatory ſacrifice for the dead and the living. All was to be given in writing. The Biſhops were to begin in every point, and they were to interchange their papers, and anſwer them. The laſt of March was the firſt day of conference, which was held in Weſtminſter Abbey, in the preſence of the Privy Council, and both Houſes of Parliament. The Biſhop of Wincheſter pretended, there had been ſome miſtake in the order, and that their paper was not quite finiſhed; but that Dr. Cole ſhould deliver in diſcourſe what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be copied out. The ſecret of this was, the Biſhops had reſolved openly to vindicate their doctrine, but not to give any papers, or enter into diſpute with heretics, or ſo far to acknowledge the Queen's ſupremacy, as to engage in conferences at her command. Cole was obſerved to read almoſt all he ſaid, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a diſcourſe ſo, as if moſt part of it had been extemporary.

A public conference about religion.

The ſubſtance of it was, that though the worſhip in a known tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as ſhe changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received faſting, though it was inſtituted after ſupper. To eat blood was forbid, and a community of goods was ſet up by the Apoſtles; yet it was in the power of the Church to alter theſe

Arguments for and againſt the worſhip in an unknown tongue.

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1559. was ſpread over many countries. The people might reap profit from prayers which they underſtood not, as well as abſent perſons. The Queen of Ethiopia's Eunuch read Iſaiah, though he underſtood him not; and Philip was ſent to explain that prophecy to him.

Horn, when this was ended, read the paper drawn by the Reformers: he began it with a prayer, and a proteſtation of their ſincerity. They founded their aſſertion on St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Corinthians; in which he enjoined them to pray with underſtanding, that ſo the unlearned might ſay *Amen*; and that nothing ſhould be ſpoken that might give an uncertain ſound, but that all things ſhould be done to edification; and though the ſpeaking with ſtrange tongues was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghoſt, yet he forbids the uſing it, where there was no interpreter. Things ſo expreſsly enjoined could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The Jews had their worſhip in the vulgar tongue; ſo had alſo the moſt barbarous nations, when converted to Chriſtianity. The natural uſe of ſpeech was, that every thing which was ſaid might be underſtood. Quotations were brought, to ſhew that Pſalms were daily ſung in the vulgar tongue among all nations.

When they ended their paper, it was received with a ſhout of applauſe, and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, ſigned by them all. But the Biſhops refuſed to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for conſidering the ſecond point: but the Biſhops reſolved to go no further in the conference; for they ſaw by the applauſe of the people, that the audience was more favourable to the other ſide: ſo the next day of meeting they offered an anſwer to the paper given in the former day by the Reformers. The Lord Keeper told them, that, according to the order laid down, they were firſt to go through the three points, before they might be ſuffered to reply: but they ſaid, Cole had the former day only given his own ſenſe in an extemporary diſcourſe. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole audience, ſo the Lord Keeper required them to go to the ſecond point; but they refuſed to begin, and moved that the other ſide ſhould be made to begin: and though the Lord Keeper ſhewed them that this was contrary to the order agreed on beforehand, yet they continued all reſolute, and would not proceed any

any further; Fecknam only excepted: but he ſaid, he could do nothing alone, ſince the reſt would not join with him. The Biſhops of Winchester and Lincoln ſaid, the faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a ſynod of Divines: and it gave too great an encouragement to heretics to diſpute with them; and that both the Queen and her Council deſerved to be excommunicated for ſuffering them to argue againſt the Catholic faith, before an unlearned multitude. Upon this they were ſent to the Tower, and the conference broke up. But the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their ſide; and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in thoſe conferences and diſputes that were in the beginning of the former reign. The Papiſts, on the other hand, ſaid, it was viſible the audience was prepoſſeſſed, and that the conference was appointed only to make way for the changes that the Parliament was then about, with the pomp of a victory; and therefore as they blamed the Biſhops for undertaking it, ſo they juſtified them for breaking it off.

The Engliſh ſervice is again ſet up.

The Book of Common Prayer was now reviſed; the moſt conſiderable alteration was, that the expreſs declaration, which was made in the ſecond book, ſet out by King Edward, againſt the corporal preſence, was left out, that ſo none might be driven out of the communion of the Church upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a ſpeculative point, in which people were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not ſpecially mentioned in the act; which gave occaſion to Bonner afterwards to queſtion the legality of ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common Prayer Book in the 5th year of King Edward; and the whole book, then ſet out, was now confirmed; ſo that by a ſpecial act, made ſome years after this, it was declared, that that office was underſtood to be a part of it.

Speeches made againſt it by ſome Biſhops.

When the bill for the Engliſh ſervice was put into the Houſe of Lords, Heath, and Scot Biſhop of Cheſter, and Fecknam, made long ſpeeches againſt it, grounded chiefly on the authority of the Church, the antiquity of the eſtabliſhed religion, and novelty of the other, which was changed every day, as appeared in K. Edward's time. They ſaid, the conſent of the Catholic Church, and the perpetual ſucceſſion in St. Peter's chair, ought to have more authority than a few preachers riſen up of late. They alſo enlarged much againſt the ſacrilege, the robbing of churches, and the breaking of images, that had been committed by the

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the Reformers, and thoſe that favoured them. What was ſaid in oppoſition to this in the Houſe of Lords is not known; but a great deal of it may be gathered from the paper which the reformed Divines drew upon the ſecond point, about which they were appointed to diſpute, of the power that every Church had to reform itſelf. This they founded on the Epiſtles of St. Paul to the particular Churches, and St. John's to the angels of the ſeven Churches. In the firſt three ages there were no General Councils, but every Biſhop in his dioceſe, or ſuch few Biſhops as could aſſemble together, condemned hereſies, or determined matters that were conteſted; ſo did alſo the orthodox Biſhops after Arianiſm had ſo overſpread the world, that even the ſee of Rome was defiled with it. And abuſes were condemned in many places, without ſtaying for a general concurrence; though that was then more poſſible, when all was under one Emperor, than it was at preſent. Even in Queen Mary's time, many ſuperſtitions, as pilgrimages, and the worſhipping of relics, were laid aſide. Therefore they concluded, that the Queen might, by her own authority, reform even the Clergy, as Hezekiah and Joſias had done under the old law. When the act paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, eight ſpiritual Lords and nine temporal Lords proteſted againſt it; among whom was the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer. Another act paſſed with more oppoſition, that the Queen might reſerve ſome lands belonging to biſhoprics to herſelf, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them impropriated tithes to the value of them: but this was much oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence there might new ſpoils be made of church lands; ſo that, upon a diviſion of the Houſe, 90 were againſt it, but 133 were for it; and ſo it was paſſed. All religious houſes founded by the late Queen were ſuppreſſed, and united to the crown. The deprivation of the Popiſh Biſhops in King Edward's time was declared valid in law; by which all the leaſes which had been made by thoſe that were put in their ſees, were good in law. A ſubſidy, and two tenths, and two fifteenths, with the bill of tonnage and poundage, were given; and ſo the Parliament was diſſolved on the 8th of May.

Some bills were propoſed, but not paſſed: one was for reſtoring the Biſhops deprived by Queen Mary, who were Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale: but the firſt of theſe had been made to reſign; and the laſt, being extreme old, reſolved to follow Latimer's example, and not return to his ſee:

ſee: ſo it was not thought worth the while to make an act for Scory alone. Another bill, that was laid aſide, was for reſtoring all churchmen to their benefices that had been turned out becauſe they were married: but, it ſeems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with ſuch an act. Another bill that came to nothing was for empowering thirty-two perſons to reviſe the eccleſiaſtical laws: but as this laſt was then let fall, ſo, to the great prejudice of this Church, it has ſlept ever ſince.

Many Biſhops turned out.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the Biſhops; and all, except Kitchin, Biſhop of Llandaff, refuſed it. Tonſtall continued unreſolved till September, and ſo long did the Queen delay the putting it to him: but at laſt he refuſed it, and ſo loſt his biſhopric. It was generally believed that he quitted it rather, becauſe, being extreme old, he thought it indecent to forſake his brethren, and to be ſtill changing, than out of any ſcruple he had in his conſcience concerning it. All the Biſhops were at firſt put under confinement, but they were ſoon after ſet at liberty; only Bonner, White, and Watſon, were kept priſoners. Many complaints were brought againſt Bonner, for the cruelties he had been guilty of againſt law, and the tortures he had put his priſoners to himſelf: but yet the Queen reſolved not to ſtain the beginnings of her reign with blood; and the reformed Divines were, in imitation of Nazianzen, (upon the like revolution in the Roman empire,) exhorting their followers not to think of revenging themſelves, but to leave that to God. Heath lived privately at his own houſe, in which he was ſometimes viſited by the Queen. Tonſtall and Thirlby were appointed to live in Lambeth, with the new Archbiſhop. White and Watſon were moroſe and haughty men, much addicted to the ſchool-divinity, which has been often obſerved to incline people to an overvaluing of themſelves. All the other Biſhops, except Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, that had been Biſhops of Worceſter, Cheſter, and St. Aſaph, continued ſtill in England; but theſe had leave to go beyond ſea. A few gentlemen, and all the nuns, went likewiſe out of England: and ſo gentle was the Queen, that ſhe denied that liberty to none that aſked it.

The Queen inclined to keep images in churches.

The Queen inclined to keep images ſtill in churches; and though the reformed Divines made many applications to divert her from it, yet ſhe was not eaſily wrought on. The Divines put all their reaſons againſt them in writing, and deſired her to commit the determining of that matter

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to a synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable resolution upon political considerations. They laid before her the second Commandment, against making images for God, and the curse pronounced against those that made an image, and put it in a *secret place*, that is, in an oratory. The Book of Wisdom calls them *a snare for the feet of the ignorant*. St. John charged the Christians to *beware of idols*, and not only of worshipping them. The use of them fed superstition, and ended in idolatry, and would breed great divisions among themselves. They shewed that images were not allowed in the Church till the seventh century; and the contests that were raised about them in the eastern empire occasioned such distractions, as in a great measure made way for its ruin, and laid it open to the Mahometans. These things wrought so much on the Queen, that she was at last content they should be put down.

A general visitation.

It was now resolved to send visitors over England; so injunctions were prepared for them. Those appointed in the first year of King Edward were now renewed with some little alteration: to which, "rules were added concerning the marriages of the Clergy, for avoiding the "scandals given by them. The Clergy were also required to use habits according to their degrees in the universities. All people were to resort to their own parish-"church; and some were to be appointed to examine "and give notice of those who went not to church. "All slanderous words were forbidden. No books were to "be printed without license. Enquiry was ordered to "be made into all the proceedings against heretics, during "the late reign. Reverence was to be expressed, when the "name *Jesus* was pronounced. An explanation was made "of the supremacy, that the Queen did not pretend to "any authority for ministering divine service; but only "that she had the sovereignty over all persons, and that "no foreign power was to be acknowledged: and such "as had scruples about it might declare that they took "it only in that sense. A communion-table was to be set "where the altars stood formerly; but on Sacrament-"days it was to be brought into the most convenient "place in the chancel. The bread for the Sacrament was "to have no figure on it, and to be thicker than wafers. "The bidding prayer was appointed to be the same that "had been used in King Edward's time, only an expres-"sion that imported a prayer for the dead was changed." The obliging churchmen to go always in their habits was

was thought a good mean to make them obſerve the decencies of their function, when their habit declared what they were, and would be a reproach to them, if they behaved themſelves unſuitably to it. The bowing at the name *Jeſus* was conſidered as ſuch an acknowledgment of his divinity, as was made by ſtanding up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The liberty given to explain in what ſenſe the oath of ſupremacy was taken, gave a great evidence of the moderation of the Queen's government; that ſhe would not lay ſnares for her people, which is always a ſign of a wicked and tyrannical prince. But the Queen reckoned, that if ſuch comprehenſive methods could be found out, as would once bring her people under an union, though perhaps there might remain a great diverſity of opinions, that would wear off with the preſent age, and in the next generation all would be of one mind. And this had the good effect that was expected from it, till the Pope and the King of Spain began to open ſeminaries beyond ſea for a miſſion to England; which have ſince that time been the occaſion of almoſt all the diſtractions this nation has laboured under.

The High Commiſſion Court.

The Queen granted commiſſions for the two provinces of Canterbury and York, conſiſting moſt of the Laity; ſome few of the Clergy being mixed with them: "empowering them to viſit the churches, to ſuſpend or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to proceed againſt ſcandalous perſons, by impriſonment or church-cenſures; to reſerve penſions for ſuch as reſigned their benefices, and to reſtore ſuch as had been unlawfully put out in the late reign." By theſe reſerved penſions, as the Clergy that were turned out were kept from extreme want, ſo they were in great meaſure bound to their good behaviour by them. The empowering laymen to deprive churchmen, or excommunicate, could not be eaſily excuſed; but was as juſtifiable as the commiſſions to lay-chancellors for thoſe things were. There are nine thouſand four hundred benefices in England; but of all theſe, the number of thoſe who choſe to reſign, rather than to take the oath, was very inconſiderable. Fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, was the whole number of thoſe that were turned out. But it was believed that the greateſt part complied againſt their conſciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died while that race of incumbents lived, and the next ſucceſſor had been of another religion.

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1559. Parker is very unwillingly made Archbishop of Canterbury.

The see of Canterbury was now to be filled; but Parker stood out long, before he would submit to a burden which he thought disproportioned to his strength. He said, he was afraid of incurring God's indignation, for accepting a trust which he could not discharge as he ought, having neither strength of body nor mind equal to it. He was threatened with imprisonment, in case of refusal; but he said, he would suffer it cheerfully, rather than engage in a station that was so far above him: and he had such a sense of the episcopal function, that he resolved never to aspire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and desired to employ these well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew he could not answer the expectations that some had of him. He wished the Queen would seek out a man, that was neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous; and expressed the great apprehensions he had, that some men, who he perceived were men still, notwithstanding all the trials they passed through of late, would revive those heats that were begun beyond sea; and that they would fall a quarrelling among themselves, which would prove a pleasant diversion to the Papists. But when by many repeated commands he was required to accept of that great advancement, he at last writ to the Queen herself, and protested, "that out "of regard to God, and the good of her service, he held "himself bound in conscience to declare to her his great "unworthiness for so high a function; and so, as prostrate "at her feet, he begged her to press it on him no further: "for that office did require a man of more learning, virtue, "and experience, than he perfectly knew was in himself." But as these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly some of the necessary qualifications, which were true humility, and a contempt of the world; so they tended to increase the esteem which the Queen and her ministers had of him: and they persisting in their resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was, upon the sending of the *congé d'élire*, chosen by the Chapter of Canterbury; and in September the Queen issued out a warrant for his consecration, which was directed to Tonstall, Bourn, and Pole, (the last was Cardinal Pole's brother, and was Bishop of Peterborough,) and to Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory: by which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the laws, and to continue in their sees: but they refusing to execute this, there was a second warrant directed to Kitchin, Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, and to Bale, Bishop

Bishop of Ossory, and two suffragan Bishops, to consecrate Parker: and on the 17th of December he was consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination set out under King Edward, only the giving the pastoral staff was now omitted. BOOK IV. 1559.

The other Bishops consecrated.

After this, Parker ordained Grindal for the see of London; Cox for Ely; Horn for Winchester; Sandys for Worcester; Merick for Bangor; Young for St. David's; Bullingham for Lincoln; Jewel for Salisbury; Davis for St. Asaph; Guest for Rochester; Berkley for Bath and Wells; Bentham for Coventry and Litchfield; Alley for Exeter; and Parre for Peterborough; Barlow and Scory were put in the sees of Chichester and Hereford. The sees of York and Durham were kept vacant a year, upon some hopes that Heath and Tonstall would have conformed: but in the year 1561, Young was translated from St. David's to York, and Pilkington was put in Durham.

The fable of the Nag's Head confuted.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the impudence of the contrivance of the Nag's Head ordination, which was first vented in King James's time, above forty years after this. It was then said, that the elect Bishops met at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, and were in great disorder, because Kitchin refused to consecrate them; upon which, Scory made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their heads, saying, *Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely*; and that this was all the ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that Neale, one of Bonner's chaplains, watched them into the tavern, and saw all that was done through the key-hole. This was given out when all that were concerned in it were dead; yet the old Earl of Nottingham, who had seen Parker's consecration, was still alive, and declared, that he saw it done at Lambeth, in the chapel, according to the Common Prayer Book; and both the records of the crown, and the registers of the see of Canterbury, do plainly confute this. The author did also see the original instrument then made, describing all the particulars relating to Parker's consecration, preserved still in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, among the other manuscripts which he left to that house, in which he had his education.

The Articles of the Church published.

The first thing which the Bishops set about was the publishing the doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a review was made of those Articles that had been compiled under King Edward the Sixth, and some small alterations were made. The most considerable was, that a long

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determination, that was made formerly againſt the corporal preſence, was now left out; and it was only ſaid, *That the body of Chriſt was given and received in a ſpiritual manner, and that the means by which it was received was faith.* Yet in the original ſubſcription of the Articles by both Houſes of Convocation, ſtill extant, there was a full declaration made againſt it, in theſe words: "Chriſt, when he aſcend-"ed into heaven, made his body immortal, but took "not from it the nature of a body. But it ſtill retains, ac-"cording to the Scriptures, a true human body, which "muſt be always in one definite place, and cannot be "ſpread into many or all places at once: ſince then Chriſt "was carried up to heaven, and is to remain there to the "end of the world, and is to come from thence, and from "no other place, to judge the quick and the dead; none "of the faithful ought to believe or profeſs the real, or, "as they call it, the corporal preſence of his fleſh and "blood in the Euchariſt." But the deſign of the Queen's Council was to unite once the whole nation into the communion of the Church; and it was feared, that ſo expreſs a definition againſt the real preſence would have driven many out of the communion of the Church, who might have been otherwiſe kept in it; and therefore it was thought enough to aſſert only the ſpiritual preſence; but that it was not neceſſary to condemn the corporal preſence in ſuch expreſs words; and therefore, though the Convocation had ſo poſitively determined this matter, it was thought more conducing to the public peace, to daſh it in the original copy, and to ſuppreſs it in the printed copies.

A tranſlation of the Bible.

The next thing they took in hand was a new tranſlation of the Bible; ſeveral books of it were given to ſeveral Biſhops, who were appointed to call for ſuch Divines as were learned in the Greek or Hebrew tongues, and by their aſſiſtance they were to tranſlate that parcel that fell to their ſhare; and ſo when one had completed that which was aſſigned to him, he was to offer it to the correction of thoſe that were appointed to tranſlate the other parts; and after every book had thus paſſed the cenſure of all who were employed in this matter, then it was approved of. And ſo great haſte made they in this important work, that within two or three years the whole tranſlation was finiſhed.

The want of church diſcipline.

There was one thing yet wanting to complete the reformation of this Church, which was the reſtoring a primitive diſcipline againſt ſcandalous perſons, the eſtabliſh-

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ing the government of the Church in eccleſiaſtical hands, and the taking it out of lay-hands, who have ſo long profaned it; and have expoſed the authority of the Church, and the cenſures of it, chiefly excommunication, to the contempt of the nation; by which the reverence due to holy things is in ſo great a meaſure loſt, and the dreadfulleſt of all cenſures is now become the moſt ſcorned and deſpiſed. But, upon what reaſons it cannot be now known, this was not carried on with that zeal, nor brought to that perfection, which was neceſſary. The want of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline ſet on ſome to deviſe many new platforms, for the adminiſtration of it in every pariſh; all which gave great offence to the government, and were ſo much oppoſed by it, that they came to nothing. Other differences were raiſed concerning the veſtments of the Clergy; and ſome factions growing up in the Court, theſe differences were heightened by thoſe who intended to ſerve their own ends, by making the ſeveral parties quarrel with ſo much animoſity, that it could ſcarce be poſſible to reconcile them. Since that time, the fatal diviſion of this nation, into the court and country party, has been the chief occaſion of the growth and continuance of thoſe differences; ſo that all the attempts which have been made by moderate men to compoſe them have proved ineffectual. BOOK IV. 1559.

The reformation in Scotland.

At this time there was a great revolution of affairs in Scotland. When there was a probability of bringing the treaty of Cambray to good effect, the Cardinal of Lorrain writ to his ſiſter, the Queen Regent of Scotland, and to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and let them know the reſolution that was taken to extirpate hereſy, and exhorted them to uſe their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent ſaw that, by doing this, ſhe ſhould not only break her faith with the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the aſſurance ſhe gave them of her protection, but that the peace of Scotland would be endangered; for as their party was ſtrong, ſo it was not to be doubted but the Queen of England would ſupport them, and ſo ſhe was not eaſily brought to follow her brother's cruel counſels. But the Biſhops ſhut their eyes upon all dangers, and reſolved to ſtrike a terror into the people by ſome ſevere executions. They began with Walter Mell, an old infirm prieſt, who had preached in ſome places againſt many of the opinions then received: he was particularly accuſed for having aſſerted the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the ſacrifice of the

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maſs, and tranſubſtantiation, with ſome other particulars; all which he confeſſed, and upon his refuſal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet ſo averſe were the people from thoſe cruelties, that it was not eaſy to find any that would execute the ſentence; nor would any do ſo much as ſell a cord to tie him to the ſtake, ſo that the Archbiſhop was forced to ſend for the cords of his own pavilion. The old man expreſſed great firmneſs of mind, and ſuch cheerfulneſs in his ſufferings, that the people were much affected at it: and this being every where looked on as a prologue to greater ſeverities that were to follow, the nobility and gentry began to conſider what was fit to be done. They had offered a petition to the Queen Regent the laſt year, that the worſhip might be in the vulgar tongue, that the communion might be given in both kinds, and that ſcandalous prieſts might be turned out, and worthy men be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate ſo great a party, before the Dauphin was declared King of Scotland, promiſed that they ſhould not be puniſhed for having their prayers in the vulgar tongue. In Parliament they moved for a repeal of the laws for the Biſhops proceedings againſt heretics, and that nothing might be judged hereſy, but that which was condemned by the Word of God: but the Queen Regent told them theſe things could not paſs, becauſe of the oppoſition which was made to them by the ſpiritual eſtate; upon that they made a proteſtation, that whereas they had modeſtly moved for a redreſs of abuſes, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their petition, and the violences that might follow.

But when the Queen had gained her end in relation to the Dauphin, ſhe ordered a citation to be ſerved on all the reformed preachers. The Earl of Glencairn was, upon that, ſent to put her in mind of her former promiſes. She anſwered him roughly, "that maugre all that would take "thoſe men's part, they ſhould be baniſhed Scotland;" and added, "that Princes were bound only to obſerve their "promiſes, ſo far as they found it convenient for them to "do it." To this he replied, that if ſhe renounced her promiſes, they would renounce their obedience to her.

It is firſt ſet up in St. John's Town.

In St. John's Town, that party entered into the churches, and had ſermons publicly in them. The miniſters were coming from all parts to appear on the 20th of May, for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen, apprehending the ill effects of a great confluence of people, ſent them word not to come,

come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their non-appearance, they were all declared rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to thoſe that were met at St. John's Town. And the heat of the people was raiſed to that pitch, that they broke in upon the houſes of the monks and friars, and after they had diſtributed all that they found in them, except that which the monks conveyed away, to the poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen ſo much, that ſhe reſolved to puniſh that town in a moſt exemplary manner: ſo ſhe gathered the French ſoldiers together, with ſuch others as would join with her: but the Earl of Glencairn gathered 2500 men together, and with incredible haſte he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000 armed men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them: ſo an agreement was made. An oblivion was promiſed for all that was paſt; matters of religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. John's Town, without carrying her Frenchmen with her: but ſhe carried them with her into the town; and as ſhe put a garriſon in it, ſo ſhe puniſhed many for what was paſt; and when her promiſes were objected to her, ſhe anſwered, "Princes were not to be "ſtrictly charged with their promiſes, eſpecially when "they were made to heretics; and that ſhe thought it "no ſin to kill and deſtroy them all, and then would ex-"cuſe it as well as could be, when it was done." This turned the hearts of the whole nation from her, and in many places they began to pull down images, and to raze monaſteries. The Queen Regent repreſented this to the King of France, as done on deſign to ſhake off the French yoke, and deſired a great force to reduce the country. On the other hand, ſome were ſent over from the Lords, to give a true repreſentation of the matter, and to let him know, that an oblivion for what was paſt, and the free exerciſe of their religion for the time to come, would give full ſatisfaction. The French King began now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that kingdom in peace was like to come to; and ſaw the danger of the Scots caſting themſelves into the arms of the Queen of England; therefore he ſent one, in whom the Conſtable put an entire confidence, to Scotland, to bring him a true report of the ſtate of that matter that was ſo variouſly repreſented: but before he could return, the King of France was dead, and the Conſtable was in diſgrace; and all affairs were put in the hands of the brothers of the Houſe of

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Guiſe, ſo that all moderate councils were now out of doors. The people did ſo univerſally riſe againſt the Queen Regent, that ſhe was forced to retire to Dunbar caſtle. She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: but 2000 men coming over from France, and aſſurances being ſent her of a greater force to follow, ſhe took heart, and came and fortified Leith, and again broke her laſt agreement; upon which the Lords pretended, that, in their Queen's minority, the government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief adminiſtrator, and accountable to them; ſo they reſolved to depoſe her from her regency.

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The Queen Regent is depoſed.

They objected many mal-adminiſtrations to her; as her beginning a war in the kingdom, and bringing in ſtrangers to ſubdue it; her embaſing the coin; governing without conſent of the nobility, and breaking her faith and promiſes to them: upon which they declared that ſhe had fallen from her regency, and ſuſpended her power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called *the Lords of the Congregation*, retired from Edinburgh to Stirling: upon which the French came to Edinburgh, and ſet up the maſs again in the churches; then a new ſupply came from France, commanded by the Marquis of Elbeuf, one of the Queen Regent's brothers, ſo that there were in all 4000 French in Scotland. But by her having this foreign force, the whole nation came to be united againſt the Queen, and to look on her as a common enemy. The Scots, who had been hitherto animated, and ſecretly ſupplied with money and ammunition from England, were now forced to deſire the Queen of England's aid more openly: and France was now like to be ſo much divided within itſelf, that the Queen did not much apprehend a war with that crown; ſo ſhe was more eaſily determined to aſſiſt the Scots.

The Queen of England aſſiſts the Scots.

A treaty was made between the Duke of Norfolk and the Scots: they promiſed to be the Queen's perpetual allies, and that, after the French were driven out of Scotland, they would continue their obedience to their Queen: upon which, 2000 horſe and 6000 foot were ſent to aſſiſt the Scots. Theſe beſieged Leith, during which there were conſiderable loſſes on both ſides; but the loſſes on the ſide of the Engliſh were more eaſily made up, ſupplies being nearer at hand. The French offered to put Calais again into the Queen of England's hands, if ſhe would recall her forces out of Scotland. She anſwered on the ſudden, "ſhe did not value that fiſh-town, ſo much as ſhe "did

"did the quiet of the isle of Britain." But she offered to mediate a peace between them and the Scots.

Before this could be effected, the Queen Regent of Scotland died; she sent for some of the Scotch Lords in her sickness, and asked them pardon for the injuries she had done them: she advised them to send both the French and English out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their obedience to their Queen: she also discoursed with one of their preachers, and declared that she hoped to be saved only by the merits of Christ. She had governed the nation, before the last year of her life, with such justice and prudence, and was so great an example, both in her own person, and in the order of her court, that if she had died before her brother's bloody counsels had involved her in these last passages of her life, she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that nation for many ages. Her own inclinations were just and moderate; and she often said, that if her counsels might take place, she did not doubt but she should bring all things again to perfect tranquillity and peace. Soon after, a peace was concluded between England, France, and Scotland: an oblivion was granted for all that was past; the French and English were to be sent out of Scotland, and all other things were to be referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's absence, the kingdom was to be governed by a council of twelve, all natives; of these the Queen was to name seven, and the States were to choose five. So both the English and French were sent out of Scotland; and the Parliament met in August.

1559. 10 June. The Queen Regent dies.

In it, all acts for the former way of religion were repealed, and a confession of faith, penned by Knox, afterwards inserted among the acts of Parliament, 1567, was confirmed. These acts were opposed only by three temporal Lords, who said, they would believe as their fathers had done: but all the spiritual Lords, both Bishops and Abbots, consented to them; and they did dilapidate the lands and revenues of the Church in the strangest manner that was ever known. The Abbots converted their abbeys into temporal estates; and the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their lands among their bastards or kindred, and procured confirmations of many of the grants they gave from Rome: by which that Church was so impoverished, that if King James and King Charles the First had not with much zeal, and great endeavours, retrieved some part of the ancient revenues, and provided a considerable maintenance for the inferior Clergy, all the

A Parliament meets, and settles the Reformation.

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BOOK IV.

encouragements to religion and learning had been to ſuch a degree withdrawn, that barbariſm muſt have again overrun that kingdom. When theſe acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of Scotland were ſent over to France, they were rejected with great ſcorn; ſo that the Scots began to apprehend a new war: but Francis the Second's death ſoon after, delivered them from all their fears; for their Queen, having no more the ſupport of ſo great a crown, was forced to return home, and govern in ſuch a manner, as that nation was pleaſed to ſubmit to.

1559.

The Queen of England the head of all the Proteſtants,

Thus had the Queen of England divided Scotland from its ancient dependence on France, and had tied it ſo to her own intereſts, that ſhe was not only ſecure on that ſide of her dominions, but came to have ſo great an intereſt in Scotland, that affairs there were for the moſt part governed according to the directions ſhe ſent thither. Other accidents did alſo concur to give her a great ſhare in all the moſt important affairs of Europe.

Both in France,

In France, upon Henry the Second's fatal end, great diviſions aroſe between the Princes of the blood and the brothers of the houſe of Guiſe, into whoſe hands the adminiſtration of affairs was put, during Francis the Second's ſhort reign. It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of age till he was twenty-two, and that during his minority the Princes of the blood were to govern by the advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Aſſembly of Eſtates. On the other hand, it was ſaid, that the King might aſſume the government, and employ whom he pleaſed at fourteen. A deſign was laid, in which many of both religions concurred, for taking the government out of the hands of the ſtrangers, and ſeizing on the King's perſon; but a Proteſtant, moved by a principle of conſcience, diſcovered it. Upon this the Prince of Condé, and many others, were ſeized on; and if the King had not died ſoon after, they had ſuffered for it. Charles the Ninth ſucceeding, who was under age, the King of Navarre was declared Regent: but he, though before a Proteſtant, was drawn into the Papiſt intereſt, and joined himſelf with the Queen mother and the Conſtable. A ſevere edict was made againſt the Proteſtants; but the execution of it was like to raiſe great diſorders; ſo another was made in a great aſſembly of many Princes of the blood, Privy Counſellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exerciſe of that religion: yet after this, the Duke of Guiſe reconciled himſelf to the Queen mother, and they reſolved to break the edict: ſo the Duke of Guiſe happening

pening to pass by a meeting of Protestants, his servants offered violence to them: from reproachful words, it went to throwing of stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: upon which, his servants killed sixty of the Protestants, and wounded two hundred; and upon this the edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's power did not extend so far, as that he could break so public an edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of Condé set himself at the head of them, and the King of Navarre being killed soon after the breaking out of the war, he, as the first Prince of the blood that was of age, ought to have been declared Regent: so that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not rebellion, since they had both the law and the first Prince of the blood on their side. The wars lasted near thirty years; for in all that time, notwithstanding some intervals of peace, the seeds of war were never so rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up upon every new occasion. In this the Queen interposed, and supported the Protestant party; sometimes with men, but oftener with money, so that she had near the half of that kingdom depending on her. 1559.

In the Netherlands, a long continuance of civil war almost on the same account gave her the like advantages. The King of Spain, by endeavouring to set up the courts of inquisition in those provinces, and by keeping some Spanish troops among them, and other excesses in his government, contrary to the articles of the *Lætus Introitus*, provoked them so much, that they shook off his yoke; and were supported by the aid and money which the Queen sent them. So that the Queen met with such a conjuncture of affairs in the dominions of those Princes that were next her, (of whom only she had reason to be afraid,) as scarce any Prince ever had. And in the Netherlands.

In foreign parts she was the arbiter of Christendom; and at home things were so happily managed, trade did so flourish, and justice was so equally distributed, that she became the wonder of the world. She was victorious in all her wars with Spain; and no wonder; for it appeared signally in the ruin of the great Armada, which Spain looked upon as invincible, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more absolutely over the hearts than the persons of her subjects. She always followed the true interests of her people, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her desires, and to grant her subsidies, as often The excellent administration of affairs in England.

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1559. often as ſhe called for them: and as ſhe never aſked them but when the occaſion for them was viſible; ſo after they were granted, if the ſtate of her affairs changed ſo that ſhe needed them not, ſhe readily diſcharged them. Rome and Spain ſet many engines on work, both againſt her perſon and government; but ſhe ſtill lived and triumphed. In the firſt ten years of her reign, the Papiſts were ſo compliant, that there was no ſtir made about matters of religion. Pope Pius the Fourth condemned the madneſs of his predeceſſor, in that high and provoking meſſage which he ſent her; and therefore he attempted a reconciliation with her, at two ſeveral times; and offered, if ſhe would join herſelf to the ſee of Rome, that he would annul the ſentence againſt her mother's marriage, and confirm the Engliſh ſervice, and the communion in both kinds. But ſhe refuſed to enter into any treaty with him. Pius the Fifth, that ſucceeded him in that chair, reſolved to contrive her death, as is related by him that writes his life. The unfortunate Queen of Scotland was forced to take ſanctuary in England; where it was reſolved to uſe her well, and reſtore her to her crown and country. But her own officious friends, and the frequent plots that were laid for taking away the Queen's life, brought on her the calamities of a long impriſonment, that ended in a tragical death; which, though it was the greateſt blemiſh of this reign, yet was made in ſome ſort juſtifiable, if not neceſſary, by the many attempts that the Papiſts made on the Queen's life; and by the depoſition which Pope Pius the Fifth thundered out againſt her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that party had the hopes of ſuch a ſucceſſor, the Queen's life was not ſafe, nor her government ſecure.

Catena.

Severities againſt the Papiſts were neceſſary.

This led her towards the end of her reign to greater ſeverities againſt thoſe of the Roman communion; of which a copious account is given by Sir Francis Walſingham, that was for ſo many years employed, either in foreign embaſſies, or in the ſecrets of ſtate at home; that none knew better than he did the hidden ſprings that moved and directed all her councils. He writ a long letter to a Frenchman, giving him an account of all the ſeverities of the Queen's government, both againſt Papiſts and Puritans.

Sir Francis Walſingham's account of the ſteps in which ſhe proceeded.

The ſubſtance of which is, "That the Queen laid down "two maxims of ſtate; the one was, not to force con- "ſcience; the other was, not to let factious practices go "unpuniſhed, becauſe they were covered with the pre- "tence

dence of conſcience. At firſt, ſhe did not revive thoſe ſevere laws paſſed in her father's time, by which the refuſal of the oath of ſupremacy was made treaſon, but "left her people to the freedom of their thoughts, and "made it only penal to extol a foreign juriſdiction: ſhe "alſo laid aſide the word *Supreme Head*, and the refuſers "of the oath were only diſabled from holding benefices, "or charges, during their refuſal. Upon Pius the Fifth's "excommunicating her, though the rebellion in the North "was chiefly occaſioned by that, ſhe only made a law "againſt the bringing over or publiſhing of bulls; and "the venting of Agnus Dei's, or ſuch over love-tokens, "which were ſent from Rome, on deſign to draw the "hearts of her people from her, which were no eſſential "parts of that religion; ſo that this could hurt none of "their conſciences. But when, after the twentieth year "of her reign, it appeared that the King of Spain deſign-"ed to invade her dominions, and that the prieſts that "were ſent over from the ſeminaries beyond ſea were "generally employed to corrupt the ſubjects in their al-"legiance, by which, treaſon was carried in the clouds, "and infuſed ſecretly in confeſſion; then pecuniary pu-"niſhments were inflicted on ſuch as withdrew from the "Church: and in concluſion, ſhe was forced to make "laws of greater rigour, but did often mitigate the ſeverity "of them, to all that would promiſe to adhere to her, "in caſe of a foreign invaſion. As for the Puritans, as "long as they only inveighed againſt ſome abuſes, as "pluralities, non-reſidence, or the like, it was not their "zeal againſt thoſe, but their violence only that was con-"demned. When they refuſed to comply with ſome cere-"monies, and queſtioned the ſuperiority of Biſhops, and "declared for a democracy in the Church, they were "connived at with great gentleneſs: but it was obſerved, "that they affected popularity much, and the methods "they took to compaſs their ends were judged danger-"ous; and they made ſuch uſe of the averſion the nation "had to Popery, that it was viſible they were in hazard "of running from one extreme to another: they ſet up "a new model of church-diſcipline, which was like to "prove no leſs dangerous to the liberties of private men, "than to the ſovereign power of the Prince: yet all this "was borne with, as long as they proceeded with thoſe "expreſſions of duty which became ſubjects. But after-"wards, when they reſolved to carry on their deſigns, "without waiting for the conſent of the magiſtrate, and "entered

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" entered into combinations; when they began to de-
" fame the government by ridiculous paſquils, and boaſt-
" ed of their numbers and ſtrength, and in ſome places
" broke out into tumults, then it appeared that it was
" faction, and not zeal, that animated them. Upon that,
" the Queen found it neceſſary to reſtrain them more than
" ſhe had done formerly; yet ſhe did it with all the
" moderation that could conſiſt with the peace of the
" Church and State." And thus, from this letter, an idea of this whole reign may be juſtly formed.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS have I proſecuted, what I at firſt undertook, the progreſs of the Reformation, from its firſt and ſmall beginnings in England, till it came to a complete ſettlement in the time of this Queen. Of whoſe reign, if I have adventured to give any account, it was not intended ſo much for a full character of her, and her councils, as to ſet out the great and viſible bleſſings of God that attended on her; the many preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch ſignal diſcoveries as both ſaved her life, and ſecured her government; and the unuſual happineſs of her whole reign, which raiſed her to the eſteem and envy of that age, and the wonder of all poſterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a virgin Queen could rule ſuch a kingdom, for above forty-four years, with ſuch conſtant ſucceſs, in ſo great tranquillity at home, with a vaſt increaſe of wealth, and with ſuch glory abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the rewards of Heaven, crowning that reign with ſo much honour and triumph, that was begun with the reformation of religion.

AN

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

BEING

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABRIDGMENT OF THE TWO FORMER VOLUMES.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the Firſt Book of the Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

THE greateſt tranſaction which happened in this period, and which probably at that time had a great influence on the minds of the Engliſh, being the ſetting up of the Concordate in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction in France, by Francis the Firſt, it will not be improper to give an account of that matter from its firſt ſprings and riſe, to its final concluſion in the year 1532; at which time the Concordate was ſet up; and by it the King and the Pope agreed to divide between them all the liberties of the Gallican Church.

The Popes had increaſed in their power vaſtly from Gregory the Seventh to Boniface the Eighth's time, in about two hundred and thirty years. The one began the pretenſion to depoſe Kings; the other declared himſelf to

The progreſs of the Papal uſurpation. 1300.

BOOK I.

be both Pope and Emperor, and decreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation, for every human creature to be ſubject to the Biſhop of Rome. The holy war had been one of the great engines of bringing in wealth and authority to the Papacy. But the long ſchiſm between the Popes of Rome and Avignon put a conſiderable ſtop to their growing uſurpations, and occaſioned the Council of Conſtance to be called. The Biſhops then were too haſty in healing the breach; and did not ſeem to apprehend the opportunity they had of recovering their ancient authority. They thought it ſecurity enough to paſs acts for perpetual General Councils to meet every ten years, whether the Pope ſummoned them or not, and for ſubjecting the Popes to the Councils. But when the ſchiſm was made up, theſe proved but feeble reſtraints: yet the Council of Baſil met ten years after, purſuant to the decree of the Council of Conſtance. In this Council they condemned the making Biſhops by Papal proviſions, or by the power and favour of Princes, and reſtored elections to the chapters.

The ſchiſm in the Papacy.

The Council of Baſil.

The Pope and Council quarrel.

Upon a conteſt with the Pope Eugenius the Fourth, they addreſſed themſelves to Charles the Seventh, King of France, for his protection, and ſent him their decrees, in which they condemned the Pope's demanding firſt-fruits, and granting the ſurvivances of biſhoprics and of benefices, or reſerving preferments by his bulls, which were in the gift of the Biſhops, and allowing him only to diſpoſe of one if the Biſhop had ten, and two, if fifty. They appointed elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, and not the Pope; and condemned all exacting fees, and immediate appeals to the Pope: and they appointed, that when a cauſe roſe up by the regular ſteps to the Pope, it ſhould be judged by delegates upon the place, excepting only thoſe which the law called the greater cauſes. They made likewiſe ſome proviſions for the encouragement of learning, and of the univerſities: but the chief thing was, they declared the Council to be above the Pope, that he was bound to ſubmit to it, and that appeals lay to it from him. The firſt breach was made up by Sigiſmund the Emperor: the Pope ſubmitted and ratified what the Council had done: but ſoon after a new quarrel aroſe; the Pope tranſlated the Council to Ferrara, notwithſtanding that the majority of them oppoſed it; upon which they depoſed Eugenius, and he excommunicated them. They choſe Amedee Duke of Savoy for their new Pope, and again begged the protection of France.

The

The King upon that called a great assembly, where the Dauphin and Princes of the blood, and many of the Nobility and Bishops, met. They disapproved of the deposing the Pope, and choosing Felix; but rejected the meeting at Ferrara, and adhered to that at Basil, and reduced their decrees into an edict, which was called the Pragmatic Sanction.

1438. The Pragmatic Sanction made in France.

Twenty years after this, Eneas Silvius, which had been secretary to the Council of Basil, and wrote in defence of it, but was gained, as he himself confessed, by a red hat to the Pope's side, and was now Pope himself, by the name of Pius the Second, in a Council he held at Mantua arraigned all that the Council of Basil had done, and branded the Pragmatic Sanction as heresy. When Danesius the French Attorney General heard this proceeding, he protested against it, and appealed to a General Council: and the Pragmatic Sanction continued to be observed in France till Charles the Seventh's death. But Lewis the Eleventh, who succeeded him, abrogated it, by the persuasion of the Bishop of Arras, whom the Pope had gained with the promise of a Cardinal's hat. The King writ a very abject letter to the Pope, which none will wonder at who read Philip de Comines's character of that Prince. He (in his letter) owns the Pope to be God's Vicar, and therefore, since he desires to have the Pragmatic Sanction abrogated, though it had been very solemnly received, and was now fully settled, he abrogates it, and freely restores to him the power which Martin the Fifth and Eugenius the Fourth had exercised in former times, and promises to execute all his commands, and to punish the contumacious as he shall direct. This caused great joy at Rome; the Pragmatic was dragged about the streets; the Pope consecrated a fine sword to be sent to the King, and annexed the title of *Most Christian King* to the Crown of France. The Parliament of Paris upon that remonstrated to the King, that the Pragmatic Sanction contained the decrees of a General Council, and that he was obliged to maintain it: and the King grew slacker in the matter upon the Pope's refusing to help his son-in-law to recover Sicily from the bastard of Arragon. Six years after Pope Paul the Second procured an edict, revoking the Sanction by a new minister, whom he had gained likewise with the bait of a Cardinal's hat. The edict was sent to be registered in the Parliament of Paris, and the Court ordered St. Romain the Attorney General to examine it. He behaved himself with great courage, and opposed the registering

1458. The Pope condemns it in a Council at Mantua.

Lewis the Eleventh abrogates it.

The Parliament of Paris oppose it.

BOOK I.

ing it. He ſaid, if the Sanction were repealed, all the old abuſes would return; and ſhewed that, in the three years in which the Sanction was neglected, 1120000 crowns were ſent to Rome to obtain bulls for biſhoprics, abbeys, and other preferments; that ten or twelve bulls of ſurvivances were ſometimes granted upon the ſame benefice, and that the ſurvivance of any pariſh was to be purchaſed at the price of twenty-five crowns. He inſiſted that the King, as founder and defender of the rights and liberties of his Church, was bound to maintain them. The miniſter, now a Cardinal, got him to be turned out; but the King ſecretly rewarded him, and afterwards reſtored him to his place. The Univerſity of Paris likewiſe interpoſed againſt abrogating it; but the King being afraid of the practices of his brothers at Rome, renewed his promiſes to abrogate it; and the Sanction for many years was in diſuſe. About the end of this reign an aſſembly met at Orleans to re-eſtabliſh it, but the King's death prevented them.

1458.

The Pragmatic Sanction re-eſtabliſhed.

Charles the Eighth ſucceeding, the States met at Tours, and agreed that it ſhould be obſerved. The Prelates which had been promoted contrary to it oppoſed it vehemently. St. Romain, now Attorney General, ſaid it was for the intereſt of the kingdom, and therefore he would ſupport it. The King ſaw it was for his advantage, and ſo reſolved to adhere to it, and the Courts of Parliament judged according to it: thus it continued to be obſerved all Charles the Eighth's time, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition that Pope Innocent the Eighth made by his legates againſt it: and Lewis the Twelfth made an edict, that the Sanction ſhould be for ever obſerved. In his time Pope Julius the Second called the Council of the Lateran, and chiefly againſt him. In it the Pragmatic Sanction was arraigned, and the Advocate of the Council inſiſting that it ſhould be condemned, all who would appear for it were ſummoned to come and be heard within ſixty days. That Pope dying, Leo the Tenth renewed the ſummons. The perſonal hatred between Pope Julius and Lewis being now at an end, Biſhops were ſent by the Gallican Church to aſſiſt at the Council; but before any thing was concluded, Lewis died; and Francis who ſucceeded, ſtanding in need of the Pope's favour, reſolved to agree the matter, and had an interview with the Pope at Bononia. It was concluded on both ſides to ſet up the Concordate in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction; upon which the Pope's Bull, condemning that Sanction, was read and approved by

1499.

Condemned by the Council at the Lateran.

1516.

The Concordate put inſtead of it.

by the Council, and the Concordate was eſtabliſhed. By it the King and the Pope ſhared the ſpoils between them. The King was to nominate to biſhoprics within ſix months after a vacancy: if the Pope diſapproved, he had three months more; and if the King failed again, the Pope was to provide one to the ſee; and all that became vacant in the Court of Rome the Pope was to fill up: there were likewiſe ſome limitations, with relation to the perſons the King ſhould nominate to biſhoprics and abbeys; appeals were to be judged in the parts where the cauſes lay, excepting the greater cauſes, and no mention was made of firſt-fruits: in other particulars it agreed with the Pragmatic Sanction. 1516.

King Francis carried to the Parliament of Paris. 1517.

The King went in perſon to the Court of Parliament of Paris, to offer the Concordate to be regiſtered. The Chancellor ſet before them the dangerous war the King had been engaged in, and that he fearing leſt the old oppreſſions ſhould take place again, if the Council of Lateran ſimply condemned the Pragmatic Sanction, made the matter up by agreeing to the Concordate. The Cardinal of Boiſi, in the name of the Eccleſiaſtics that were preſent, ſaid, it could not be approved without a general conſent. The King ſaid, if they would not approve it, he would ſend them to Rome to diſpute it with the Pope; and he commanded the Court to obey without delay. Then letters patent were made out, requiring the Court and all Judges to obſerve the Concordate, and ſee it executed. Some days after the Chancellor brought the King's letters patent to the Court. They firſt appointed the King's Council to examine the matter; but, at the Advocate General's deſire, they named a committee of their own, which ſat ſome time upon it. Soon after that the Advocate General moved the Court to judge according to the Pragmatic, and not to receive the revocation of it, and appealed againſt it; but the King ſent his natural uncle, the baſtard of Savoy, with orders to them immediately to publiſh the Concordate, and to hear the debates, and report them to him. They upon that ſent ſome of their body, to lay before the King, that it looked like frighting them, to ſend one, not of their body, to be preſent at the debates. The King anſwered them, that he would be obeyed as his predeceſſors were, or he would baniſh them, and put good men in their places; that he would have his uncle preſent at their proceedings.

After they had been a month in delivering their opi-

BOOK I.

nions, they concluded not to regiſter the Concordate, but to obſerve ſtill the Pragmatic; that if the King would have the Concordate eſtabliſhed, it muſt be in a great aſſembly, as in Charles the Seventh's time, when the Pragmatic was ſettled: and they deſired the Savoyard to make a true report to the King of their proceedings. Upon this the King ordered them to ſend ſome of their body to give him an account of the grounds they went on. Two were ſent, and they were bid to put what they had to offer in writing; but they deſired to be heard forthwith, which the King refuſed. He ſaid, there was but one King in France, that he had done his beſt in Italy to quiet the ſtate, and he would not ſuffer that to be undone in France, nor them to aſſume the authority of the Senate of Venice: he ordered them to approve the Concordate, or they ſhould feel his diſpleaſure; and he would not allow of Eccleſiaſtics to be any more of this body, ſince they were not his ſubjects, as he could not cut off their heads. They pleaded the conſtitution of their Court; but he ſaid, he was King as well as his anceſtors, and would ſit on another foot; and he commanded them to be gone by ſuch an hour, or he would impriſon them for ſix months, ſee who dare move to ſet them at liberty; ſo they went to Paris. The Duke of Tremouille was ſent after them to the Parliament, to let them know that the King would have the Concordate publiſhed without any more deliberation; that if they delayed to obey him, he would make all the Court feel the effects of it. The Court upon this called the King's Council; they ſaid the King had with ſevere threats commanded them to conſent to the Concordate. The Advocate General ſaid, he was ſorry for the method the King took, but wiſhed they would conſider what might follow, if they ſtood out any longer; that the publiſhing it could be of no force, ſince the Church, whom it ſo much concerned, was not heard: he propoſed that they ſhould inſert in the regiſter, that it was done in obedience to the King, and declare that they did not approve of abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, but would judge according to it.

1517. They reſolve not to publiſh it.

The King is offended at this.

The Parliament publiſhes it, but with a proteſtation.

The Parliament at laſt reſolved that the decree for obſerving the Pragmatic ſhould be confirmed, but that, in obedience to the King, they would publiſh the Concordate; and made a proteſt in the hands of the Biſhop of Langres, that their liberties were taken from them, that

1518.

that they did not approve of the Concordate, but intended in all their judgments to obſerve the Pragmatic; and they appealed from the Pope to the Pope better adviſed, and the next General Council. Before the day of publication, the Rector, with others of the Univerſity of Paris, came to the Court, and deſired to be heard before they proceeded. The Court received his petition, and aſſured him, that though they ſhould publiſh the Concordate, it ſhould not prejudice their rights, for they ſhould ſtill judge as formerly. The very day of publication, the Dean of Notre Dame came and prayed them not to proceed till the whole Gallican Church were conſulted, ſince the Concordate implied a condemnation of the Councils of Conſtance and Baſil, and deſtroyed the liberties of the Gallican Church, and proteſted againſt any thing that they ſhould do to the prejudice of the Church. After that the Court proceeded to the publication; but added, that it was done by the command of the King, often repeated to them in the preſence of the Lord of Tremouille: and two days after they renewed their former proteſt and appeal.

The Univerſity and Clergy oppoſe it.

The Rector of the Univerſity, by a mandate that was printed, prohibited their printer to print the Concordate; and appealed from the Pope to a General Council lawfully aſſembled, and ſitting in a ſafe place, and full freedom. Many reflections likewiſe were caſt in ſermons on the King and Chancellor. The King was incenſed at this, and inhibited all meetings in the Univerſity, and ordered the firſt Preſident to get the Concordate printed ſoon, and puniſh the authors of ſedition: but the Court of Parliament ſaid they knew nothing tending that way, their buſineſs taking them up ſo, that they could not attend on ſermons.

The exceptions to the Concordate by the Parliament.

The Concordate was to have been publiſhed in ſix months, or be null and void; but upon their delays, the King had got the term prolonged a year. The chief exceptions that made the Parliament demur were, that by the Concordate the greater cauſes were to be judged at Rome; but what were thoſe greater cauſes was not ſettled, as in the Pragmatic, where they were limited to biſhoprics and monaſteries; that now the Canoniſts might multiply them as they pleaſed; that the Pope's giving all that became vacant at Rome extended very far; that by the Concordate all nunneries, deaneries, and provoſtſhips were left to the Pope's proviſion; that in biſhoprics the Pope may refuſe to approve the King's

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nomination unjuſtly: all their elections being of divine right eſtabliſhed by General Councils, by the civil law, and royal edicts, were taken away without hearing the parties concerned; that the King uſurped what did not belong to him, on pretence that the Pope gave it him, which was contrary to the doctrine of the Gallican Church. They complained that the Pope's Council of Lateran had invaded the King's prerogative, by forbidding all that held lands of the Church to obſerve the Pragmatic, under pain of forfeiting their lands; and by annulling the Sanction, while it ſubſiſted by the royal authority, which might prove a dangerous precedent: they ſaid that taking away the Pragmatic was ſetting aſide the doctrine of the Councils of Conſtance and Baſil, contrary to their decrees ſet the Pope above the Council, though two Popes had confirmed the decrees made at Baſil. They deſired the King to remember his coronation oath, to maintain the rights of their Church, and either to prevail with the Pope to call a General Council, or to call a national one himſelf in France, to judge of the matter; and to deſpiſe the Pope's threatening to depoſe him, for he held his crown of God.

The Chancellor's anſwer.

The Chancellor made a flattering anſwer to theſe exceptions, and was rewarded with a red hat. He ſaid, the King being engaged in a dangerous war in Italy, the Pope having condemned the Pragmatic Sanction, and that being ratified by the Council at the Lateran, threatened him with cenſures, and would have revived all the old oppreſſions, if the King had not yielded ſome points to ſave the reſt. He told them that the Kings of the firſt race named to biſhoprics, that England and Scotland did the ſame; that elections had ſometimes been made by the Pope, ſometimes by Princes and the people, or Princes alone, ſometimes by all the Clergy, and at laſt by the Canons only; that the King, embarraſſed with theſe difficulties, was adviſed to accept the Concordate; that Pope Leo repented he had granted ſo much, and that the Cardinals with great difficulty were brought to conſent to it. He went through the other heads, ſoftening and defending the abuſes, like a Canoniſt. Thus we ſee how little the honeſty and courage of good judges ſignifies, when a Prince has aſſumed all the legiſlative power, and deſigns to break through the laws and conſtitution of his country. If the aſſembly of ſtates in France had preſerved their ſhare in the legiſlative, and never ſuffered themſelves to be

be taxed but by their own consent, probably these judges would have been supported and thanked, and the Chancellor would have received the punishment such corrupt ministers deserve, who for their own ends betray the interest of their country. 1518.

The Court of Parliament had still the firmness to judge by the Pragmatic Sanction, pursuant to their protestation. The archbishopric of Sens falling vacant soon after, the King inhibited the Chapter to elect: they hearing the Bishop of Paris was to have it, wrote to him not to wound their liberties so as to take it on the King's nomination; but he neglecting that, they chose him to keep up their claim: but the Bishop of Alby dying next, the King named one, and the Chapter chose another, and the Parliament of Thoulouse (within whose jurisdiction it was) judged for the Chapter, against the King's nomination, though a bull had been obtained upon it. The Parliament still judged by the Pragmatic Sanction.

Some years after the King being in Italy, and his mother left Regent, the Parliament made a remonstrance to her, desiring her to interpose that the Pragmatic might be restored. But that had no effect, till the King was taken prisoner by Charles the Fifth at the battle of Pavia; and then his mother declared, she thought his misfortunes a judgment on him for having abolished the Pragmatic; and that though she would not alter any thing during his absence, yet when he was at liberty, she would use her utmost endeavours with him to set it up again. 1524. Upon the King's being a prisoner, the Concordate was more condemned.

This was registered in Parliament, but on the King's return nothing was done; but the King finding the Parliament resolved to support elections, removed all such suits from them to the Great Council, on some dispute about a bishopric and abbey that was given to Chancellor Prat, in recompense of his services. The Parliament struggled hard against this, and wrote to the Dukes and Peers to support them. But the King confirmed what was done, and settled the Chancellor in his see and abbey; and the proceedings of Parliament against him were annulled, and ordered to be struck out of their registers. Afterwards the King obtained a bull from Rome, suspending for the King's life all the special privileges which some Chapters and Abbeys had for free elections. 1527. These matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council.

Clement the Seventh was in a secret treaty with France, and so was easy to grant it, and the bull was registered in Parliament. Upon that the Chancellor 1532.

called

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called for all thoſe privileges, pretending to examine them, and when he got them all together, he burnt them. After this there were ſeveral attempts made to recover the Pragmatic Sanction, eſpecially in the point of elections in Henry the Third and Charles the Ninth's reign, but without effect; for the Court of Rome felt the advantages of the Concordate too ſenſibly ever to part with it, and the Kings of France got ſo much power by it, that they were not willing to yield it up.

1532.

Thus was this great affair ſettled, when King Henry broke off all correſpondence with Rome; and no doubt it had a great effect upon the wiſe men of the Church, to ſee how the Court of Rome ſold the rights of the Church, whenever they were to be gainers by it.

1521. The progreſs of Wolſey's riſe and miniſtry.

As to the affairs of England in this period, Wolſey was now the favourite and ſole miniſter. He had been firſt Rector of Lymington, and Vicar of Lyde, and was made Almoner in 1509. He was afterwards made Prebend of Windſor, and then Dean of Lincoln, and a year after Biſhop by Pope Leo; and in his bull for that biſhopric he was ſtyled Dean of St. Stephen's, Weſtminſter: afterwards he was made Archbiſhop of York, whether by the King's recommendation is not mentioned in the bull, as it is in Campeggio's bull for Saliſbury. He had great penſions from Charles the Fifth, and Francis, and the Duke of Milan. He was ſo entirely miniſter, that he even prepared the King's ſecret letters for him; for while he was in Flanders making up the differences between the Emperor and Francis, he ſent the King over two letters, to tranſcribe with his own hand, for the Emperor, and the Regent of Flanders. The Emperor paid him great reſpects, and he, in a private letter to the King, commended the Emperor highly, either being really deceived by him himſelf, or being gained by him to deceive the King. He ſays that he was a very wiſe man, and much inclined to truth; that he promiſed always to follow the King's advice, ſo that the King would not only govern the affairs at home, but alſo Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries.

Wolſey gained by Charles the Fifth.

Wolſey's practices to be choſen Pope.

It is generally ſaid, that Wolſey's revenge, becauſe the Emperor would not make him Pope, was in a great meaſure the cauſe of all the change of the councils, and of the divorce that followed: but his private letters to the King make this very doubtful. Upon Adrian's death, he wrote to the King, that his abſence only could hinder him from being choſen Pope, by reaſon of the factions

at

at Rome; that he thought himſelf unfit for it, and would rather end his days with the King; but ſince the King thought it would be for his ſervice, he would ſend him over inſtructions for the ambaſſadors at Rome to that end, which he deſired him to ſign and diſpatch: and he ſent him, together with thoſe letters and inſtructions, a private letter to write in his own hand to the Emperor, though he verily ſuppoſed that he had done what he could to advance him, purſuant to the conference he had with the King. In the diſpatch which he ſent to the ambaſſadors at Rome, he tells them, that the Emperor being abſent could not help his advancement; yet the Regent of the Netherlands, who knew him, was heartily for him, and ſeveral of the Cardinals: that it was not ambition, but his zeal for the honour and ſafety of the King and the Emperor, and the exaltation of the Chriſtian faith, that determined him to move in this matter: yet he ſends them double powers for himſelf and the Cardinal of Medici. If the laſt was like to carry it, they were to uſe no other; if not, they were to ſerve him, and offer the Cardinals great rewards and promotions, and to commend his wiſdom and temper to them. He promiſes to be at Rome in three months, if he be choſen; and tells them that the King would come with him. He added a poſtſcript with his own hand to the Biſhop of Bath, telling him how the King eſteemed his policy; that the King believed the Imperialiſts would be for him; willed him to ſpare neither his authority nor money. But all this ſimony came too late, for it found a Pope already choſen. After it was over, he wrote to the King, that the French party being abandoned in the Conclave, the Cardinals had reſolved on him, or Medici: but the people of Rome hearing that, cried at the Conclave-windows, what danger it would be to chooſe an abſent perſon; which frightened the Cardinals ſo, that by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt they choſe Medici; and he bleſſed God for it, and was gladder than if he himſelf had been choſen, ſince he was a true friend to the King, and promoted by his aſſiſtance. Nor is there any thing like complaint in all theſe letters, as if the Emperor had failed in his promiſe at the election: ſo that the King's ſupporting Francis againſt the Emperor, after his misfortunes at the battle of Pavia, ſeems rather to have been owing to that true maxim which King Henry always followed, *of keeping the balance of Europe even*, than to any private reſentments of the Cardinal.

1521.

There

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There is a character of this Cardinal, given by the Lord Burleigh in the memorial he prepared for Queen Elizabeth againſt favourites, which does not tend much to his advantage. He ſays, he kept a court like a Prince; that he had an Earl, nine Barons, and a thouſand Knights, and Gentlemen, and inferior officers, in his family; that, beſides his vaſt expence, he gave great penſions at Rome, in hopes of being made Pope; that he lent great ſums to the Emperor, who was ſo poor, that he could not hope to be repaid: that theſe drains made him take extraordinary ways to raiſe money. He granted commiſſions under the Great Seal to oblige all that did not ſwear themſelves worth leſs than fifty pounds, to pay four ſhillings in the pound; and this by his own authority; for it being repreſented to the King, the King diſowned it, declaring that nothing ſhould ever make him attempt raiſing money, but by Parliament. This failing, he endeavoured to raiſe money by benevolence: but London oppoſing this on the ſtatute of Richard the Third againſt benevolence, and it being like to cauſe a civil war, it was likewiſe dropped. This is what Burleigh tells of him.

1521. Lord Burleigh's character of Wolſey.

As to his eccleſiaſtical proceedings, he behaved himſelf very inſolently; for when Warham had ſummoned a Convocation to Lambeth for the reforming abuſes, as he affirmed in his ſummons, with the King's conſent; Wolſey wrote to him, that reforming abuſes belonged to him as *Legate a latere*; that the King had never commanded any ſuch thing, nor would ſuffer ſuch a derogation of the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee, and expreſsly ordered the contrary: ſo he orders him to come to him. And Warham was obliged to recall his ſummons, and ſend this letter round to all his Biſhops. A year after Wolſey ſummoned a legatine council by a circular letter. But nothing of their proceedings remains, excepting ſome regulations about the habits of the Clergy, and the lives and manners of them who were to be ordained.

1518. Wolſey's proceedings as Legate.

In the fourteenth of this King's reign, when the Parliament was called, Warham had a writ to ſummon the Convocation, which met accordingly at St. Paul's. The Cardinal, who had brought his York Convocation to Weſtminſter, ſent a monition to Warham to appear before him, with his Clergy, at Weſtminſter, and in this irregular ſynod he intended that ſupplies ſhould be granted: but the Clergy of Canterbury refuſing to act, and ſaying, they had no warrant to proceed, but in a pro-

1523.

vincial

vincial way under the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom their powers were directed, the two Convocations ſeparated again, and granted their ſupplies apart. Wolſey upon that iſſued out monitory letters to the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury to meet at Weſtminſter, to deliberate on the reformation of the Clergy, and required the Proctors of the Clergy to bring ſufficient powers to act in a legatine ſynod; but it does not appear that any ſuch aſſembly of the Clergy met, ſo probably the thing was let fall. 1523.

Wolſey likewiſe took upon him as legate to give inſtitution to all benefices without the Biſhop of the dioceſe's conſent, which being a papal proviſion, the accepting of ſuch inſtitutions involved the Clergy in a *præmunire*. He likewiſe publiſhed Pope Leo's bull againſt Luther, and required all that had any of Luther's books to bring them in by a prefixed day, under pain of excommunication. This ſhews how much they were then afraid of the ſpreading of Luther's doctrines. Indeed the corruptions were become ſo groſs, that a reformation was univerſally wiſhed for, ſo much, that, in the commiſſion to thoſe who were ſent by the King to aſſiſt at the Council of Lateran, the reformation of the head and members is mentioned as the thing that was expected from that Council.

Theſe corruptions were ſo great, that Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and one of the beſt men of the age, who though he never tried to recommend himſelf at Court by flattery, yet was ſo much eſteemed by the King, that he called him his Doctor, made them the ſubject of a ſermon he preached at the opening of a Convocation: wherein he complains grievouſly of the pride and covetouſneſs of the Biſhops and Clergy, that thoſe were the occaſions of all their corruptions and quarrels; that churchmen being employed in ſecular employments was the diſgrace of the Church, and made them ignorant, and flatterers of Princes: he complains of the greedineſs of Clergymen, how they run from benefice to benefice, and ſeemed to mind nothing but fat benefices and high promotions, and though they have many great ones, never do the office of any ſmall one; he ſays that hurts them more than any contradiction from lay-people. He calls on them all to reform themſelves, and the rather to give good example. He complains the gate of ordination is too wide, that people without learning or good lives are admitted; that Rectors do not reſide in their churches, but

Colet's ſermon before the Convocation.

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but that all offices are performed by fooliſh and wicked Vicars. He complains that Biſhops are made by the favour of men, and are worldly, not heavenly, and do not reſide in their dioceſe; he earneſtly begs them not to let that meeting paſs in doing nothing, as others had; but to go on by God's aid and ſpirit, and contrive, eſtabliſh, and decree ſuch things as may lead to the advantage of the Church, their own honour, and the glory of God.

1523.

Sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion in his Utopia.

There was another great man about this time, Sir Thomas More, who ſeems once to have had the ſame ſenſe of the corruptions which then prevailed. He writ his Utopia when he was about thirty-four years old, A. D. 1516. and was employed with Tonſtall in ſome negociations with Prince Charles. He ſhews in that book what large and noble apprehenſions he had of things; he arraigns the Monks as being uſeleſs and miſchievous to the public, and gives a very ridiculous view of the folly and ill nature of the Friars; he accuſes the preachers of having corrupted Chriſt's doctrine, and made a leaden rule of it; he makes the Utopians allow their Prieſts to marry; and he exalts ſolid virtue much above the rigid ſeverities then in faſhion; he puts images out of the Utopian churches; he makes them pay divine honours only to God; he gives it as one of their maxims, that no man ought to be puniſhed for his religion, and there was a law amongſt them to that purpoſe; and if any one endeavoured to raiſe ſedition on the account of religion, he was to be baniſhed; he makes that, though there were ſeveral ſects among them, they performed particular rites in their private houſes, and in the public temples there was nothing but the worſhip of one God, in which they all agreed. Theſe repreſentations of the happineſs of his imaginary country ſhew what Sir Thomas More then thought of matters. And there is nothing can be a ſurer mark that Popery will darken the cleareſt underſtanding, and corrupt the beſt nature, than that this ſame man, who had ſuch noble thoughts of things, ſhould afterwards prove not only a violent oppoſer of the Reformation in writing, but a perſecutor of it even to blood.

1527.

Thus ſtood the affairs in England when the divorce was firſt ſet on foot. It was ſaid in the former volume, that the Emperor broke his contract to marry Princeſs Mary by the advice of a Spaniſh Cortes, on the account of exceptions that were made againſt her mother's marriage:

riage: but now it appears, that the Emperor defired of the King to be difcharged of his obligation, becaufe the match with Portugal was more for his intereft, and not on any fcruple as to the legitimacy of Princefs Mary; but the King never difcharged him, and afterwards demanded of him one part of the forfeiture of the contract, which was 1000001. The firft motion about the divorce was made to the Pope, when Wolfey was in France concluding a treaty with Francis to fet the Pope at liberty. From thence likewife Wolfey with four other Cardinals wrote to the Pope, defiring him to grant them a full deputation of his authority, during his imprifonment, for the fafety of his Church, left the Emperor fhould force him to yield up its territories; and declaring, that if he dies, they will chooſe a new Pope, without regarding any elections the imprifoned Cardinals might be forced to.

1527.

Wolfey defires a deputation of the Pope's authority.

Wolfey defigned to bring the Emperor and King of France to an accommodation, if he could, by the King's mediation; but if that did not fucceed, and the Pope was ſtill kept prifoner, he expected a general meeting of Cardinals at Avignon, where he might bring on the matter of the divorce with fuccefs: he made a treaty with Francis, which the King fwore to, Bellay, Bifhop of Bayonne, and feveral more, being fent over to take his oath. Now the King's matter began to be public; for one Wakefield, (the firft man of this nation that was learned in the oriental tongues,) who had writ againſt the divorce, before he knew that Prince Arthur had conſummated his marriage, now printed a book in Latin, with a Hebrew title, to prove the marrying a brother's wife, whom he had carnally known, unlawful. Knight, who was fent to Rome at this time, obtained a bull, which was directed to Cardinal Wolfey, empowering him and the Archbifhop of Canterbury, or any other Bifhop, to judge the King's marriage, and determine it without appeal: but the bull was never made uſe of: and another was got afterwards, together with a ſolemn promiſe, on the word of a Pope, that he would never revoke his commiſſion. In the mean while Warham with ſeveral Biſhops met to conſider the grounds of the King's ſcruples; and agreed, that they were great and weighty; and that it was neceſſary for him to conſult their holy father the Pope in the matter.

1528.

A bull ſent to Wolfey to judge the marriage.

This year the King and the King of France declared war againſt the Emperor; and the King demanded the forfeit the Emperor had agreed to in caſe he did not marry

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marry Princeſs Mary. The Emperor anſwered, that the King had agreed to ſend her to him before he was to marry her, which he had not done; and he knew that the King had been treating a marriage for her with Scotland: he heard that the King deſigned a divorce, but he ſaid he had in his hands full diſpenſations for the marriage; and if the King proceeded, it would give him a juſt occaſion of war. He laid all on the Cardinal's revenge, becauſe he would not make him Pope by force, as the King and he had deſired him to do. But this might be a falſe imputation, as the breve he pretended to have was a forgery.

1528. The Emperor's anſwer to the King.

This ſummer the ſweating ſickneſs raged ſo, that the King made his will; and the Cardinal ſtole privately out of his own houſe, and ran away.

Wolſey was now beginning to decline in favour at Court, and was haſtening to finiſh his colleges, and furniſh his epiſcopal palaces, and ſeemed to be preparing for a ſtorm. The King had ſaid ſome terrible words to him, as if he apprehended him to be cold in his matter.

Gardiner was now at Rome advancing the King's buſineſs. He writes over, that he had endeavoured to frighten the Pope with telling him what meſſage the German Princes had ſent to the King; but the Pope would do nothing to offend the Emperor, being entirely in his power as long as he ſtayed at Rome. He ſays, the Pope in his words favoured the King, but he was ſure he would do nothing; but he believed he would be glad if the legates determined the cauſe; and then if the Emperor began a ſuit, they would ſerve him with delays, as they had the King, and would ſtill, if he waited for any thing from Rome. He ſent over the Pope's promiſe, never to revoke the commiſſion, in which he had got ſome words inſerted, mentioning *the juſtice of the King's cauſe*. He ſaid the Pope told him that the Emperor had advertiſed him that the Queen would do nothing, but as the King commanded her. Gardiner did not obtain what he was ordered to aſk, and he ſeems to inſinuate that the blame was to be laid on Wolſey.

King Henry's letters to Anne Bullen.

The King was at this time writing every day to Anne Bullen letters full of paſſion, but ſuch as mark an honourable love, directed to marriage, and plainly ſhew that there was no ill commerce between them. Theſe letters have been lately printed, becauſe at Rome they have long made uſe of them as an argument againſt us, pretending that they were full of defilement, and calling

calling them the true original of our Reformation. The Queen ſtill eat and lodged with the King, even after Campeggio came into England. BOOK I.

Wolſey at this time deſired the French to intercept the General of the Cordeliers who was to ſail to Spain, that they might know from him what it was that obſtructed the King's matter at Rome; for they knew he had made a treaty with the Pope in the Emperor's name, in which they were ſure the reaſons of thoſe obſtructions would appear. He complained that the French did not aſſiſt the King as they might and ought, ſince the divorce was firſt ſet on foot by himſelf, to make a perpetual ſeparation between England and the Houſe of Burgundy. 1528.

The Cardinals waited both upon the King and Queen. The Queen received Campeggio with reſpect, but ſpoke very ſeverely to Wolſey, laying all the blame upon him, and told him of his ſcandalous life, and accuſed him of having raiſed all thoſe doubts out of revenge to her nephew the Emperor. A little after ſhe choſe for her Council the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, Bath, Rocheſter, Ely, and Exeter, with the Dean of the Chapel; of which, only London, Rocheſter, and the Dean were in their opinion for her. She expected an Advocate, Proctor, and Counſellor from Flanders, it not being allowed her, by reaſon of the war, to bring one from Spain.

The King called for the Mayor of London to give the city an account of his ſcruples, and told, that the Biſhop of Tarbe was the firſt who made him entertain them. Anne Bullen was come to Court, and was waited on like a Queen. The people were uneaſy, and diſpoſed to a revolt. There were many ſtrangers in the kingdom, whom they deſigned to ſend away. The lawyers that came from Flanders, in their audience, ſpoke to the King very boldly, and were anſwered ſharply. They courted Campeggio, but neglected Wolſey; and having lodged the advices that were ſent by them with the Queen, returned home. Apprehenſions of diſorders on the Queen's account.

Gardiner had threatened the Pope, that if he did not order Campeggio to proceed in the divorce, the King would withdraw from his obedience. Wolſey was in great fear, that, if it was not done, all the blame would be caſt upon him, and would ſink him. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were perſuading the King that he betrayed him; and he deſired the King of France and his mother to make the Duke of Suffolk deſiſt; and preſſed that King to ſend to the Pope, that both kingdoms would withdraw 1529. Wolſey's credit ſhaken.

BOOK I. from his obedience, if juſtice was denied the King, and made the French great promiſes to perſuade them to it.

1529. Gardiner returned from Rome with proofs of the *breve's* being forged; and Campeggio could delay matters no longer, the French preſſing him to make diſpatch. But on the thirteenth of July, Caſſali writ from Rome, that the Pope had recalled the King's cauſe at the Emperor's ſuit. The original regiſter of the Legates' proceedings, which is now found, differs in ſome points from the former account. The King never is mentioned in the regiſter as appearing in perſon, but only by proxy; and ſo thoſe ſpeeches ſeem to be inventions; or they were ſpoke to the King in the hall before the Cardinals were ſet, and ſo there was no court, nor could any thing then ſaid be regiſtered. The Queen was thrice declared contumacious. Some of the articles offered againſt the marriage were, that it was againſt the laws of God and the Church, and could not be diſpenſed with; that the Pope had been ſurpriſed into it by falſe ſuggeſtions of the danger of a war, and it was proved that there was no appearance at that time of a war between England and Spain: the *breve* was likewiſe proved to be a forgery. Warham ſaid, in his examination, he had been againſt the marriage, thinking it againſt the laws of God and the Church, but that he acquieſced upon the Pope's diſpenſation. The Biſhop of Ely depoſed, that the Queen had often denied to him that the marriage with Prince Arthur was ever conſummated; but many witneſſes were brought to prove a conſummation, from their lodging conſtantly in the ſame bed; from Prince Arthur's good health, and ſome words he ſpoke the morning after his marriage. In this record there is no mention of that paper, which it was ſaid Warham and the Biſhops ſigned, and Fiſher denied he had ſigned, concerning the King's marriage; which makes it probable that the ſtory of its being brought into court was a miſtake: in other particulars it agrees with the former account.

The proceedings of the Legates.

The Cardinal's fall. Wolſey (after the adjournment) expreſſed great fear, and preſſed the Biſhop of Bayonne, the French miniſter, to go over to France, and gather the opinions of learned men on the King's cauſe: the Biſhop deſired leave of the King of France to come over, under pretence of coming to ſee his old father, but really to know the ſenſe of the French Divines: he writ to France, that if they did not agree to his coming over, it would increaſe the jealouſies the King had already conceived of that court.

Wolſey was ſoon after that diſgraced, and bore it very ill:

ill: he desired the French King and his mother to interpose with the King for him, to prevent his total ruin, though he did not desire to remain Chancellor or Legate; but he begged them not to let it appear that the motion came from him, lest it should hasten his ruin; and if they would do any thing, to do it without delay. BOOK I. 1529.

When he went to York, he behaved himself very well, and gave a good example to Bishops. He rode about the country to parish-churches most holidays, and made one of his Doctors preach, and said mass himself; and composed any quarrels that were among them.

In the mean while the King sent his question to the several Universities of Europe; and to gain Francis to assist him in this, he lent him 150000 crowns to help to pay the redemption of his sons, who were yet in the Emperor's hands; and sent him great presents.

When the Parliament was met, the Convocation assembled two days after. A reformation of abuses was proposed, and an enquiry was made concerning heretical books; and they remitted to the King the loan they had made him. The Bishops were very angry at several translations of the Bible by Tindal and others, and the King ordered them all to be brought in, and promised a new one. When Coverdale had made his translation, the Bishops told the King that there were many faults in it. He asked if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none; upon which the King answered, *Then in God's name let it go abroad among my people.* The Convocation met again the next year; their greatest business was to purchase a pardon for the *præmunire* the Cardinal had involved them in, which they did for 100000l. The dispute was about putting in those words, *The King who is Protector, and the only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.* They seemed unwilling to allow that, and the King insisted on it, or would pass no pardon. At last it was mollified by adding these words, *As far as is to be allowed by the laws of Christ.* This both Houses consented to, and so the matter was carried; and the King was glad to have it settled, notwithstanding the limitation, that it might serve to terrify the Court of Rome. Tonstal, now made Bishop of Durham, protested against it, but was so satisfied by a letter the King wrote to him, that he afterwards took the oath without any limitation. Afterward they condemned Tracy's Testament, and complained of Crome, Bilney, and Latimer, desiring that they might be proceeded against. Proceedings in Convocation. 1530.

BOOK I.

When the King conſulted his Univerſities about the marriage, Cambridge determined the matter firſt. The King writ to them, and ſent Gardiner and Fox to inform them of the ſtate of the caſe. When they determined againſt the marriage, they added, ſhe being carnally known by her former huſband. The Vice-Chancellor brought this determination to the King; and the King deſired them to determine the other queſtion, whether the Pope had power to diſpenſe with ſuch a marriage? and was not pleaſed that it was not already determined. To them of Oxford the King writ, charging them to judge uprightly, and deſiring them to make haſte, as Cambridge had done; and not to ſuffer the young men to ſtay the heads and ſeniors in ſo weighty a cauſe: but there is nothing like threatening them, if they did not judge for him.

1530. The proceedings in the Univerſities.

The King deſired the opinions of the French Divines; and wondered that, after he had received ſuch good anſwers from Italy, they at Paris were ſo backward; and he ſuſpected the King of France was not enough his friend: ſo Bellay, Biſhop of Bayonne, went to Paris, and was ſo zealous in King Henry's affair, that ſome told the King of France, that he ſeemed to be ſerving two maſters.

Proceedings in the Univerſities abroad.

In the mean while Cajetan wrote for the Pope's power of diſpenſing with ſuch marriages, affirming that they were not againſt the moral law, which he owned the Pope could not diſpenſe with. The Pope, on a complaint of Queen Catharine, ſent a *breve* to the King, prohibiting him to marry again, under pain of the ſevereſt cenſures, and threatened to put the whole kingdom under an interdict. He had attempted to do the ſame before; but that being complained of, he diſowned and annulled the cenſures that were threatened in the interdiction.

The Doctors of the Sorbonne had before given their opinion as private men; and fifty-ſix Doctors had been for the King, and only ſeven againſt him. But now they met in a body to conſider the matter. The queſtion being propoſed to them, ſome ſaid they were ſubject to the Pope, and could not proceed without knowing his pleaſure, or, at leaſt, without knowing whether the King approved it: others were for proceeding to examine the matter, but for ſuſpending the final reſolution, till they had an anſwer from the Pope and King. When the beadle began to gather the votes, whether they ſhould proceed or not, a Doctor ſnatched the ſcroll out of his hand, and tore it, and ſo they all roſe in a tumult.

The proceedings of the Sorbonne.

Upon this the Engliſh complained grievouſly; the French

French preſſed the King to write to the Dean to cut off all delays, and end this buſineſs as ſoon as poſſible, and repreſented to him how things were managed among them, and how much that body wanted to be reformed. There were thirty-ſix againſt King Henry, and only twenty-two for him, in the laſt aſſembly, which made the Engliſh ſuſpect ſome underhand dealing. They were ordered to meet again, and at laſt (on the ſecond of July) made their deciſion, which was ſent to King Henry, with an atteſtation by the notaries of the Court of Paris, which pleaſed the King mightily. 1530.

After this the party againſt the King would have overturned what was done by the whole body, and met as a capitular congregation, and demanded the act of determination from the Biſhop of Senlis, who had it in his keeping, and was one of their body; but he would not ſend it them, and they threatened to deprive him as a rebel to the faculty. There was another inſtrument which they all ſigned, but was full of raſures and additions: this was demanded to be ſent to England, but it was with much difficulty got out of their hands. In all this tranſaction there appeared ſo much tumult and diſorder, as ſhewed they did not deſerve the high character they bore in the world. At Angers the Univerſity gave their opinion againſt the marriage and diſpenſation; but the Divines for them both.

The Pope at this time had cited the King to appear before him; and becauſe the King would not ſuffer his citation to be intimated to him, had made it be affixed at Tournay and Bruges. Upon this the King writ to the Pope, that he ſaw he neither regarded the moſt Chriſtian King's interceſſions, nor himſelf, nor his nobility; that he refuſed to ſend judges to judge upon the place, contrary to what both Councils and Fathers had determined, and to what he had once already done; that he ſaw he was entirely devoted to the Emperor; that the Queen could not pretend England was a ſuſpected place, conſidering the liberties her friends were allowed to take: he complains that the Pope had endeavoured to hinder learned men from giving their opinion, both by his own people, and by the Emperor's means, notwithſtanding that he had granted a *breve* for that purpoſe; that he would not ſuffer his prerogative, nor the laws of his kingdom, to be broke, as they would be by citing him out of it. But that had no effect, and the Pope ſent a ſecond *breve*, declaring his marriage, if he ſhould marry, null, and the iſſue illegitimate, and denouncing cenſures againſt him, and all that ſhould aſſiſt

The Pope's proceedings.

BOOK I.

him in it. Upon this the King ſent an excuſator to Rome, and his ambaſſadors complained of the indignity done the King; and the King's advocates, that pleaded for admitting the excuſator, argued upon the unſafeneſs of the place to which the King was cited; and that he could not be obliged to ſend a proxy, but where he might appear himſelf; nor was any proxy fit to be truſted in ſo nice a matter. They did not dare (at Rome) to inſiſt upon the cauſe's being to be judged on the place where it lay, but they inſiſted that it ſhould be in the neighbourhood. This matter was pleaded backward and forward for above three years at Rome, Francis always interpoſing for King Henry, and the Court of Rome preſſing him to keep the King from giving new provocations; and the Pope aſſured him that he would manage the matter ſo, as to do ſervice to King Henry, without ſeeming partial to him. Francis had agreed on an interview with the Pope for the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry the Second, to Catharine de Medici, in which he pretended he would promote the King's intereſt by gaining the Pope; and another interview was fixed between the two Kings to lay the matter, at which Anne Bullen was brought at the requeſt of Francis. There the two Kings vowed perpetual friendſhip; and afterwards King Henry reproached Francis for having broken his word to him, in kiſſing the Pope's toe at the interview, and marrying his ſon to the Pope's niece, before he had given him ſatisfaction, and in not withdrawing himſelf from the Pope's obedience, and joining with him in an appeal to a General Council, as he had promiſed to do, if the Pope proceeded to final cenſures againſt him.

1530.

Soon after this the King married Anne Bullen, but Cranmer was not preſent, as he declares himſelf in a letter; nay he did not know of it till a fortnight after; he ſays it was done about St. Paul's day: but Queen Elizabeth being born within eight months, on the thirteenth or fourteenth of September, as appears by a letter of Cranmer's, it is probable they gave out that the marriage had been made in November, which was eaſily done, it having been managed ſo very ſecretly. When the news of the marriage came to Rome, the Pope ſeemed unwilling to proceed to cenſures, knowing how little they would ſignify: but the Emperor, it ſeems, forced him to it; for there was a *breve* publiſhed this year, but it was ſuppreſſed till the next year, for it has a ſecond date of 1532. In it the King is required to put away Anne, and take back his wife, under pain of their being both excommunicated: yet

1530.

yet the Pope changed his tone, for after this he talked openly in favour of the King's cauſe. The Emperor was preſſing for a General Council to be called upon the King's affair, and on ſome other accounts: the King's miniſters, on the other hand, urged the decree of the Council of Nice, that all ſuch cauſes were to be judged by the Biſhops of the province; but the Pope would not hear of it. He was told by the King's agents, that the King was reſolved to adhere to his marriage, whatever the Pope did; and if he proceeded further, he might loſe England, and perhaps France, as he had loſt Hungary, and a great part of Germany. The King of France would have had the King come to the interview with the Pope at Marſeilles; but the King was ſo diſguſted at the Pope's tricks, that he ſaid, he had married upon a ſentence in England which ſatisfied his own conſcience; and if the Pope would not do him juſtice, he would deliver the nation from their ſlavery to Rome. He had got the judgments of ſome Univerſities againſt his citation to Rome, Orleans in particular; and ſeveral canoniſts and advocates at Paris were of opinion that he was not bound to appear, nor ſend a proxy. King Henry endeavoured to divert the King of France from his interview with the Pope, which Francis ſaid could not in honour be broke: but he deſired the King would come thither, and he hoped all would be made up; or if he would not come, he deſired the Duke of Norfolk ſhould be ſent, with ſome learned perſons. The Duke was ſent, and told the King of France, that, after the laſt ſentence at Rome, the King looked upon the Pope as his enemy; and if he could not divert the interview, he was to return immediately: and upon Francis's refuſing that, he returned, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing inſtances he made him to ſtay. The King of France wrote to King Henry, that if the Duke of Norfolk had been with him, much might have been done. The Pope was angry that the King had contemned his *breve*, and that Cranmer had pronounced the ſentence of divorce, and the Cardinals were ſo diſtaſted with it, that the Pope could not avoid doing ſomething upon it; but if Henry would have undone what had been done, he ſeemed willing to ſerve him with whatever he deſired. The King of France ſent very friendly meſſages to the King and Anne Bullen, and promiſed to be the godfather of their child, if it was a ſon.

King Henry oppoſes the interview with the Pope in vain.

They were now at Marſeilles, whither Gardiner was ſent by the King. Francis preſſed violently to have the King's affair firſt diſpatched; but the Pope pretended the

The interview at Marſeilles.

BOOK I.

process was left at Rome, and so nothing could be done in it. King Henry upon this expostulated, that Francis went on with the marriage before his affair was done, contrary to his promise: but answer was made, that to break with the Pope would throw him into the Emperor's hands, and that the interest he should gain with the Pope should be employed for the King's service. The Pope, seeing the King of France espouse the matter so cordially, was willing to do any thing to satisfy the King; but the Imperialists so pressed him, that he was forced to do whatever they demanded of him. The matter was still delayed at Rome; they still insisted on a proxy's being sent, promising to send delegates to England to examine witnesses, only reserving the final sentence to the Pope: Cassali came over to England about the proposal, but to no purpose. In the interview the Pope always allowed the King's cause to be just, but complains of the King's injuries to the see: Francis told him, he had begun doing injuries; but Henry desired that, setting aside all that was past, justice might be done him; and if that was refused, he would trouble himself no more about it. Francis complained, that the King would send no proxy to Marseilles; otherwise, he said, the business would have been done: and King Henry complained that Francis had not kept his promises to him, nor had pressed the Pope enough, otherwise he would have yielded. The Emperor at this time sent word to the Queen and her daughter not to come to Spain, till he had got right done them; since the people in England were in such fear of a change in religion, and a war that would spoil their trade with Flanders, that they would be ready to join with any Prince that should espouse their party.

1530.

1532. The proceedings of the Convocation.

But to set out at full the progress of those things which so incensed the Pope, we must look back a little, and first give the proceedings of the Convocation. The Parliament having complained of several grievances in the ecclesiastical courts, the King answered, he would hear what the Clergy said of those matters. When the Convocation met, they began with Tracy, who died without leaving any money to have his soul prayed for, declaring that he only trusted in Christ, and not in any saint; so they were for burning his body; and the more, because one Brown had published another Testament like Tracy's. The Parliament had passed an act about pluralities of benefices; but the Convocation would do nothing about that, and condemned the bonds of residence which some Bishops took, which

when

when they brought up as a complaint to the Bishops, they made no answer to them.

In another session, Latimer was excommunicated for having refused to subscribe some articles, and ordered to prison; but he submitted and subscribed all but two, and they absolved him: but after this, he being called on another occasion to answer upon oath, appealed to the King, who remitting him to the Archbishop, he submitted, and was restored at the King's desire: some Bishops protested against it, because he had not renounced his errors. On the 12th of April, 1532, the Archbishop proposed to them to prepare an answer to the complaint of the Commons; and they made an answer, with which the King was not satisfied; and they employed four sessions more in a further consideration of that matter. In another session the Bishop of London proposed a supply to them, and the prolocutor went down with the proposal, but returned with a desire that they might consider of an answer to the King about ecclesiastical authority; and then desired that one might be sent to the King, to pray him that he would maintain the liberties of the Church; and begged some of the Bishops to intercede in their behalf, which they promised to do. Afterward they agreed upon an answer to the King. And on the 15th of May there came a writ to the Archbishop to prorogue them: that day the Bishops agreed to a schedule, in which it appears was the form of their submission to the King; only the Bishop of Bath dissented: and it was sent to the Lower House, who were divided about it, but the majority agreed; and the Convocation was prorogued till November. Next day the Archbishop delivered it to the King, as enacted and concluded by them all. This great transaction was finished in about a month's time; it began April the 12th, and was ended May the 15th. It appears by the heat against Tracy and Latimer, that the opposers were violently set against any reformation; but that submission of theirs helped it on mightily, and restrained all the opposition that would otherwise have made against it. How this affair went at York does not appear by any account that is left; only it is certain, the thing was carried thither, and that then they apprehended some difficulty there. Whatever was done in either Convocation, the King kept within himself for two years, to have been given up, if he could have agreed with Rome; but after the final breach, it was ratified in Parliament.

1532.

Before the Convocation met again, Warham died. He had always concurred with the King; but six months before

BOOK I.

1532.

fore his death, he made a ſecret proteſt at Lambeth before witneſſes, that what ſtatutes ſoever paſſed, and were to paſs in the Parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope, or eccleſiaſtical authority, or the liberties of the ſee of Canterbury, he did not conſent to, but diſowned and diſſented from them; which makes him either a very deceitful man, or a very weak man, on whom his confeſſor had impoſed it as a penance for what he had done.

The Convocation judges againſt the marriage.

Upon Warham's death the Biſhop of St. Aſaph was deputed to preſide in Convocation by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury. In this meeting the King's marriage was brought before them, and Gardiner offered the judgments of ſeveral Univerſities to be read. Some were afraid of meddling with the matter, ſince it was then depending before the Pope: but the Preſident produced the Pope's *breve*, allowing all to give their opinions freely in that matter. Next ſeſſion he produced the original inſtrument of ſix Univerſities, (not nineteen, as was ſaid before,) of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bruges, and Thoulouſe: and, after a long diſpute, they agreed with the Univerſities. And on April the 2d, 1533, Cranmer being then conſecrated, two queſtions were put: firſt, whether it was unlawful to marry the wife of a brother, dying without iſſue, but having conſummated the marriage? and if the prohibition of ſuch a marriage was grounded on a divine law, with which the Pope could diſpenſe, or not? There were 66 preſent, and the proxies of 197 abſent: all agreed to the affirmative, except 19. The ſecond queſtion was, whether the conſummation of Prince Arthur's marriage was ſufficiently proved? This queſtion being referred to the Biſhops and Clergy that were canoniſts, who were 44 in number, all but five or ſix affirmed it. It does not at all appear that the Deans and Archdeacons ſat in the Upper Houſe, as was conjectured before. At York alſo the Convocation agreed to the affirmative of both queſtions, excepting only two perſons.

The Archbiſhop Cranmer gives ſentence againſt it.

Both provinces thus agreeing againſt the marriage, the Archbiſhop Cranmer deſired the King's licenſe to judge the matter, and having obtained it, gave ſentence on the 23d of May: then the King opened his marriage, for the Queen's big belly could be no longer hid. This was much reſented at Rome; and the Imperialiſts preſſed the Pope very tumultuouſly to exert his authority: but the views he then had of marrying his niece to France, which he feared ſuch a proceeding would diſappoint, made him reſolve to delay the final ſentence for ſome time. Gardiner,

Bryan,

Bryan, and Bennet, were sent ambassadors to Francis at Marseilles; and Bonner to the Pope, with the King's appeal to a General Council: he carried a notary with him, one Pennistón, to make an act of what he was to say to the Pope. When he first came to the Pope, he found him going to the Consistory; but the Pope took him aside, and he delivered him his message from the King; upon which the Pope bid him come again in the afternoon. When he came again with Pennistón, the Pope called his datary and two others, and complained of the usage he had met with from the King: on the other side, Bonner complained of his using the King so ill, and breaking his promise to him: the Pope said, he could not help avocating the cause when the Queen demanded it, and refused the judges in England; that the delays were owing to the King's not sending a proctor. When Bonner was going to reply, the datary came in, and the Pope ordered the datary to read the commission. The Pope shewed great passion, though he endeavoured to cover it, especially when the appeal was read, and the Archbishop's sentence, which he spoke of with contempt, and pretended that he was ready to call a Council, but that the King seemed to put it off. In the mean while, the King of France came to the Pope, and when the Pope told him what they were doing, he affected to be entirely ignorant of it. When the King was gone, the Pope heard the rest of the appeal, and two other appeals of the King's to a General Council, and often interrupted them in the reading. When all was over, the Pope said he would consult with the Cardinals, and then give him an answer. There was a Consistory held next day, and Bonner being called in, the Pope told him he was resolved to continue in doing the King justice, however he took it; but rejected his appeal as unlawful, according to Pius's constitution condemning all such appeals; that he would use all his diligence to get a Council to meet; but the calling it belonged wholly to him. He refused to restore the instruments to Bonner, as he had desired; but told him he should have his answer in writing, and signed from the datary, which accordingly he had next day. The Pope left Marseilles the next day, and went for Rome. Bonner believed the French knew their design, and were glad it was executed just before the Pope went; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all. This account Bonner gives of his own negociation in a letter to the King; he says nothing of any threatenings to himself: probably Bonner or his friends gave that out to raise the value of his service in England.

1533.

BOOK I. England. At the ſame time Cranmer appealed likewiſe, by the King's order, to a General Council, and ſent his appeal over to Gardiner, to get it intimated to the Pope the beſt way he could.

1533.

Bellay ſent over by the King to Francis.

When Francis came back from Marſeilles, he ſent Bellay, now Biſhop of Paris, over to the King, with inſtructions to tell him, that he heard he complained of him, and took it very ill, ſince he had been doing all he could to ſerve him; that the treaty of marriage with the Pope's niece had been agreed on by them both, and had gone ſo far, that he could not retreat; that the Pope would do nothing farther in the King's matter, if he would ſtop on his ſide; that though the King had innovated in many things, yet he had ſoftened the Pope's reſentments; that if the King would have ſent one with full powers, as he had promiſed, matters might have been made up with the Pope. But Gardiner, though he pretended to have them, yet had no ſuch powers; that the Pope was willing to yield, if ſuch had come as he expected from the King; that, inſtead thereof there came an appeal to a Council, which ſo provoked the Pope, that all he had been working was pulled down by it; that he had injured him in uſing the Pope ill, in his houſe, without his knowledge; that the Pope upon that refuſed to put ſome places in Italy into his hands, which he had offered before, and ſo the marriage was concluded without any advantage to him: he ſaw the King ſuſpected every thing he did, as treating with the King of Scotland, though by it he took him out of the Emperor's hands. He complained of his ambaſſadors at Marſeilles, eſpecially Gardiner, that they did not deſign there ſhould be any agreement. He propoſed of new the ſame means of reconciliation that were propoſed at Marſeilles, with ſome other things which he believed would repair all: it touched him to ſee his friendſhip requited with ſuſpicions. He had been offered Milan, if he would let the Pope and Emperor proceed againſt the King: but now he was to offer a league between the Pope and them two, if he would be reconciled to the Pope; but if the King would not do that, he would nevertheleſs continue his friend, and ſtand by him if any Prince ſhould make war upon him on account of his marriage; and engage the King of Scotland to do the ſame. Probably theſe inſtructions are not publiſhed fully by the French; for the French King does not mention in them what the Pope had ſaid to him of the juſtice of the King's cauſe, which would

would have been the beſt argument to King Henry, and which Francis owned on other occaſions. BOOK I.

At this time the King writ to the ambaſſador at Vienna, to complain of Queen Catharine's obſtinacy, and aſſure him the report of her being ill uſed was falſe; and tells him that the Pope had confeſſed the juſtice of his cauſe, and promiſed to give ſentence for him, if he would ſend a proxy; which he refuſing, the Pope gave ſentence againſt him, though he had appealed to a General Council, which he imputed to his malice and pride. 1533. A repreſentation to the Emperor.

The Biſhop of Paris came to London, and had long conferences with the King, and the King promiſed him to ſuperſede his withdrawing from his obedience, if the Pope would ſuperſede his ſentence; upon which the Biſhop went poſt to Rome. And the King writ to his ambaſſadors there, that he had heard that the Pope had ſpoke favourably of his cauſe to the Emperor, and propoſed that the thing might either be tried in an indifferent place, reſerving the judgment to himſelf; or that he and the King of France ſhould make a three years truce, that he might call a General Council to try the cauſe; that the Nuncio had made him the ſame overture, pretending that the Pope had agreed to it, at Caſſali's inſtance in the King's name, (which the King denied he had any order for:) yet ſince the Pope ſeemed better inclined than formerly, he ordered them to thank him in his name, and tell him he deſired nothing but to have juſtice done him without delay; that till he had peace in his own conſcience, he would not meddle in the truce; but then he would endeavour to procure a general peace with Francis, from whom he would never ſeparate: he bids them therefore preſs the Pope to let the fact be tried in the kingdom, according to the old ſanctions of Councils; that he could not ſuffer it to be tried abroad, without breaking his coronation oath, and the laws of his kingdom, and injuring his own prerogative; that he could not do it without conſent of Parliament, and knew they would never conſent; he ſent over the leagues for the marriage, ſigned by his father, and Ferdinand and Iſabella, in which it appeared there was no ſuch urgent cauſe, as without which the Pope confeſſed he could not diſpenſe with ſuch a marriage, and in it the conſummation of the former marriage with Arthur is mentioned; that if the Pope would ſuffer the Church of England to judge the matter, and ratify their ſentence, he would require the obedience of England, and quiet Europe. He concludes, that The Biſhop of Paris prevailed on the King to ſubmit to the Pope.

BOOK I. 1533.

that if the Pope ſeemed well diſpoſed towards him, they were not to deliver this as his final anſwer, but to aſſure the Pope he would ſtudy by all honourable ways to concur with him. This is all the ſubmiſſion that appears from the King to the Pope.

To quicken the Court of France, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency, that he wiſhed the Biſhop of Paris might ſucceed; that if the Popes perſiſted to favour the Emperor, and oppreſs the King, it would ruin his authority in England, and perhaps in other places; that they began to believe in England that his power was uſurped, when it extended beyond the dioceſe of Rome; that ſo many Scriptures and reaſons were alleged for the King by the Biſhops and Doctors, that he himſelf, and other noblemen, and the body of the people, were convinced of it; and that if the King gave way, this preſent Parliament would withdraw from their obedience to the Pope, and then every thing belonging to it would be hated and abhorred by the whole nation. He as a friend advertiſed him of this: he apprehended ſome ill effects from the cloſe union of Francis with the Pope; he complained that Beda, who abuſed the King at Paris in his cauſe, and the King of France had promiſed to baniſh, was now recalled: he does not deſire Francis to become the Pope's enemy, but only that he will not, if there happen a rupture with the Pope, encourage him to execute his malice againſt the King or his ſubjects, and be drawn in to loſe his friends and allies by promiſes of the Pope's to enable him to recover his dominions in Italy.

The final ſentence given.

The Pope was now in great anxiety, preſſed by the Imperialiſts on one ſide, and by the danger of loſing England on the other. He ſeemed much inclined to a reconciliation with the King; but at laſt the Imperialiſts prevailed, and the ſentence was given in great haſte, two and twenty Cardinals being preſent, as is told in the former volume. The French miniſters had expreſſed great hopes about a month before: but now they were afraid the King of England would think they had deceived them, and ſo they reſolved to come away, and deſired the French King to let King Henry know it as ſoon as poſſible, and all the world would ſee how true a friend he had been to him. The Imperialiſts made great rejoicings, running about crying *Empire and Spain*, as if they had gained a victory. Thus was this great tranſaction ended, and by a wonderful providence, when King Henry was ready to give up all that had been done, and the

the hopes of a reformation seemed blasted, then those, the Court of Rome, who were most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach, were the very persons that brought it on, and in a manner forced it. The sentence was given at Rome on the twenty-third of March, the day the act of succession passed in England, and the Parliament was prorogued on the thirtieth, before they could hear what was done at Rome; so that though they at Rome had taken the King's word, and not ended the matter, King Henry seems to have put it out of his power to have kept it; for it is scarce credible that the Parliament, when they had gone so far in the breach with Rome, would have undone all again. 1533.

1534. All in England concur to renounce the Pope's authority.

After this a question was put to the Convocation in England, whether the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop? and it was carried for the negative; thirty-two denying it, and only four affirming it: the same was agreed to at York without one contrary vote. Then the King sent the question to Oxford, requiring the University to examine it, and return an answer under their seal speedily, according to the sincere truth. They, after five weeks deliberation and public disputations on the point, unanimously made the same answer with the Convocation, setting their seal to it, and directing it to all the sons of their mother-church, in the name of the Chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the whole Convocation of all Doctors and Masters regent and non-regent. When this was made a law, and oaths and subscriptions were required, those who were zealous for the King, and for a further reformation, were known by expatiating copiously in the form they took them in; whereas those who adhered to their old opinions were satisfied with signing the proposition, and taking the oath simply; of the first sort the Prior and Chapter of Worcester were most forward and ample.

An order for bidding prayers and preaching.

There was about this time an order to preachers to bid prayers before sermon for the King as supreme head of the Church of England, to preach once against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, not to preach one against another, nor for or against purgatory, honouring saints, that faith only justifieth, pilgrimages, and miracles; but to preach the word of Christ, not mixing the authority of men, as if they could dispense with God's laws: the excommunication that used to be read against all that broke

BOOK I. broke the laws and liberties of the Church was prohibited to be uſed any more: the preachers were ordered to juſtify the King's marriage to the people, and ſet forth to 1534. them the ill uſage he had met with from the Pope; and for that end the whole proceſs, and all the Pope's artifices, were deduced at length, particularly how he had ſent over a bull, decreeing the marriage unlawful and null, if the former one was proved to have been conſummated, and that the bull was embezzled by the Cardinals: that when complaint was made at Rome by the King, upon an excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm that came out, the Pope had diſowned it, laying the blame on an officer, and promiſed to let the proceſs ceaſe; yet went on, and it was ſet up in Flanders: that the Pope had owned to the French King the juſtneſs of his cauſe, and pleaded only the fear he was in of the Emperor, for not judging for him at Rome; but promiſed to do it at Marſeilles, provided he would ſend a proxy, which he knew he could not.

Paget ſent to ſome northern Courts.

As the King took care thus to have his cauſe fully ſet forth to his own ſubjects, ſo alſo he deſired to have it rightly underſtood by the Princes of Europe. For this end he ſent Paget to the King of Poland, and the Dukes of Pomerania and Pruſſia, and the cities of Dantzick, Stetin, and Koningſburg: probably others were ſent to other princes and cities, but none but Paget's inſtructions remain. He was to deſire in the King's name that their old friendſhip might be renewed, the rather becauſe the King ſaw they were ſeeking the truth of God's Word, and the extirpation of thoſe abuſes by which the world had been kept in ſlavery to the Biſhop of Rome; to tell that the King's great deſire was to promote the common good of Chriſtendom: he was to give an account of the progreſs of his cauſe, and the injuries the Biſhop of Rome had done him; to ſhew them the juſtice of his cauſe, and of the manner in which it was carried on; that the King did not only follow his own opinion, and that of his Clergy, but that of the moſt famous Univerſities of Chriſtendom; that upon that, by the conſent of his Parliament, and by the ſentence of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the good of his people, he ſeparated from Queen Catharine, and married Queen Anne, whom he highly commends upon many accounts: if any ſhould object to what he had done, as being contrary to the Pope's laws, he aſſerted that every man's conſcience is to him the ſupreme court for judgment; he was to ſet forth the ungodly dealing of the Pope,

Pope, who had put him off with delay for more than seven years; that he had broken his promise under his hand to him, in avocating the cause; that after that he had often cited him to Rome, to the subversion of the royal dignity, though the Councils of Nice, Afric, and Milevi, had decreed against appeals to remote places; that if the Pope could cite Kings out of their kingdoms at pleasure, he may depose them, or rule them as he pleased; that a proxy was a person not fit to be employed in a case of conscience; so that all this proceeding of the Pope was unjust and null: that the Pope had refused his excusator; and when Karn told him that was against law, he answered, that he might judge all things according to his own conscience; and went on, though they shewed him the determinations of the Universities of Paris and Orleans, and the opinions of most learned men in France and Italy, condemning his proceedings, and designed to excommunicate the King; to prevent which he appealed to a Council; but the Pope rejected his appeal, saying he was superior to all General Councils, and calling those who appealed to them heretics and traitors to him; so that it appeared plainly, that his own glory and ambition was his only motive; which should make them all on their guard against such invasions of their authority. For these reasons the King was resolved to reduce his power to what was granted to him expressly in Scripture: so the King desired that those Princes and States would adhere to him till a General Council could meet to treat this matter, and would now give him their advice; and he promised kindly to admit of whatever they proposed, and that he would endeavour to extirpate all abuses against God's word and laws, and do all that lay in him for the reformation thereof, the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and the welfare of Christendom. BOOK I. 1534.

But Paget was to sound their minds, how far they were devoted to the Pope, before he was to deliver the King's letters, or shew them his instructions, and then to proceed according to his discretion. What followed upon this, or how it was executed, does not appear. There had been the foundation of an alliance laid in Germany two years before by this Paget with John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and his allies, and the two Kings of France and England: but those Princes, having then agreed matters with the Emperor, could enter into no treaty at that time; only John Frederick offered the scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their name to the King.

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All theſe negociations were ſet on foot, purſuant to the advice of Cromwell, as appears by a paper under his hand, and marked on the margin by the King. In the year 1535, after the Parliament had ſettled every thing, the King publiſhed a circular letter, in which, firſt ſetting forth the great quiet that would accrue to the nation, if the Biſhops and Clergy would ſincerely publiſh the many and great abuſes of the Pope's uſurpation, and preach the true word of God to the people, and raſe the Pope's name out of all the books of divine ſervice, in purſuance of what both Clergy and temporalty had done and ſworn to the aboliſhing the Pope's power, and uniting to the Crown the ſupremacy over the Church of England, he requires the Juſtices of peace in their ſeſſions to examine whether the Biſhops and Clergy did this ſincerely; and at their meeting to ſet forth the ſame to the people, and to declare the treaſons for which the Biſhop of Rocheſter and Sir Thomas More had ſuffered. He requires them, if they find any diſſimulation or fault in any one as to this, to ſignify it to the King and Council immediately; this he charges them to do upon their allegiance, and threatens them ſeverely if they neglect it. But it ſeems this had not effect enough, for there was a new letter to ſome of the nobility, complaining that ſome, both regulars and ſeculars, extolled the Biſhop of Rome, and prayed for him, ſetting him up as God, and preferring his laws to God's laws; and requiring them to make ſuch to be apprehended, and put in priſon, without bail.

1535. A letter of the King's to the Juſtices to obſerve the behaviour of the Clergy.

Of all the Biſhops, Lee, Archbiſhop of York, and Gardiner, retained moſt of the old leaven. The King, having heard that Lee did not do his duty in his dioceſe and province, in teaching, and making others teach, what had been ſettled in Convocation and Parliament, ſent him orders to do it. Upon which he vindicated himſelf to the King, and denied that he had been negligent, but that he had taken care to diſperſe the King's orders, and to ſee them obſerved; that he had made the Pope be left out in the prayers, and that he had and would always obey the King, ſo God were not offended by it; and begged the King not to believe ſtories any more ſo eaſily againſt him.

An expoſtulation with the Court of France.

When the King proceeded to take the heads of Fiſher and More, the King of France was much diſpleaſed with that violence, having anſwered for the King to the Pope at Marſeilles, and now ſeeing things in England put paſt all reconciliation; and expoſtulated with the King upon that

that severity. To this the King answered, If the King of France had answered for him, and justified his cause, he had done what was just and friendly; that the conspiracies of Fisher and More were plainly proved; that he took it very ill that Francis gave ear to idle stories about them, which did not shew that integrity in him which the King deserved at his hands: he vindicates the new laws, as being only the old laws revived. 1535.

The King of France engages himself to adhere to and defend the King in his second marriage.

There had been a sort of coldness between the Courts of France and England ever since the interview at Marseilles till this time. But Pope Clement being now dead, and the personal tie to the Popedom ceased, the King of France finding the King's friendship would be necessary to him, resolved to give him a full assurance of his firmness to him, and sent him over a solemn engagement; in which, after having set forth how just he thought the King's cause was, to divorce his former wife, and marry Anne, and declared that he thought the Pope's dispensation null, and that the Pope and many of the Cardinals had owned to him at Marseilles that a dispensation for such a marriage was null; and that the Pope would have declared this by a definitive sentence, if human regards and private affection had not prevailed more with him than a regard to equity; he judged and affirmed that the marriage with Queen Anne was lawful and valid, and their issue had the right of succession; and that all judgments or censures passed by Pope Clement, or that should be passed by any one else, were null and unjust: and he promised on the faith of a King, under forfeiture of all his and his subjects' goods, for himself and his successors, that he would maintain this at all times, and in all places, in all synods and general councils, against whoever should oppose it; and (if need were) would justify it by a strong hand, and with all his forces; and would never for the future, publicly or privately, directly nor indirectly, do, or attempt to do, any thing against it: and he kept his word, for even in the war he afterwards had with King Henry, he never falsified this engagement.

King Henry pleased with his title of *Supreme Head*.

King Henry seemed much pleased with his new title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, which was now by act of Parliament annexed for ever to the Crown; and ordered an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and a seal to be cut, which was after this used in all affairs of the Church. The Archbishop's title was ordered in Convocation to be changed from *Legate of the Apostolic See*, to *Metropolitan and Primate*; and upon a complaint of heretical books, Tindal's books, and a book called the Primer,

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with some others, the Convocation petitioned the King to call in all heretical books, and order the Scriptures to be translated; but withal to prohibit the laity's disputing about the Catholic faith.

1535.

Cranmer and Gardiner oppose one another.

Gardiner probably supported the sharpness against heresy, as Cranmer the motion for translating the Bible, which might begin the breach between them, which broke out a little after. When Cranmer issued out his inhibitions, according to form, for an archiepiscopal visitation of the province, having obtained the King's license, Gardiner complained of it to the King upon two reasons; that the style he used of *Primate of England* derogated from the King's power; and that it was too heavy on his diocese, since they were to pay tenths for ever to the King, to be now at the charge of a visitation. Upon this, Cranmer vindicated himself, and fully answers both parts. To the first he speaks like a true primitive Bishop. He did not see how his titles lessened the King's supremacy. The Popes never thought theirs was lessened by them, otherwise (Gardiner knew well) they would soon have found means to bring all Bishops to a level, and abolished those subaltern dignities. He declared, that, if he thought his style against the King's authority, he would desire to lay it down; that he had no regard to it, further than as it was for the setting forth God's word; but that he would not leave any just thing at the pleasure of the Bishop of Winchester, he being no otherwise affectionate to him than he was; that he wished he and his brethren might leave all their titles, and call themselves only apostles of Christ; so they took not that name vainly, but were such indeed, and did order their dioceses so, that not parchment, lead, or wax, but the conversation of their people, might be the seals of their office, as St. Paul said the Corinthians were to him.

The Bishops proceed against those who desire a reformation.

A great faction was now formed against all reformation, either in doctrine or worship; and those who favoured it were ill used by most of the Bishops. A great instance of this was seen in Barlow, who was made prior of Haverford-West in Pembrokeshire, by Queen Anne's favour. He set himself to preach the pure Gospel there, and many were desirous to hear him, upon which account he was daily in danger of his life. Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, set on a friar there to accuse him; but he appealed to the King, and was preserved by Cromwell's favour. But the Bishop's officers having found upon one of his servants an English Testament, with expositions on some parts of it, charged the Mayor of the town to put him

him in prison as a heretic; and sought by all methods for witnesses against him; but finding none, were forced to let him go. Upon this Barlow complained to Cromwell of the danger that all faithful subjects, who desired to live according to the laws of God, were in; that among all the monks, and friars, and priests, that were in great number in that country, none preached the Gospel sincerely, and few favoured it; that enormous vices, and heathenish idolatry, were supported by the Clergy there, of which he offered to make full proof; and withal desired leave to remove thence, for that he could not be safe there without a special protection. This Barlow was that year made Bishop of St. Asaph, and the next of St. David's, then of Wells, but driven out by Queen Mary, and afterward made Bishop of Chichester by Queen Elizabeth, in which he lived ten years. 1535.

The Archbishop of York suspected.

Cromwell seeing this secret opposition which the Bishops made to a reformation, sent his agents up and down to observe all men's temper and behaviour. Legh was sent to York, and, by the King's order, enjoined the Archbishop to preach the word of God, and to set forth the King's prerogative; and likewise to bring up to the King all the foundations of his see, and all commissions granted to it. There seems to have been a design at this time of calling in all the Pope's bulls, and the charters belonging to the several sees, and regulating them all; but perhaps this was put off till the monasteries were once suppressed, for fear of alarming the secular clergy. Yet the bulls were now generally sent up. Tonstal wrote on this occasion to Cromwell, telling him that he had sent up his bulls to the King, but did not understand why they were asked; he hoped the King did not design to turn him out of his bishopric, and ruin him and all his servants; and that he would use him as well as the other Bishops, since he had obtained his bulls by him, and renounced every thing in them against his prerogative. Tonstal might have been the more apprehensive of the King's displeasure, because he had opposed his being declared Supreme Head in the Convocation at York; and had firmly stuck to the lawfulness of the marriage with Queen Catharine. For with his proxy which he gave to the Bishop of Ely, he had written to him before that Parliament met, desiring and requiring of him to consent to nothing that should be any ways prejudicial to the marriage, but expressly to dissent to any such thing. But when the Parliament condemned the marriage, no

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oppoſition was made either by the Biſhop of Ely, or Bath, whom he had made his ſecond proxy; but the act paſſed without either diſſent or proteſt; and Tonſtal took the oath enjoined by it. However this came to paſs, the King had a very particular regard to him; and he was after this in all things compliant, till the end of King Edward's reign.

Complaints of the monks and friars.

The many complaints which now came up from all parts of the kingdom againſt the monks and friars, eſpecially the Mendicants, of their diſpoſing the people to a revolt, determined the Court to the reſolution of proceeding againſt them all by degrees: ſo they began with the ſmaller houſes, not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, and, after ſeveral fruitleſs viſitations and injunctions, ſwept them all away; and with that got rid of all the Mendicants who were their moſt induſtrious and dangerous enemies.

The Archbiſhop of York clears himſelf.

The Archbiſhop of York, to clear himſelf of ſuſpicions, expreſſed great zeal for the King, upon the act for granting him all the leſſer monaſteries. He ordered his archdeacons to warn thoſe houſes within the act, to embezzle nothing in their houſes, and if they had, to reſtore it; and to warn all other people from receiving any of their goods or plate. This he did himſelf likewiſe to the mayor of York, and the maſter of the mint there. He interceded with Cromwell, that two houſes, St. Oſwald's, and Hexham on the borders of Scotland, might be preſerved; but whether he obtained his petition does not appear. He likewiſe forbad any preachers to be ſuffered that preached novelties, and ſowed diſſenſion; and proceeded againſt ſome who did not obey his orders.

All preaching (for ſome time) prohibited.

Upon many complaints of preachers of all ſorts, King Henry wrote a circular letter to all the Biſhops on the twelfth of July, telling them that, conſidering the diverſity of opinions about religion, he had appointed the Convocation to ſet forth articles of religion; but ordering that, in the mean while, no ſermons ſhould be preached till Michaelmas, except by the Biſhop, or in his preſence, or cathedral, where he was to provide ſuch as he could anſwer for; and that every Biſhop ſhould call in his licences for preaching, and publiſh this order in the King's name; and to impriſon all that diſobeyed it, and ſuffer no private meetings or diſputes about theſe matters. There is added a direction to pray for departed ſouls; and all curates are required, when they ſhall receive the articles of religion, to read them to their people, without adding

adding or diminiſhing, excepting ſuch as ſhall receive power under his ſeal to explain them.

Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, who had been condemned in a *præmunire* on the ſtatute of proviſors; and Stokeſly, Biſhop of London, who was charged with the breach of the ſame ſtatute, were now pardoned. All this while Cromwell carried no higher character than of Secretary of State; but it ſeems all eccleſiaſtical matters paſſed through his hands. 1535.

A treaty with the Lutheran Princes.

As the King took care to keep things quiet at home, ſo he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf abroad, by cultivating a cloſe friendſhip with the Princes of the empire of the Augſburg Confeſſion. The King of France had been courting them, pretending that he was only for a limited primacy in the Church, and not for the divine or unbounded authority which the Pope aſſumed. King Henry, hearing he had ſent for Melancthon, diſpatched Barnes to Germany, if poſſible, to ſtop his journey, ſince the King of France was then perſecuting thoſe who oppoſed the Pope's uſurped authority; and to perſuade him to come to England. If Melancthon was gone, Barnes was ordered to go on to the Princes in Germany, and engage them to continue firm in their denial of the Pope's authority, and to aſſure them, they might depend on the King's ſteadineſs in that matter; and to put them on their guard as to the French King, and aſſure them that both he and his council were altogether Papiſts.

Some likewiſe were ſent ſecretly to Sir John Wallop, the King's ambaſſador in France, who, if Melancthon was there, were privately to diſſuade his ſtaying there long, or altering his opinion in any particular. Sir John Wallop was ordered, if it was true that the King of France was ſet on maintaining the Pope's ſupremacy, to repreſent to him, how much it was againſt his honour to ſubject himſelf to the Pope, and perſuade others to do the ſame, and to put him in mind of his promiſe to maintain the King's cauſe, and not to do any thing ſo contrary to it, as to ſtudy to draw the Germans from their opinion in that matter. Melancthon's journey to France was ſtopped in a great meaſure, no doubt, by the King's interpoſing. But indeed the French miniſters were againſt his coming; for as they thought only of a civil league with the German Princes to embroil the Emperor's affairs, but were againſt meddling in points of religion; ſo they were afraid if Melancthon came to France, it might occaſion differences to ariſe between the German and French Divines, which would

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alienate the German Princes yet more from the Court of France. So Melancthon did not go, but ſent them the heads of their doctrine; on which the French made ſome amendments. But all came to nothing, for the Germans would not in the leaſt depart from the Augſburg Confeſſion; and the French were againſt meddling with doctrinal points, and only for entering into a league with the Princes of the Empire, with relation to their temporal concerns. So the King was delivered from this fear.

1536.

A treaty with the Princes of Germany.

Fox and Heath were ſent over to negociate with the Germans, and had many conferences with the German Divines at Wirtenberg. Fox aſſured them the King would agree with them in all things, having already aboliſhed the Babyloniſh tyranny: on the other hand they inſiſted on the abuſe of the maſs, and the marriage of the Clergy, and ſaid the King took away ſome ſmaller abuſes, but left the greateſt. Among theſe Divines was Melancthon, who had dedicated his Commentary on the Epiſtles to the King, and for whom the King had expreſſed a particular eſteem. But all this did not pleaſe the King, who, eſteeming himſelf the learnedeſt Prince in Europe, thought they ſhould ſubmit to him, and not he to them. They, knowing the advantage of his protection, courted him much; and made Luther aſk his pardon for writing againſt him in the manner he did; and offered him the title of Defender or Protector of their league, and to enter into a cloſe confederacy with him.

Fox preſſed them to approve of all the King had done with relation to his divorce, and of his ſecond marriage. But they excuſed themſelves till they were better informed. They added, (which Fox ſuppreſſed,) that though they thought that law againſt marrying the brother's wife ought to be obſerved; yet ſince the Jews were ſometimes diſpenſed with as to that, they thought the bond of matrimony was ſtronger. Luther was much againſt declaring the iſſue of that marriage infamous. And on Queen Catharine's death, they earneſtly preſſed their reſtoring the Lady Mary to her honour: ſo much truer were they to their principles, than to what ſeemed at that time to be their intereſt. The King's ambaſſadors gave the Princes notice that the Emperor had (in a paſſionate diſcourſe with Wiat his ambaſſador in Spain) called both the Elector and Landgrave his enemies and rebels. But the Elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox ſaid to him. He thought the King only deſigned by this negociation to bring them to depend upon him, without having any ſincere

cere intentions about religion; so he being resolved to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, and seeing no appearance of the King's agreeing to him, was very cold in the prosecution of it. 1536.

The Smalcaldick league.

But the Princes and States of that Confession met at this time at Smalcald, and settled the league which goes by that name. By it, the Elector of Saxony, and his brother, three Dukes of Brunswick, the Duke of Wirtenberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Pomeran, four brothers, Princes of Anhalt, and two Counts of Mansfield, with the deputies of twenty-one free towns, all bound themselves and their heirs to stand by one another; and if any of them were violently assaulted on the account of religion, or on any pretence, where the rest should judge religion was the true motive, the rest were to defend him who was so assaulted; and in such case none were to make any agreement or truce without the consent of the rest: and they declared that this was not in prejudice of the Emperor their lord, or any part of the empire, but only to withstand wrongful violence. They resolved likewise to admit to this confederacy all who desired it, and received the Augsburg Confession.

And this was to last for ten years, and at the end of those ten years it might be lawful to prolong it further: but if any war should be begun and not ended within those ten years, then the league was to continue till that war was brought to an end. And they gave their faith to one another to observe this religiously, and set their seals to it.

The demands of the German Princes.

On the same day the King's answer to the demands the Princes had made was offered to them. Their demands were, that the King should set forth the true doctrine of Christ according to the Augsburg Confession, and defend the same at the next General Council, if it be a free and truly Christian Council; that if such a Council should be called, it should not be refused; but that neither the King, nor any of them, should agree to any Council summoned by the Bishop of Rome; but if such a one should meet, without the agreement of the King and the Princes, they should oppose it, and protest against it, and neither obey their decrees, nor suffer them to be obeyed in their dominions; that the King associate himself to their league, and accept the name of Defender or Protector of it; that none of them ever allow of the Bishop of Rome's having any preeminence or jurisdiction in their dominions; that they enter into a league with one another on these grounds; and

BOOK I. and in caſe of any war againſt any of them, that they aſſiſt not thoſe that make war upon them; that the King lay down one hundred thouſand crowns, and they as much more, for the uſe of the confederates; and in caſe of urgent neceſſity, two, they laying down as much; and if the war be ended before the money be ſpent, the remnant ſhall be reſtored: they aſſure him that they will apply the money only to the defence of the cauſe of religion: they likewiſe deſire to know the King's mind about ſome points, that his ambaſſadors were diſputing with their learned men about; and then they will ſend their ambaſſadors with a learned man to confer with the King about the articles of doctrine, and the ceremonies of the Church. To theſe demands the King ſent two anſwers one after another. The firſt was, that the King would ſet forth and defend the true doctrine of Chriſt, but that he could not think it meet to accept at any one's hand what ſhould be his faith, or his kingdom's; the only ground of which being in Scripture, he deſired they would not be grieved at this, but would ſend over learned men to confer with him, that there might be a perfect union in faith: he would join with them in all free General Councils, for the defence of the true doctrine of the Goſpel; but he thought ceremonies (they being indifferent) ought to be left to the governors of the ſeveral dominions; he agreed againſt any General Council, but by mutual conſent; but that if ſuch a free one was held in a ſafe place, it ſhould not be refuſed. He did not think fit to accept the title they offered him, till they were thoroughly agreed on the articles of doctrine. He agreed to their demands of money for the future, but did not care to bear any ſhare of the wars already paſt, (which it ſeems they mentioned ſecretly to him.) But, upon further conſidering of their demands, he ſent them a ſecond fuller anſwer, wherein having firſt complimented them highly, he explained ſome little things in the former anſwer; and lets them know, that it was not on any private account of his, that he came into the league; for by the death of a woman (Queen Anne he meant) all quarrels with the Pope or Emperor, or any other Prince, were at an end. But, that they might know his affection to them, he would contribute the ſum they deſired, upon their terms; only he demanded of them, that if any Prince invaded him on the account of religion, that they ſhould furniſh him at their expence with 500 horſemen, or ten ſhips fitted for war, as the King ſhould chooſe, to ſerve for four months; and that they ſhould retain (at the King's charge) what horſe

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The King's anſwers to them.

horſe and foot the King ſhould need, not exceeding 2000 horſe, and 5000 foot, or, inſtead of the foot, twelve ſhips in order, with all things neceſſary, which the King might keep as long as he pleaſed: and laſt of all, that they promiſe to defend in all Councils, and every where, the opinion of Dr. Martin Luther, Melancthon, and ſome other of the Divines, concerning his marriage. This negociation ſunk upon Queen Anne's fall; for as he thought they were no more neceſſary to him, ſo they ſaw there was no ſucceeding with him, unleſs they would allow him a dictatorſhip in matters of religion. Yet after this, in the year 1537, the Elector and the Landgrave wrote to him, upon Pope Paul the Third's ſummoning a Council to meet at Mantua. They told him, that the Emperor had ſent them notice of it, and required their appearance there, either in perſon, or by proxy; but that they ſaw the Pope would not allow the reſtoring of the true doctrines, nor the correcting of abuſes, (which they had always deſired a Council for,) to be treated of there, but would have their doctrine condemned without examination, and oblige all by a bull to extirpate and deſtroy the doctrine they profeſſed; which ſince they could not agree to, they anſwered the Emperor, that they looked on the bull as unjuſt and pernicious, and could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the Pope and his party would miſrepreſent their actions to the King; ſo they thought it neceſſary to juſtify themſelves to the King and all other Princes on this occaſion. They ſent the King with this a full vindication of themſelves, which they deſired him to read; and they deſired him to conſider not only the preſent danger they were in, but alſo the common concern of the whole Church, in which all good diſcipline was loſt, and abuſes received which great and worthy men had much wiſhed might be amended; and therefore they recommend to his care the cauſe of the Church, and their own.

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They write to the King.

The next year they ſent ambaſſadors into England, the account of which was given in the former volume, of their repreſentations, and the paper they offered to the King. There is a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell on that occaſion, in which he complains of the backwardneſs of the Biſhops; that the ambaſſadors had been deſired to ſtay a month, that their book might be conſidered; but when he preſſed them to treat about it, they ſaid they knew the King had deviſed a book in anſwer to them, and therefore they would not meddle with the abuſes complained of: but they deſired him to go on to treat about

1538.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the King.

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about the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction, knowing the Germans would not agree with them, except only in matrimony; by which he saw they only sought an occasion to break their concord, and that nothing would be done without a special command from the King: he complained the ambassadors were ill lodged, and desired that a better house might be offered them. The King treated them with particular civility, and often wished Melancthon might be sent to him. Cromwell and Cranmer used them with all possible kindness. Cranmer wrote by them to the Elector, exhorting him to continue firm for the truth and purity of the Gospel. But for all these shews, they knew the King's heart was turned from them. He wrote by them to the Elector, in terms full of esteem for their ambassadors, not doubting of the good effects of these conferences; but that the matter, being of the greatest importance, should be maturely considered; and desired Melancthon might be sent over to treat with him about these matters, promising to do every thing as became a Christian Prince. During this embassy, an Anabaptist was seized by the Landgrave of Hesse, by whose papers they found he had followers in England, and hopes of great success there, and was going thither, but the spirit stopped him. Of all this they gave the King an account, and of the Anabaptists of Germany, that they were spread through Frisia, and Westphalia, and the Netherlands, chiefly where their preachers were not tolerated. The not baptizing infants was the mark of their party; but with that they condemned magistracy and all punishment, as being revenge forbidden by Christ, and oaths; were for a community of goods; seemed to be Manicheans, despised the Scriptures, and pretended to illuminations, and allowed polygamy and divorce at pleasure, and wherever they increased, broke out into sedition and rebellion. They wrote this to the King, to put him on his guard against them, and to let him see how far they were from favouring such corruptions. Here this negociation ends, which though it runs out beyond this year, yet is all laid together here; and it does not appear there was any further commerce between them.

1538.

Queen Anne's fall. 1536.

The unlooked for accidents that happened in England had wrought on the King's temper; and he still retaining a bias to the old opinions, the Popish party watched and improved all advantages, of which a very signal one happened here to their great joy. A little after Queen Catharine's

tharine's death, the tragedy of Queen Anne followed. The matter broke out the first of May 1536, but seems to have been concerted before; for a Parliament had been summoned the April before. Meteren, who writes the history of the wars of the Netherlands, gives an account of this matter from a relation writ by one Crispin, a French gentleman, then at London, who he says wrote without partiality. He tells, that it began at a gentleman who was blaming his sister for some lightness he observed in her: to whom she answered, the Queen did more than she did; for she admitted some of her court into her chamber at undue hours; and named Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton the musician, and said Smeton could tell more: all which was carried to the King. When this broke out on the first of May, the King, who loved Norris, promised him, if he would confess the things the Queen was charged with, he should neither suffer in his person nor estate, nor go to prison. But he said he would die rather than be guilty of such a falsehood, and offered to justify it by combat with any one: so he was sent to the Tower with the rest. The confession of Smeton was all that was brought against the Queen, and his single witness was declared sufficient. It was thought he was prevailed on to accuse her, but he was condemned contrary to the promise had been made him, on pretence that he told his suspicions to others before the King. The Queen was tried in the Tower, and defended her honour and majesty in such an humble manner, as to soften the King, and favour her daughter. She was allowed no advocate. She looked cheerful, and was civil to her judges, and seemed without fear, behaving herself as if she had still been Queen. She spoke little, but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence more than the defence she made; so that all who saw and heard her believed her innocent. The magistrates of London, and several others present, said they saw no evidence against her, only it appeared they were resolved to be rid of her. She was made to lay aside all the characters of her dignity, which she did willingly. And when she heard the sentence, that she was to be beheaded or burnt, she was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands, appealed to God of her innocence; and turning to her judges, said to them, she would not say their sentence was unjust, nor prefer her opinion to all their judgments; that she believed they had reasons to condemn her, but they must be other than those produced in court against her; for she was entirely innocent of those accusations,

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ſations, and could not beg God pardon for them. She called God to witneſs, that ſhe had been a faithful and a loyal wife, though ſhe had not perhaps ſhewed that humility and reverence which ſhe ought to the King. She ſaid not theſe things to prolong her life, which ſhe knew they could not do, but only to juſtify her honour and chaſtity. As for her brother, and thoſe unjuſtly condemned with him, ſhe could die many deaths to deliver them; but ſince it pleaſed the King they ſhould die, ſhe muſt bear with it, and would accompany them with an aſſurance of leading an endleſs life with them in peace. Having ſaid this, and a great deal more, ſhe roſe up with a modeſt air, and took leave of them all. Her brother and the others died firſt. He exhorted them to die without fear. He confeſſed he deſerved puniſhment for his other ſins, but not from the King, whom he had never offended; yet he prayed God to give him a long and a good life. Mark Smeton only confeſſed, that he had deſerved well to die, which gave occaſion to many reflections. When the Queen heard all this, ſhe broke out into ſome paſſion, and ſaid, Has he not then cleared me of that public ſhame he has brought me to? and ſaid ſhe feared his ſoul was now ſuffering for his falſe accuſation; but ſhe doubted not but that her brother and thoſe others were in the preſence of God.

This gentleman, it ſeems, knew nothing of the judgment at Lambeth annulling the marriage; for it was done ſecretly. It could have no foundation but from my Lord Percy's addreſſes to her: but he purged her of that; for being examined now upon oath by the two Archbiſhops, and receiving the Sacrament upon it before the Duke of Norfolk and ſome of the King's Council in ſpiritual law, he aſſured them upon his oath, and by the Sacrament, that there was never any contract or promiſe of marriage between him and her. This ſhews ſhe was prevailed upon by fear or hope to profeſs a precontract, without naming the perſon. This French gentleman agrees with the other writers as to the manner of her death, and her ſpeech; but in the other particulars he relates ſome things which none of our writers take notice of, and that ſeem very credible. Thevet, a Franciſcan friar, confirms her innocency in his Coſmography, when he ſays, that many Engliſh gentlemen aſſured him, that King Henry expreſſed great repentance of his ſins at the point of death, and among others, of the injury and crime committed againſt Queen Anne Bullen, who was falſely accuſed and convicted. This friar, though

otherwiſe

otherwiſe of no great credit, yet being of that order that ſuffered ſo much for adhering to Queen Catharine, is not to be ſuſpected of much partiality for Queen Anne.

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This turn, no doubt, gave great joy to the Pope and Emperor, nor were they ſorry that Queen Catharine's death had freed them from the obligation of protecting her. On the firſt news of Queen Anne's diſgrace, the Pope ſent for Caſſali, and expreſſed much pleaſure upon it, and ſpoke honourably of the King, and ſaid, he hoped now matters may be brought to an agreement, and that the King might, by reconciling himſelf to the Court of Rome, become the arbiter of Europe: he excuſed naming Fiſher to be a Cardinal, that he was preſſed to it, and deſired Caſſali to try how any meſſenger he might ſend to the King would be received. All which Caſſali wrote to the King.

The Emperor deſired to be reconciled to the King.

At the ſame time the Emperor told Pace, who was the King's ambaſſador at his Court, that though he could not in honour forſake his aunt, yet he had ever abhorred the Pope's bull for depoſing him, and had ſuppreſſed it in his dominions, nor had ever encouraged the King of Scotland (as was ſuſpected) to execute it. He imputed the breach between him and the King to the King of France, who, he ſaid, was ready to forſake him, and even to renounce God. He was ready to return to his old friendſhip with the King, and did not hearken to the intimations of the agent of France, that he had poiſoned his aunt. He preſſed the legitimating the Princeſs Mary; which he ſaid may be done without owning the marriage lawful, ſince it was a marriage in fact, and made *bona fide*. Pace gave the King an account of this, and preſſed the legitimating the Princeſs. The Emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. It is plain he preſſed the King much to think of being reconciled to the Pope. He begged that Caſſali might not be joined with him in his embaſſy, as the King intended, ſaying, he was a baſe and perverſe man. While he was at Rome, the King ſent him a diſpatch, telling him of the motion made him by the Emperor's ambaſſador, of returning into friendſhip with his maſter, and of ſome overtures he made towards it: that the Emperor would reconcile him with the Court of Rome; that he hoped for the King's aid in the war againſt the Turks; and expected the King ſhould aſſiſt him, purſuant to an old defenſive league between them, if the French King invaded Milan, as he ſeemed to deſign.

To all which, he tells him, he had anſwered: that the

interruption

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interruption of their friendſhip came from the Emperor, who had made him ill returns for the ſervices he had done him; that he had made him King of Spain, and then Emperor, and had lent him money; and in return he had contemned his friendſhip, and had ſet on the ill uſage he met with from Rome. But ſuch was his nature and zeal for concord, that if the Emperor would deſire him to forget what was paſt, and purge himſelf of all unkindneſs to him, and firſt make a reconciliation without any conditions, he would return into friendſhip with him, and anſwer all his reaſonable deſires.

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And refuſes any treaty with the Pope.

As for the Biſhop of Rome, he could not depart from what he had done, having proceeded not on ſlight grounds, but on the laws of God and nature, and with the concurrence of his Parliament; that he had already rejected a motion made by that Biſhop for a reconciliation, and would not take it in good part if the Emperor inſiſted in that matter: when there was a general peace among Chriſtians, he would not be wanting againſt the Turks; but till the friendſhip was quite made up between the Emperor and him, he would treat of nothing concerning the King of France; when that was done, he would be a mediator between them. He ordered Pace, if he talked with the Emperor on this ſubject, to ſeem only to have a general knowledge of the matter, but to talk ſuitably to theſe grounds; and to encourage the Emperor to go on, and to extol the King's nature and carriage, how eaſy he was to ſatisfy his friends, when he was not too much preſſed. And he was likewiſe to find a way of ſpeaking with Grandvil about it, that he might repreſent to the Emperor the advantage of the King's friendſhip, that he ſhould not clog it with conditions, but truſt to what the King may be afterwards brought to, ſince it was the King that had received the injury. Thus that matter was put in a method; and, in a little time, the friendſhip ſeemed to be quite made up.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The King, in the mean while, went on to reform things in England. The Convocation met this year, and Cromwell came and demanded a place in it, as the King's Vicar General; and the Archbiſhop gave him that next above himſelf. The Archbiſhop laid before the Houſe the ſentence annulling the King's marriage with Queen Anne, which, Cromwell deſiring it, they approved, and ſent down to the Lower Houſe, who likewiſe approved it; and both Houſes afterwards ſubſcribed it. The prolocutor offered the Upper Houſe a book, reciting many ill doctrines that

that were preached in the province; and the Biſhop of Hereford brought in a book about the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies, which was ſigned by both Houſes, and likewiſe by the Archbiſhop of York, and Biſhop of Durham. The Biſhop likewiſe brought a book, with the reaſons why the King ought not to appear at the Council which the Pope had ſummoned to meet at Mantua; which was alſo agreed to, and ſubſcribed. No Convocation ſat this year at York. 1536.

The Pope by theſe ſteps loſing all hopes of gaining the King, reſolved to give him what trouble he could: and ſo Pole writ his book againſt the King, and was made a Cardinal. He had before writ over his opinion of the marriage, being commanded by the King ſo to do. The King ſent it to Cranmer before he was ſent out of England; who, in a letter to the Earl of Wiltſhire, commends much the wit and eloquence of Pole's book, and ſeems to be very apprehenſive of the effect it would have, if it came abroad. Cardinal Pole writes againſt the divorce.

Pole's chief deſign in it was to perſuade the King to ſubmit the matter to the Pope. He ſet forth the danger of falling again into ſuch troubles as were cauſed by the wars upon the titles of Lancaſter and York. That he could not be for the divorce, ſince it deſtroyed the Princeſs's title, and accuſed the King of having lived in inceſt; and would increaſe the people's hatred againſt prieſts, to find that called unlawful which they had ſo long approved of. He ſets the opinion of the King and Queen's father, and their council, the Pope and his council, in oppoſition to that of the Univerſities, which he ſaid was gained with great difficulty. He ſaid the Pope could not, without raiſing ſeditions, condemn his predeceſſor's act, or abridge his own power. He repreſented the Emperor's ſtrength, and the weakneſs and faithleſſneſs of France; the danger and ruin of loſing the trade of the Netherlands. So at this time Pole only argued on political conſiderations. But afterwards, when the breach was made with Rome, Cromwell wrote to him, by the King's order, to declare his opinion of the King's proceedings. Upon this reaſon only he wrote his book, as he himſelf ſays in a paper he ſent the King; in which he tells him, that if it had not been for that, he had never meddled in the matter, ſeeing little hope of ſucceſs. He complains that the books ſent him on the other ſide ſuppreſſed ſome things, and coloured others over. He ſaid, that what had followed being grievous in

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the ſight of God, and the reſt of Chriſtendom, and being like to have ill effects as to the King's honour, and the quiet of his realm, he reſolved to employ all his talents to ſet forth the truth, and expoſe thoſe ill opinions, hoping that what he ſhould write would ſatisfy all that would examine it, and by the goodneſs of God might bring the King back from the evil way he was then in. And as David, when in a ſtate of ſin, was brought to repentance by a prophet, ſo he hoped to be an inſtrument of bringing the King to a better ſenſe of things. He excuſed the vehemence of his ſtyle, which might make him be thought the King's enemy, by thoſe who did not conſider his intent; which was only to awaken the King, by repreſenting to him the danger he was in, both from his own people, who hated innovations in religion, and from foreign princes, whoſe honour obliged them to defend the laws of the Church: that, to make the King ſenſible of this, he had, as in his own perſon, brought out all ſuch reaſons as might provoke people or princes againſt him. The book being too long for the King to read, he deſired Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, might read it, and any other learned and grave man, and give his judgment of it upon oath; and he promiſed his book ſhould never come abroad till the King had ſeen it. In the paper he mentioned a book concerning the King's marriage, which he had ſent him; but in that he had been diſappointed of his intent. But now ſhe who had been the occaſion of his error being detected, he hoped the King would take it as a warning from God to return to the unity of the Church. He was ſenſible nothing but the hand of God could effect that; but if that was done, it would be the greateſt miracle had happened for ſome ages, and a ſignal mark of God's goodneſs to him; and would deliver him from the dangers that muſt follow upon the meeting of a General Council; and no Prince would appear there with more honour than he; even his fall would prove a bleſſing to the Church, and tend to the reformation of the whole, and the honour of God. With this he ſent likewiſe a private letter to Tonſtall. When his book againſt the divorce came firſt to England, he was wrote to in the King's name to come over, and explain ſome things in it; but he excuſed himſelf, pretending the love of retirement, and of the noble and learned company he lived with.

Tonſtall writes to him.

Tonſtall being thus provoked by Pole, and commanded by the King, wrote to him; owning the receipt of his letter

letter and book, which the King, according to his desire, had given him to read. He complains of his vehemency of style, and his misrepresentations. He wished he had rather written a private letter to the King, than enlarged himself in a great book, and sent it stupidly so far by one who might have lost it; and so the book have come abroad, to the slander of the King and kingdom, and most of all to his own, for his ingratitude to the King, who had bred him up. As to what Pole had said against the King, he shewed that the King, by taking the title of Supreme Head, did not separate from the Church. He did not take on him the office of the priesthood, which was to preach the Word of God, and administer the Sacraments. He only designed to see the laws of God, and Christ's true faith, observed in his kingdom, and to deliver his Church from the usurpations of the Bishops of Rome, and reduce it to the state in which all Churches were in the beginning, and which was conformable to the ancient decrees of the Church, which the Bishops of Rome promised to observe at their creation, naming the eight General Councils. These he might see at Venice in Greek, and were now published in Latin; by which it appears the Bishops of Rome had not that monarchy they have since usurped. If the Scriptures he had quoted proved it, the Council of Nice erred, which decrees the contrary, according to the Canons of the Apostles, which Damascen reckoned holy Scriptures. He likewise appeals to the actions of the four General Councils, and to the practice for above a thousand years after Christ, when probably the Scriptures were better understood, and better customs prevailed, than since ambition and covetousness crept in. Authority in temporal affairs could never be proved from Peter's primacy in preaching the Word of God; for which he refers him to Cardinal Cusa's second book. He said, the King did not alter but establish those laws which the Pope professes to observe; and other Princes not doing the same, ought not to hinder him from doing his duty. He assured Pole, that he was mistaken in thinking the people were offended at the abolishing these usurpations; they had felt the advantages of it so sensibly, that it would be the difficultest thing the King had ever attempted to restore them again. Because Pole had blamed him for not dying for the Pope's authority, he assured him, that from the time he read ecclesiastical history, he had never thought of shedding one drop of blood in that cause.

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1536. He told him, he would do what he could to cool the King's indignation, which his book had raiſed againſt him. He deſired he would not fancy, from what he ſaw in Italy and other places, that it was ſo from the beginning. The Councils, which were called by the Emperors, would ſhew him, that the Biſhops of Rome came by their dignity, not for Peter or Paul's ſake, but becauſe he was Biſhop of the chief city in the empire. Conſtantinople was ranked next, becauſe it was called New Rome, and placed before Antioch, where Peter was Biſhop, and Alexandria, and even Jeruſalem, where Chriſt preached, and the College of Apoſtles after him, and where James, the brother of our Lord, was Biſhop, and which was called the mother of all Churches. This preference of Conſtantinople was ſettled in the Council of Chalcedon by ſix hundred and thirty Biſhops. He deſires him to ſearch farther, and he would find none of the Greek Fathers, nor any of the old Fathers, mention theſe late uſurpations of the Biſhops of Rome. He tells him what trouble he had given all his family and kindred, by engaging againſt his King and country. He refers him to Gregory the Great, who wrote againſt the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, pretending to the like monarchy, and to St. Cyprian, and to the third Council of Epheſus, who affirmed, that all the Apoſtles were of equal dignity and authority. He begged him to ſearch further, and not to truſt too much to himſelf; and that he would burn all his papers, and then he hoped to prevail with the King to conceal what he had ſent him; and concluded with ſome very kind expreſſions. By this it appears, Tonſtall was a good-natured and generous, as well as very learned man.

1537. Pole's vindication of himſelf. It does not appear that Pole anſwered this; but he wrote a long letter next year, it is uncertain to whom, in vindication of himſelf: in which he proteſted his affection to the King, and complained of the methods the King had uſed to get him into his hands to deſtroy him; that, contrary to the law of nations, he had deſired the French King to deliver him up, being there an ambaſſador and legate; he ſaid, this, if he had borne the King but a ſmall degree of love, might have quite extinguiſhed it, and his reſentment might have tempted him to do the King all the miſchief he could in return; but on the contrary he did all he could for the King's honour and worth. He owns he ſent the Biſhop of Verona to France, to intimate to the Court, that the Pope had committed

to

to him ſome affairs (for the good of Chriſtendom) to treat with the King about. The deſign of the legation, he ſays, was for the King's honour, as the Biſhop had informed the Biſhop of Wincheſter and Mr. Brian, meeting them on the road, who, though they had no communication with him, yet ſent their Secretary to him, when he had declared the effect of his legation, as it related to the King; and the Secretary had thought that the King's anger againſt him was raiſed by falſe reports, and that when matters were cleared, the King would change his mind. All which the Biſhop of Verona telling him at his return, he had deſired him to go over to the King, and inform his Grace of the whole, telling him that the Pope thought him the fitteſt man to be employed in gaining the King, conſidering the merits he had on the King, and being counted the beſt Biſhop in Italy, and therefore bound him to go; which he readily obeyed out of his zeal to God and the King's ſervice, and reſolved to try how he could get acceſs to the King. So having now explained himſelf, he hoped it would not be thought he had thoſe deſigns, which the King's proceedings againſt him ſhewed he was ſuſpected of having, *viz.* to animate the people to rebel. He ſaid he had not taken the methods of rebels; he had always given the King an account of his actions; he had procured the ſuſpenſion of the King's cenſures, by keeping them in his hands to that hour, and keeping out of the way of thoſe who had authority to call for them: he had offered the King his aſſiſtance, and animated the chief of his kindred to be faithful to him. If what he had done, and what the Biſhop of Verona had ſaid, did not juſtify him, he would take no more pains to clear himſelf: he thought he had been too negligent on the other ſide, and had been reflected on for it. This letter is dated from Cambray: for on the King's meſſage to the King of France to demand him, though Francis could not hearken to that, yet he ordered him to go out of his dominions; and he retired to Cambray. The King had a ſpy upon him; but the ſpy ſeems to have been faithfuller to Pole than the King, and took his part with the King. He wrote over, that he believed his book would not be printed till he came to Rome. Pole was ordered by the Regent to retire out of Flanders, ſo he went to Liege; whence he was ſent for to Rome, and named legate to the Council that was to meet the firſt of November; but it did not meet till ſome years after this. The King's indignation at his ad- 1537.

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vancement and book, drove him to do many unjuſt violences, which are the great blemiſhes of his reign.

1537. The King was reconciled to the Emperor.

The King was now quite reconciled to the Emperor. Wyat was ambaſſador there. The King preſſed the Emperor to call a Council, as the ancient Emperors had done, by his own authority, and not ſuffer the Pope to do it; and he propoſed Cambray to be the place: but ſeeing that was not like to be done, he only inſiſted on a promiſe from the Emperor, that nothing ſhould be done in the Council againſt him or his kingdom.

Wyat complaining likewiſe that our merchants had been threatened by the inquiſition for owning the King's ſupremacy; the Emperor promiſed they ſhould not be any more diſquieted on that account. He likewiſe refuſed to allow Pole to affix the Pope's bull againſt the King in his dominions. The King was very uneaſy, and ſent over Bonner and Hains in conjunction to the Emperor's Court; the one being fitteſt to deal with the Papiſts, the other having great credit with the Proteſtants.

Dr. London's violence in ſuppreſſing monaſteries.

They were now ſuppreſſing the monaſteries; and great wickedneſs came out, which had been practiſed among them: many of them ſeeing the deſigns againſt them, ran beyond ſea with their plate and jewels: but the viſitors gave a great character of the Abbeſſes and Nuns of Poleſworth in Warwickſhire. Dr. London, who afterwards proved a furious perſecutor of the Proteſtants, was now officiouſly zealous in the matter, even to the pulling down ſhrines, though that was not their commiſſion; which made the other commiſſioners deſire a new commiſſion to be ſent them, antedated for that purpoſe. London endeavoured to frighten the Abbeſs of Godſtow into a reſignation. Upon this ſhe complained to Cromwell of his violence, and the charge they had been put to; and that none of the King's ſubjects had been handled like her, though ſhe had always maintained the honour of God, and all obedience to the King: ſhe ſaid, ſhe would never reſign her houſe, unleſs the King would command her to do it, and then ſhe would be ready to do it. The cheats in images and relics that were diſcovered contributed not a little to their diſgrace. The moſt enormous of them was the crucifix of Boxley in Kent. It made motions with its head and eyes and body, to expreſs the receiving or rejecting of prayers. Such a miracle drew great offerings. One Partridge, ſuſpecting the fraud, removed the image, and diſcovered that

Cheats in images diſcovered.

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it was moved by ſeveral ſprings within. It was brought to Maidſtone, and expoſed there; and then carried to London, and ſhewed to the King and all the Court; and then ordered to be expoſed at St. Paul's; and, after a ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Rocheſter for that end, it was burnt. 1537.

Prince Edward's birth gave a better face to things, there being now an undoubted heir to the crown. But his mother's death much abated the joy, for as the King loved her the beſt of all his wives, ſo ſhe was of ſo ſweet a temper, that ſhe was univerſally beloved; and ſhe appeared ſo little in buſineſs, that ſhe had no enemies on that account. It was not to her that Queen Elizabeth wrote that letter mentioned in the other volume, but to Queen Catharine, when (after King Henry's death) ſhe was with child by the Lord Seymour.

Orders about holidays.

The King had (by the Lord Cromwell) ſent injunctions to his Clergy in the year 1536, as he did afterward in 1538. In 1536, a circular letter was likewiſe ſent to all the Biſhops, requiring them to execute an order, abrogating ſome holidays. The numbers of them, it ſays, were ſo great, and by the people's ſuperſtition were like to increaſe, to the encouragement of idleneſs, and great loſs to the public: ſo, it ſays, the King, with advice of Convocation, had ſettled, that the feaſt of Dedication in all churches was to be kept the firſt Sunday in October; but the feaſts of the patrons to be no more obſerved. All feaſts from the firſt of July to the twenty-ninth of September, and in term time, were not to be kept any more, except thoſe of the Apoſtles, and the Virgin, and St. George, and thoſe days on which the Judges did not ſit, and the four quarter days.

Theſe are all the public injunctions about this time. But after the firſt of theſe, it ſeems, the Biſhops ſent likewiſe injunctions to their Clergy, of which three are remaining.

Injunctions given by Lee, Sampſon, and Shaxton.

The firſt was Lee's, Archbiſhop of York. He begins with the aboliſhing the Pope's, and declaring the King's ſupremacy. He requires his Clergy to get a New Teſtament within forty days, and to read it daily, and ſtudy to underſtand it; as likewiſe a book to be ſet forth by the King, of the inſtitution of a Chriſtian, and to explain it to the people. They were to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and Ave Maria, and the Creed, and Ten Commandments in Engliſh, and make the people repeat them after them; and to

BOOK I. admit none to the Sacrament at Eaſter that could not repeat them. All pariſhes were, within forty days, to be provided of a great Bible in Engliſh, which was to be chained
1537. to ſome open place in the church. Prieſts were forbidden to haunt taverns and alehouſes, except on neceſſary occaſions, or play at prohibited games. They were to diſcourage none from reading the Scriptures, but to exhort them to it in the ſpirit of meekneſs; and they were to read the Goſpel and Epiſtle in Engliſh. Rules were given for frequent preaching, according to the value of livings; generally they were to preach four times a year, but not to preach without licence from the King or Archbiſhop. They were not to worſhip any image, nor kneel or offer gifts to it; only they might have lights before the Sacrament, and in the rood loft, and at the ſepulchre at Eaſter. They were to teach the people that images were only as books to them; and that they were not to think that God, becauſe he was painted like an old man, had a body. All images to which any reſort was made were to be taken away. They were to teach, that God was not pleaſed with our obeying the traditions of men, and neglecting his commands; that we are ſaved only by the mercy of God, and merits of Chriſt: and to open the two great commandments of Chriſt, *To love God, and our neighbour*; to live in love with all people, and avoid diſſenſion. The reſt relates to the King's injunctions.

At the ſame time Sampſon, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, gave his injunctions to his dioceſe. He charges his Clergy to inſtruct the people of the King's ſupremacy by the Word of God, and of the Biſhop of Rome's uſurpations; to get a whole Bible in Latin, and another in Engliſh, to lay in the church, by next Whitſuntide. As to reading the Scriptures, and preaching, he ſays the ſame with Lee. He bids them preach purely, ſincerely, according to the Scriptures. He requires them, in the King's name, to teach the people to ſay the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, and the Creed in Engliſh, and four times a quarter to declare the ſeven deadly ſins, and the Ten Commandments. And becauſe ſome uſed in Lent to go and confeſs to Friars, either to hide their lewd lives, or out of neglect of their Curates; he forbids any to be admitted to the Sacrament, till they confeſs to their own Curates, unleſs he or his deputies grant them a ſpecial licenſe otherwiſe. He orders, that none go to alehouſes or taverns

taverns on holidays in time of divine ſervice; and that the Clergy go in ſuch decent apparel, that they be known by their habit. BOOK I.

Shaxton, Biſhop of Saliſbury, gave out his injunctions likewiſe about the ſame time. He begins with proviſions about non-reſidents, and their Curates, and orders, that no French or Iriſh prieſt that cannot ſpeak Engliſh perfectly ſhould ſerve as Curates. They were to read the Goſpel and Epiſtle in Engliſh at high maſs; and to ſet forth the King's ſupremacy, and the Pope's uſurpations. 1537.

He gives the ſame rules about ſermons as the former; adding, that no Friar, or any in a religious habit, be ſuffered to perform any ſervice in the Church. The Clergy were to read the New Teſtament; and all that had cure of ſouls were to be able to repeat without book the Goſpels of Matthew and John, the Acts, and Epiſtles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, with the canonical Epiſtles; and to read every quarter the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy inſtead of the General Sentence. About images, pilgrimages, and other ſuperſtitions, and of teaching the people the elements of religion in Engliſh, he ſays the ſame with the others; only he leaves out the Ave Maria. He requires the Curates to exhort the people againſt ſwearing and blaſpheming. He diſpenſes with all lights before images; and orders, that a Bible be provided for every church. He complains of the falſe relics that were put upon the people, and of the abuſe of thoſe that were perhaps true ones: he commands them to bring all theſe to him, with the writings relating to them; and promiſes, when he has examined them, to reſtore thoſe he finds true relics, with inſtructions how to uſe them. He alſo forbids the tolling any more the Ave and Pardon bell, that was wont to be tolled three times a day.

Greſham's letter to the King for putting the great hoſpitals into the hands of the city.

As to the diſſolution of the monaſteries, there is nothing to be added to the former relation given of it, but a letter of Greſham, then Lord Mayor of London, the father probably of him who was the great benefactor to the city; but by this letter his father procured them a much greater benefaction. In it he repreſents to the King that there were three hoſpitals near or within the city, St. George, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and the New Abbey on Tower-hill, founded and endowed for helping the poor and impotent, but now filled with canons and monks, who lived in pleaſure, and neglected the poor, who, lying about the ſtreets, offended all that paſſed.

BOOK I. paſſed. He therefore prayed the King to put the diſpoſition and rule of thoſe hoſpitals, and the lands belonging to them, into the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen 1538. of London; which would provide for many poor and infirm perſons, and for phyſicians, ſurgeons, and apothecaries, to attend them. He ſays this would raiſe his character above all his progenitors, and give him the title of *Protector and Defender of the Poor*. The doing this purſuant to Greſham's advice has been of wonderful ſervice to the city, and has been the occaſion of great particular bounties, which have annually amounted to much more than the ſtated revenues of thoſe places.

The King grows ſevere againſt the reformers.

The ſtate of matters began to turn about this time. The King ſeemed to expect from his ſubjects an entire reſignation of their reaſon and conſcience to him, and was equally offended at thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Pope, and thoſe that were for reforming beyond his allowance. So in the end of the year 1538, he put out a proclamation, prohibiting foreign books, or any printed at home without licenſe; condemning the Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries books, appointing thoſe who vented them to be puniſhed; and threatening death or loſs of goods to any that argued againſt Chriſt's preſence in the Sacrament; and ordering all thoſe who diſuſed any rites not yet aboliſhed to be puniſhed, though they were not to obſerve them with ſuperſtition, but only as remembrances, and not to think ſalvation was to be obtained by them; and he orders all married prieſts to be deprived, and further puniſhed at the King's pleaſure. He orders the Biſhops to be more diligent than they had been, and to preach in their own perſons the Word of God ſincerely and purely, and to declare the difference between things commanded by God, and the ceremonies commanded only by a lower authority; and to require their Clergy to do the ſame, and to exhort the people to read and hear with ſimplicity, and without arrogance and contention, under pain of being puniſhed at the King's pleaſure. He

An account of Thomas Becket by the King.

adds, that it appearing clearly that Thomas Becket, ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtubbornly withſtood the laws eſtabliſhed by Henry the Second againſt the enormities of the Clergy, and fled to France, and to the Biſhop of Rome, to get thoſe laws abrogated; from which great troubles aroſe in the kingdom: that his death (falſely called by them his martyrdom) happened upon a reſcue made by him, in which he abuſed the gentlemen who adviſed him to leave his ſtubbornneſs, and not

not ſtir up the people, and pulled one of them almoſt down to the pavement of the church; upon which one ſtruck him, and he was killed in the fray: the Biſhop of Rome had canonized him; but the King with advice of his Council finding nothing of ſanctity in his life, but that he ought rather to be eſteemed a traitor, commands that he be no more called a ſaint, nor his feſtival obſerved; that his images be every where put down, and that the ſervice for him be raſed out of their books; adding, that the other feſtivals, already abrogated, ſhall be no more ſolemnized, nor his ſubjects any longer blindly abuſed to commit idolatry, as they had been in time paſt. 1538.

A circular letter to the Juſtices of Peace.

Soon after this, the King underſtanding what malicious reports were ſpread round the country about him; that they were to pay taxes for every thing they eat; that the regiſters of births and weddings were ordered, that the King might know the numbers of his people, and make levies, and ſend them to foreign ſervice: he ſent a circular letter to all the Juſtices in England. He commends them for having done their duty in ſuppreſſing ſedition ſo well, that till of late there had been no diſquiet; but that now he underſtood there were ſome malicious perſons, who by lies had ſtudied to ſeduce the people; that among theſe ſome Vicars and Curates were the chief, who endeavoured to bring them back to darkneſs, and read the Word of God and the King's injunctions ſo that none could underſtand them; and had wreſted the King's intentions in them to a falſe ſenſe: that whereas the King had ordered regiſters to be kept, for ſhewing deſcents and the rights of inheritance, and to diſtinguiſh legitimate from baſtard iſſue, and whether a perſon were born a ſubject or not; they went about ſaying, *He did this to take away their liberties*; for the preſerving which, they pretended Thomas Becket died. And he gives much the ſame account of Becket that was in the former proclamation. He adds, that by thoſe and other ſeditious devices, the people were ſtirred up to ſedition and inſurrections, to their own utter ruin, if God had not given him force to ſubdue them, and afterwards moved him to pardon them. The King therefore requires them to find out ſuch Vicars and Curates, as did not truly declare his injunctions, and mumbled the Word of God, pretending they were compelled to read them, and perſuading the people to keep to the old faſhion. They were alſo to find out all ſpreaders of ſeditious tales, and keep

BOOK I.

keep them in priſon till the Juſtices came about to try them, or till the King's pleaſure was known. They were likewiſe to take care that the injunctions againſt Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries were duly executed.

1539.

New ſignification put upon the old rites.

There is a letter written, in March 1539, to Bullinger, by ſome who had ſtudied under him, and were now entertained by the King, or Cromwell, in which they give an account of the ſtate of affairs then: they write that many of the Popiſh ceremonies were ſtill kept up, but with new ſignifications put on them; as that holy water put us in mind of our being cleanſed by the blood of Chriſt, and the Pax repreſented our reconciliation to God through him: theſe viſible things were thought fit to be retained, to prevent commotions, which ſatisfied ſome, though others preached freely againſt them, even before the King.

Many executions in England.

They tell of the executions of the Marquis of Exeter, and the Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Cary; which laſt had been a zealous Papiſt, but when he came to ſuffer, exhorted the people to read the Scriptures, and ſaid the judgments of God were juſtly come upon him, for the hatred he had borne to the Goſpel: that the King had been threatened with a war from the Emperor, the French King, and the Scotch at the ſame time; but he ſeemed to deſpiſe it, and ſaid to his counſellors, when he heard of it, that he found himſelf moved to promote the Word of God more than ever. He had likewiſe news of the three Engliſh merchants being burnt in Spain, and that an indulgence was proclaimed to all that ſhould kill an Engliſh heretic. Cranmer was very buſy in inſtructing the people, and preparing Engliſh prayers.

The project of endowing the church of Canterbury.

The foundation of the new biſhoprics was now ſettled, and the next thing was the new modelling ſome cathedrals. Cromwell ſent a project for the church of Canterbury to Cranmer: there was to be a provoſt, twelve prebends, ſix preachers, three readers for humanity and divinity, two readers for civil law and phyſic, twenty ſtudents in divinity, ten to be at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, ſixty ſcholars to be taught the languages and logic, and a ſchoolmaſter and uſher for them; eight petty canons, twelve ſinging-men, and ten choriſters, with their maſter, a goſpeller, an epiſtler and two ſacriſtans; with two butlers, two cooks, a caterer, two porters, twelve poormen, a ſteward and an auditor, in all one hundred and ſixty-two. Their ſalaries, with one hundred pounds to be diſtributed yearly to the poor, and as much for

for reparations, and forty pounds for mending the highways, amounted to about 1900 pounds a year. Cranmer, in his anſwer to Cromwell propoſes the altering the prebends to ſomething more uſeful. He ſays, prebends were generally idle, and only good vianders, but neither learned, nor given to teach; that they looked to be chief, and bear rule, and by their ill example they corrupted the youth. He ſays, when men were advanced to that poſt, they deſiſted from their ſtudies, and from the exerciſe of preaching and teaching; therefore he wiſhed their name might be ſtruck out of the King's foundations: their firſt beginning was good, and ſo was that of religious men, but they had both left their firſt eſtate, and ſo it was fit they ſhould periſh together. He ſays, it was an eſtate which St. Paul did not find in the Church of Chriſt, and thinks it would be better for the Chriſtian religion, that in their ſtead there were twenty divines at ten pounds apiece, and as many ſtudents of the tongues at ten marks; if there were not ſuch a number there, he did not ſee what the lectures were for; for the prebends could not attend, for making of good cheer, and the grammar children were to be otherwiſe employed. He particularly recommends Dr. Crome to be Dean.

1539. Diſapproved by Cranmer.

At this time the King had thrown off all commerce with the Lutherans in Germany, and ſeemed ſecure of the Emperor's friendſhip. The King's old miniſters of the Popiſh party kept up his zeal for tranſubſtantiation, and prevailed on him to ſet up the ſix Articles, which they ſaid would quiet all men's minds. Upon the carrying thoſe Articles, the Popiſh party were much exalted. The King had diſputed in Parliament himſelf on that ſide, together with the Biſhops of York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chicheſter, Norwich, and Carliſle; and all the temporal Lords were of the ſame opinion. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Ely, Saliſbury, Worceſter, Rocheſter, and St. David's, defended the contrary ſide, yet they all came over at laſt, except Shaxton, Biſhop of Saliſbury.

The deſign of the ſix Articles.

Upon this act there were three burnt in Southwark, for denying tranſubſtantiation, and after that one Collins, a crazed man, by Gardiner's procurement.

Cromwell, though he complied with the King, yet ſtudied to fix him in ſuch an alliance, as would ſeparate him from the Emperor, and unite him with France, on deſign

The King marries Anne of Cleves.

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deſign to ſupport the Princes in Germany againſt the Emperor, on whom all the Popiſh party depended.

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Upon this, Mount was ſent to Germany to preſs a cloſer defenſive league againſt the Pope, and any Council he ſhould ſummon. The Princes objected the act of the ſix Articles, and the ſeverities upon it; and Mount confeſſed to one of the Elector's miniſters, that the King was not ſincere in point of religion; and therefore he propoſed a double marriage of the King with Anne of Cleves, and of the Duke of Cleves with the Lady Mary; for he ſaid the King was much governed by his wives. The Elector of Saxony, who had married another ſiſter of Cleves, had ſo bad an opinion of the King, that he was not for any alliance with England; but he yielded to others, who thought that alliance would be very advantageous. So Cromwell, with the concurrence of France, carried matters ſo, that the marriage with Anne of Cleves was made up; which proved the occaſion of one of the moſt unjuſtifiable ſteps of all this reign.

The King in love with Catharine Howard.

About Midſummer this year it began to be whiſpered that the King intended a divorce with Anne, who had been married to him about five months. It was obſerved, he was much taken with a young niece of the Duke of Norfolk's, (whom he afterwards married.) He had many meetings with her at Gardiner's palace, not without ſuſpicion of an ill commerce between them.

Cromwell's fall.

Cromwell was newly made Earl of Eſſex, Bourchier dying without heirs; and all that fell to the crown by that, the King granted to Cromwell: yet he did not enjoy this long, for in the beginning of June he was ſent to the Tower. The cauſe of his fall was not known, but generally believed to proceed from his being againſt the divorce. Some thought that his late advancement was only an artifice to make people think he was guilty of ſome very black crime, to be ſo diſgraced, after ſuch high favour; and that the King reſtored to his ſon (who was almoſt a fool) much of his eſtate and goods, only to make the father more ſilent.

The matters firſt charged on him, from which he clears himſelf.

Upon Cromwell's impriſonment, the Comptroller was ſent to him, and ordered him to write to the King. Upon which he wrote a long letter to the King; in which, he firſt thanks the King for what the Comptroller had ſaid to him. He was accuſed of treaſon, but he proteſts his innocence and love to the King, and prays God to forgive his accuſers. He ſays he never ſpoke with Baker

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and Throgmorton together but once, and he was ſure not of any ſuch matter; (as it ſeems was informed againſt him.) The King knew what Throgmorton was, with relation to all his proceedings, and what an enemy Baker had always been to him, and had often warned him of them. He truſted only in God and the King. He had only conſidered the King in all his ſervice, and did not know that he had injured any one. If he had heard of conventicles or other offences, he had for the moſt part revealed them, and puniſhed them; but he had meddled in ſo many things, he could not anſwer for all: he was ſure he had never wilfully offended, and where he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. He denies to have ever revealed the King's ſecret, as the Comptroller told him he had: he had indeed, upon the King's ordering him to go to the Queen, and declare his mind freely to her, ſpoke to her Lord Chamberlain (not naming the King) to deal with the Queen to behave herſelf more pleaſantly towards the King; and had ſaid the ſame thing to her Council, when they came to him on ſome occaſion: but both theſe were before the King had truſted that ſecret to him, which it ſeems was his deſign to have the marriage diſſolved, but after that he never ſpoke of it to any but the Lord Admiral, and that by the King's order. He heard it was charged on him that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed; but he never retained any, except his ſervants, but againſt his will, being preſſed by his friends to keep their children or friends about him, and they maintained them themſelves. In this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he had offended, for this was called gathering force about him; and ſo he concludes, indeed with too much abjectneſs.

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Theſe were all the particulars charged on him upon his firſt impriſonment: other matters were afterwards added to throw more load on him; but it ſeems they were not thought of at firſt. It was thought, they had once deſigned to burn him as a heretic, and that thoſe conſiderations made him ſo humble. Cromwell had poſſeſſed many offices in his perſon; for beſides his being Lord Vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters, he was Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, what was more, he was Chief Miniſter, and had the King's confidence for ten years together, almoſt as entirely as Cardinal Wolſey had it formerly. It appears how diligent and exact a miniſter he was, by thoſe

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thoſe many memorandums which remain of his upon all affairs, which he was to lay before the King, though they are too ſhort to give great light into affairs.

1540. What paſſed in Convocation.

No Convocation had ſat for two years, for the book, called *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, was prepared by a particular commiſſion. A Convocation ſat this year in May; to which Abbots and Priors were ſummoned, and the Abbot of Taviſtock ſat in Parliament this year. Both provinces were ſummoned to a national ſynod, to judge of the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves. They annulled the marriage, which was not ſo much to be wondered at, becauſe the Romiſh doctrine of intention in ſacraments ſtill prevailed; purſuant to which doctrine, marriage being a ſacrament, and two parties the miniſters of it, without a true intention, which the King affirmed he had not, the marriage was no ſacrament, and conſequently null: ſo that the ſhame of that ſcandalous deciſion falls chiefly upon that ſhameleſs doctrine. When the news of it came to France, Francis aſked the King's ambaſſadors upon what grounds it went; upon which they wrote to know what to anſwer; and the Council ordered them to ſay, that the Queen affirmed that King Henry had never touched her perſon; that a learned Convocation, in which it was well known there were great clerks, had judged the matter; and that all perſons ought to be ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, ſince the Queen herſelf was.

Exceptions in the act of grace.

There was an act of grace this year, in which, beſides particular perſons, all Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries were excepted, and all that affirmed a fate. There was a deſign at this time againſt Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to the Deanery of Canterbury, and given a great character of him in a letter to Cromwell; which without doubt raiſed him many enemies. He got notice that he was to be ſearched for; upon which he went to the King, and begged him on his knees to ſtop thoſe ſeverities, and releaſe thoſe that lay in priſon on the account of religion. The King had ſuch a regard for him, that he complied with his deſire, and gave orders accordingly. Yet after the Parliament was diſſolved, three prieſts ſuffered for denying the ſupremacy; and at the ſame time Barns, Gerrard, and Jerom were burnt together; but ſeemed to die without any pain. They were not condemned by any form of law, nor was it well known upon what pretence they were burnt: they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought

brought to make their anſwers. Sampſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Dr. Wilſon, were excepted out of the general pardon, for nothing elſe but having ſent alms to one who was condemned for denying the ſupremacy, and was lying in priſon in the extremity of miſery. Yet Sampſon had hitherto entirely complied with all that had been done, and flattered the King highly in a dedication to him; and inveighed ſeverely againſt the Biſhop of Rome and Cardinal Pole. Crome came into trouble again for a ſermon he preached on Chriſtmas-day againſt maſſes for the dead: it was his way, when he ſaw a ſtorm riſing, to preach with more than ordinary zeal againſt the prevailing corruptions: he had ſaid, that, if maſſes were neceſſary for the dead, the King and Parliament had done wrong to deſtroy the monaſteries endowed for that end. Theſe with other complaints being carried to the King, Crome was commanded to anſwer them: he explained and juſtified what he had ſaid. But the King, having no mind to carry matters further againſt ſo eminent a man, paſſed a ſentence, that Crome having confeſſed, the King out of his clemency, and to quiet the people, had appointed him to preach at St. Paul's, and repeat the articles againſt him, and read the judgment which the King gave upon the matter; which was, that private maſſes were ſacrifices profitable both to the living and the dead; but yet that the King with his Parliament had juſtly aboliſhed monaſteries: and the ſentence concluded, that if he fell again into the like offence, he was to ſuffer according to law. Upon this Crome preached, and after ſermon read the King's order, but ſaid not one word upon it; whereas the King expected that he ſhould have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himſelf. So an order was ſent him to preach no more, as had been before ſent to Latimer and Shaxton. 1540.

The Popiſh party, now Cromwell was fallen, and the Duke of Norfolk exalted by the King's marrying his niece, broke out into their uſual violence; which probably was ſet on by Bonner, who was now Biſhop of London, and had changed ſides immediately on Cromwell's fall; and, from acting a forced part with heat enough, came now to act that which was natural to him.

Profecutions upon the ſix Articles.

There were five hundred informations found by one jury in the city of London, upon the ſtatute of the ſix Articles; but by means of Audley, then Lord Chancellor, they were all dropped. There were likewiſe ſeveral in-

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formations againſt Papiſts. Bonner's Chaplains were ſent by the Council to be examined by Cranmer; and he was ordered to ſend one Dr. Benger to the Tower. Goodrick Biſhop of Ely's houſe was ſearched, and his ſervants examined, upon a letter of Melancthon's, againſt the King's proceedings being printed in Engliſh. Many were brought into trouble for words; and a great many printers were proſecuted for bringing books into England againſt the King. Hains, Dean of Exeter, was examined and tried by a commiſſion of four Biſhops, and was ſent to the Fleet, for lewd and ſeditious preaching, and ſowing erroneous opinions; but was afterwards diſmiſſed with only a reprimand, and under a recognizance of five hundred marks, to appear, if called for, any time within five months.

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1542. A conſpiracy againſt Cranmer.

In 1542 it was moved and agreed in Council, Cranmer being preſent, that, if the King ſhould be ſo content, a commiſſion ſhould be ſent into Kent, to examine all abuſes of religion in general, and with certain ſpecial articles. This was laid to ruin Cranmer: but there is no further entry in the council-book relating to this affair. But Mr. Strype gives this account of the conſpiracy againſt him. While Cranmer was viſiting his dioceſe, there were many preſentments made to him; ſome againſt thoſe who were ſtill for the old ſuperſtitions, and the Pope's authority; others againſt thoſe who taught contrary to the ſix Articles, and the rites ſtill practiſed. This created a great confuſion in that country; and the blame was caſt on Cranmer by his enemies, as favouring the new learning too much. A plot was contrived by Gardiner, with the help of Dr. London, and Thornden, who had lived in Cranmer's houſe, and was raiſed by him, and ſeveral others who had been preferred by his favour, and had pretended zeal for the Goſpel; but on Cromwell's fall, they reckoned if they could ruin Cranmer, that would quite cruſh all deſigns of further reforming. So they went to work, and gathered ſeveral articles out of the ſermons and private diſcourſes of the prebends and preachers of Canterbury; and they ſaid, theſe were the men encouraged by Cranmer; and that all who were not for this new learning, he uſed very harſhly and ſeverely: and thus they repreſented him as the principal cauſe of all the heats and diviſions in Kent. Theſe articles, after ſome demur who ſhould preſent them, came to the King's hands; the King ſhewed them to the Archbiſhop, telling him in jeſt, that he had now found out who was the

the greateſt heretic in Kent. The Archbiſhop deſired the King to ſend a commiſſion, and examine the matter. The King gave the commiſſion to himſelf; and, notwithſtanding all he could ſay to decline it, obliged him to go and examine the matter himſelf; and though the Archbiſhop preſſed it, the King would add but one with him in the commiſſion. BOOK I. 1542.

Upon the Archbiſhop's coming down into Kent, the conſpirators were ſtruck with fear, and ſome begged pardon, and were put in priſon. But afterwards Dr. Legh was ſent down, and he diſcovered the whole train. Some of the Archbiſhop's own ſervants were in it, Thornden in particular. They wept and confeſſed. The Archbiſhop was ſo gentle as to forgive them, and never after was ſeen to change his countenance or behaviour towards them. Several were impriſoned on the ſame account, but were afterwards releaſed on a general pardon. It appeared how much the King loved Cranmer by another inſtance: when Sir John Goſtwick had charged Cranmer with hereſy in the Houſe of Commons, the King called him varlet, and commanded him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to aſk Cranmer's pardon; which he did; and Cranmer mildly forgave him, and went to the King, and with ſome difficulty obtained his favour for him.

This year the book, called *The neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man*, was finiſhed and publiſhed. The King had examined and corrected it himſelf. He ſeemed deſirous of being thought infallible, and that his ſubjects ſhould believe juſt what he thought fit. Some ſteps made in ſetting out true religion.

The King went his progreſs with the Queen, who had now withdrawn from her uncle, and become his enemy: ſhe began to have great influence on the King; but her life was now diſcovered, which ended fatally to her, as is told in the former volume. It appears by Cranmer's examination of her, that they had a mind to fix upon her a precontract with Derham: but ſhe poſitively denied any ſuch thing, though ſhe confeſſed a lewd commerce with him before ſhe was married to the King: but ſhe perſiſted to the laſt in denying that there was ever any thing of that ſort after the marriage. Catharine Howard's diſgrace.

Upon her diſgrace, one was ſent over to treat with the German Princes, to excuſe, the beſt he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleves, and to renew the propoſition of a league, for ſupporting their common intereſts. They ſtood on this, that they could enter into no alliance with him, unleſs they agreed in religion: they inſiſted parti- A negociation with the German Princes.

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cularly on private maſſes, denying the cup in the Sacrament, and the celibate of the Clergy; and propoſed a conference on theſe heads. The King anſwered, he would

1542. examine what they laid before him, and complained that their learned men had miſrepreſented him and his proceedings. Cranmer likewiſe wrote to the Elector, that ſince the King had aboliſhed the Pope's power, the monaſtic ſtate, and the idolatry of images, he hoped they would bear with his differing ſtill from them in ſome points; and he hoped the propoſitions they had ſent over would be well conſidered.

Negociations with France.

Lord William Howard was now ambaſſador in France, but was recalled on his ſiſter Queen Catharine's diſgrace, and Paget ſent in his room. There had been a report that the Emperor and King of France were in a treaty, and were to join in a war upon the King; but it was ſolemnly denied by the French King. A propoſition was ſet on foot for a marriage between the Lady Mary and the Duke of Orleans; and objections being made on her being declared a baſtard, it was promiſed, that, when all other things were agreed, ſhe ſhould be declared legitimate. Paget ſent over an account of a converſation he had with the Admiral, who was then in high favour, upon this ſubject.

He gave the Admiral an account of his inſtructions. The Admiral anſwered, that the King of France would enter into ſome confederacy or other, and that he moſt deſired one with the King, and would think of no other till he refuſed it. This he thought their intereſt, though no marriage were in the caſe; but he thought that would fix and ſtrengthen it. But he inſiſted on more than 200000 crowns, which he thought but a mean offer, and that would diſcourage the Duke of Orleans, who was a Prince of great ſpirit. They might have had vaſtly more with the daughter of Portugal. Paget ſet forth the love his King had for the French King, that all the occaſions of ſuſpicion which had been given could not alienate him from it. He owned the Duke of Orleans' merit, but endeavoured to ſhew the propoſal was not unreaſonable; that Lewis the Twelfth had not much more with the King's ſiſter, and the King of Scots but half as much with the other. He ſaid likewiſe, that 800000 crowns that France owed the King would be forgiven, and the yearly penſion of 10000 crowns. The Admiral ſaid, the remitting the debt he counted for nothing, and they ſhould be at as much charge to maintain her court, as

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the penſion amounted to. Paget inſiſted on the juſtneſs of the debt, as having been lent in an extreme neceſſity; and that it having been long owing, did not make it nothing. The Admiral ſaid the 800000 crowns was nothing to the King, they not being able to pay it; ſo he wiſhed the thing had never been ſpoke of. He then turned the motion to the Lady Elizabeth, and propoſed a league againſt the Emperor; and that what was got from the Emperor ſhould be the King's in lieu of the penſion during life. He knew the Emperor was practiſing with the King, and with them at the ſame time; but it was only to divide them; for he knew he never would unite with the King, unleſs he would return to the Pope; ſo the Nuncio told the Chancellor, who told it again to the Queen of Navarre. He offered them, that the Duke of Orleans ſhould be King of Naples, and to give Flanders to France; if, in lieu of that, they would renounce Milan and Navarre, and reſtore Piedmont and Savoy; ſo to ſeparate the father and the ſon, that he might drive the ſon out of Naples when he pleaſed; and that he had endeavoured to gain the Duke of Cleves by offering him Guelder, if he and his wife would renounce Navarre. Paget ſaid, he knew nothing of theſe matters; but believed vice and virtue may be as ſoon reconciled, as the King to the Biſhop of Rome. Upon which the Admiral railed at the Biſhop of Rome, and ſaid he hoped before long to ſee his confuſion, and the abbeys given to laymen, and a patriarch in France: he ſaid, an union, and, if it may be, an interview, between the two Kings, would be the happieſt thing could befall Chriſtendom; but he believed many of the King's Council leaned too much to the Emperor. The Emperor, he ſaid, valued nothing in the world but the ſatisfying his own inſatiable deſires. He ſuffered his two brothers-in-law to periſh for want of 50000 crowns; firſt the King of Hungary, and then the King of Denmark. He ſaid, now he was low, ſo they would do well to fall on him before he took breath, and preſſed Paget to urge theſe things to the King; and how unreaſonable it was for the Emperor and his brother to aſk aid of the King againſt the Turk, while they kept his own dominions from him. Paget writ all this to the King, with a humble ſubmiſſion if he had gone too far. He told him, the French believed the Emperor was treating with the King for the Lady Mary; and that Bonner was ſent to Spain for that end, whom they looked upon as thoroughly imperial. Paget added a poſtſcript, in which

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he told the King, that the Admiral the next day entered into further diſcourſe with him; and ſaid, it was not 100000 or 200000 crowns could enrich his maſter, or impoveriſh the King: ſo he propoſed upon the marriage to enter into a league to make war on the Emperor, to regain all their territories; that the King ſhould ſend 10000 foot and 2000 horſe into Flanders, and pay 5000 Germans; that the French King ſhould furniſh the ſame, only 1000 more horſe; that they ſhould fit out an equal number of ſhips on both ſides; that the King ſhould have Gravelines and Dunkirk, and all about Calais; and endeavoured to perſuade Paget of the juſtneſs of a war, upon the debts the Emperor owed the King, upon the breach of his leagues with him, and upon his practiſing with France to join with the Pope and him to drive the King out of his dominions; and ended with deſiring that the war might begin that year, the Emperor being very poor. Paget excuſed himſelf from entering on ſuch matters, and deſired the French ambaſſador at London might propoſe it to the King; yet being preſſed by the Admiral to it, he laid all this before the King with much ſubmiſſion.

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The King's Council anſwered, that they truſted the Admiral, but not the King of France, whom they ſuſpected to mean nothing but to draw money from the King; for the French ambaſſadors ſtill inſiſted on 600000 crowns to be paid down: ſo this matter fell. But to go on with this Prince's ſtory. The Duke of Orleans in the year 1543 ſent to the Duke of Saxony, and Landgrave of Heſſe, and the other Proteſtant princes, that though, out of regard to his father the King, and the Dauphin his brother, he did not order the Goſpel to be preached in his dutchy of Orleans, that being under their obedience; yet he would ſee it ſhould be preached in the dutchy of Luxemburgh, and in all places that ſhould belong to him by right of war. He deſired to be received into their alliance; not to be aided by them againſt any Prince, but only on the account of the Chriſtian religion, the increaſe of which he deſired above all things; and he thought his being ſo allied to them would be a great means of propagating it into other dominions, and into the kingdom of France. He deſires this alliance may be made as ſoon as he ſhall order the Goſpel to be preached in Luxemburgh; and he offered them not only all his own force, but the whole force of the King his father, who had authorized him to employ it, as he ſhould judge proper for their welfare and freedom. Certainly

1543. The Duke of Orleans promiſed to declare himſelf Proteſtant.

tainly he did not make these overtures without his father's leave; and they shew that he was sincerely a Protestant, or at least designed openly to profess himself so. But Luxemburgh being retaken, this proposition ended. But it seems the Emperor feared his heat and spirit; for in 1544 he offered him an alternative of his eldest daughter, with the ancient inheritance of the house of Burgundy, the two Burgundies, and the Netherlands; or his brother Ferdinand's second daughter, with Milan. Upon this he met the Emperor at Antwerp, and stayed some days with him. But all ended with his life in the year 1545; for about the end of that year he died of the plague. 1543.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The Convocation, as appears by their minutes, never meddled with the book called *The Necessary Erudition.* But it seems, when that doctrine was settled, there was a design to reform further. In 1541 a Convocation was held, and the Archbishop brought them a message from the King, to consult concerning the reforming of errors, and delivered to them some books to be examined, but of what sort does not appear.

In 1545 an order of Council was published, to take away shrines and images, and commissions were granted for executing it. The Archbishop moved the Convocation in the King's name to make laws against simony, and to prepare Homilies, and a new translation of the Bible. The Bible was parcelled out, and assigned to several Bishops to translate; but it came to nothing during this reign, though the persons were named for the translation. Cranmer had some years before given the old translation, in the same manner to be revised and corrected, to several Bishops and Divines; but it was then much opposed. Stokesly refused to do the part assigned him, saying, that the liberty of reading the Scriptures would but infect the people with heresy, which he would never be guilty of promoting. Yet Cranmer published a more correct New Testament in English; but now he designed a new translation for the whole Bible.

The Convocation went on to treat about simony, and about translating the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, into the vulgar tongue; and about leases, that none should let them beyond twenty-one years; about many of the rituals of Thomas Becket, the adorning images, and reforming comedies. The Archbishop told them from the King, that it was his pleasure, that the translation of the Bible be revised by the two

BOOK I.

Univerſities: but the Biſhops did not agree to this. The Lord Chancellor exhibited to them an act, to allow Biſhops' chancellors to marry; to which the Biſhops diſ-
1543. ſented: ſome other matters were propoſed, but all were referred to the King. Some Homilies were likewiſe offered them. The Archbiſhop told them, that the King would have the offices uſed in churches examined and corrected; and would have a chapter of the New Teſtament read both at Mattins and Veſpers, in every pariſh. Some petitions were offered by the Clergy: one was for making a body of eccleſiaſtical laws. There was a body of them drawn up, probably the ſame with that prepared in King Edward's time. The perſons had been named, and a commiſſion granted ſome years before; but it ſeems to have been forgotten for ſome time; but now was revived, and the book prepared. But how it came to be dropped during this reign, is hard to account for, ſince it muſt have mightily ſtrengthened the King's ſupremacy to have all the eccleſiaſtical courts governed by a code authorized by the King.

This is all put together that could be collected from the only ancient copy that remains of the minutes of the Convocations in thoſe times. Bell, Biſhop of Worceſter, reſigned his biſhopric, but why does not appear. He lived to the year 1556; ſo if he withdrew becauſe he deſired a further reformation, it is likely he would have been taken notice of in King Edward's time; or if it was becauſe he diſliked the reformation that was made, probably he would have made ſome figure in Queen Mary's reign.

Bell, Biſhop of Worceſter, reſigned his biſhopric.

1544. Audley, Lord Chancellor, died.

Audley, who had been Chancellor ever ſince Sir Thomas More left the poſt, fell ſick in 1544, and ſent the ſeal to the King; the King gave it to the Lord Wriotheſly, and made him Lord Keeper, with authority to do all that the Lord Chancellor could do, during Lord Audley's infirmity. So during Lord Audley's life, out of regard to him, Lord Wriotheſly had not the title of Lord Chancellor with the ſeals; but upon his death he was made Lord Chancellor. This is the firſt inſtance of a Lord Keeper, with the full power of a Lord Chancellor.

Practices of Scotch Lords.

For the remaining part of this reign there are not materials to carry on a thread of hiſtory; ſo we muſt be contented with ſuch looſe paſſages as occur. The Emperor with the Popiſh party here were fomenting the breach between England and France; ſo the King, to prevent all danger from Scotland, entered into an agreement with the

the Earl of Lenox and Glencairne, and the Biſhop of Caithneſs, the Earl of Lenox's brother. They promiſed, that the Word of God ſhould be truly taught in their countries, and to continue the King's friends, and to prevent the Queen's being ſecretly carried away, and to help the King in ſeizing ſome caſtles on the borders; and the Biſhop of Caithneſs was given as a hoſtage. The King was to ſend forces to Scotland, to make the Earl of Lenox Governor of Scotland, and give him his niece in marriage. There was afterwards a fuller agreement made, whereby the Earl of Glencairne was to have two hundred and fifty pounds, and his ſon one hundred and twenty-five pounds penſion during life; and in this ſome of the caſtle of St. Andrew's were included, and private agreements were made with other people. BOOK I. 1544.

At this time the Germans began to have ſome hopes again of the King. Mount was ſent to offer an alliance with them. He excuſed the King's late proceedings againſt Cromwell and Barnes, and blamed their ambaſſadors for diſputing with the King in writing; and wiſhed Melancthon and Bucer had managed thoſe matters. Bucer ſeconded Mount's motions, and magnified the King. But the Elector of Saxony had no good opinion of the King, and thought him an enemy to their doctrine, and that all his deſign was to get a tyrannical power in the Church. The French King moved the Elector to undertake a mediation between the King and him; but he referred that to a general meeting of thoſe engaged in the Smalcaldic league. The German Princes ſaw how a quarrel between the two Kings would leave them expoſed to the Emperor, ſo they ſent ſome to try whether they could prevent the war, and mediate a reconciliation. When they delivered their meſſage to the King, he complained to them of the injuſtice of the French King, and doubted their interpoſition could have no effect; yet he expreſſed a great confidence in them. Mount ſent to Germany.

The Emperor and King Henry had agreed to march directly to Paris with their whole army, which they reckoned would amount to 90000 foot, and 20000 horſe; whereas if the King had landed in Normandy, according to the advice of his Council, he would have carried that whole dutchy. But the Emperor drew the King into the other ſcheme, and took Luxemburgh, and ſome other towns, and obtained his own ends, and then made a ſeparate peace with France, and left the King to make war by himſelf. So the King, finding the Emperor's main A war with France.

army

BOOK I.

1544.

army was not like to join him, ſent the Duke of Norfolk to beſiege Montreuil, and he himſelf ſat down before Boulogne; which was much weakened by a conſiderable part of the garriſon that Marſhal Bies, Governor of Boulogne, had thrown with himſelf into Montreuil, that being thought the more important place. The French ſent an army to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, upon which the Duke of Norfolk raiſed the ſiege, for fear of their cutting off his communication with the King's army. Boulogne however was taken; and that ſmall conqueſt was much extolled, though the place was ſcarce worth keeping, or the vaſt charge they had been at to take it.

Boulogne taken.

The King is forſaken by the Emperor.

Though the Emperor had betrayed the King, yet the intercourſe between the two Courts was not diſcontinued. The Emperor was neceſſary to him in one point, and that was, to prevent the Council which was to meet at Trent from intermeddling between him and the Pope, which the King much apprehended, becauſe Pole was named one of the legates to preſide in it; but the Emperor promiſed to hinder it, and he kept his word to him in that. The King of France offered to hinder the Council's meeting, if the King would join with him; but the King would not truſt his fluctuating temper, and he knew how great an intereſt the Emperor muſt have in that Council. However, the King, upon his firſt diſappointment, ſent the Earl of Hertford and Gardiner with a letter, in which he expoſtulated ſeverely with him for his perfidy. The Emperor had the gout, and would not ſee them; and his miniſters, after much chicane, at length, when they demanded a poſitive anſwer, told them that the Emperor could not carry on the war any longer againſt France, but offered to mediate a peace. But this mediation likewiſe was managed deceitfully; for the Emperor feared that if the two Kings were at peace, they would prevent his deſigns on Germany, which were now ripe; and would not ſit ſtill, and ſee him make himſelf maſter of Germany, under the pretence of a religious war; ſo he ſtudied to keep up the war between France and England.

Prayers ſet out in Engliſh.

Before the King went out of England, a Litany in Engliſh to be uſed in proceſſions was ſet out by his authority, with a preface exhorting the people to prayer, and to uſe their mother tongue when they prayed in private. In the Litany after the word *conſpiracy*, this is added, *from the tyranny of the Biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities.* It is much the ſame with the Litany now

now in uſe, only there is an invocation of the Virgin and the angels and ſaints to pray for them. To this are added ſome exerciſes of devotion, taken out of the Scriptures, chiefly the Pſalms; and a paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer. 1545.

The King on October 15, 1545, ſent a mandate to Bonner to publiſh the Engliſh Proceſſion, (that was the name of the book,) which was done next day. But ſo fickle and unſtable was the King in his proceedings, that ten days after he ordered Cranmer to ſet up an image again, which had been taken down by his injunctions; and ordered another to be taken down becauſe of the idolatry that was committed about it, and the uſe of holy water at St. John's tide to be aboliſhed.

At this time great indulgences and other ſuch favours were ſent to Ireland from Rome, and the King's ſupremacy was generally rejected in that kingdom; yet ſeveral there were put in priſon for denying the preſence in the Sacrament; and Tindal's and Coverdale's New Teſtaments were forbidden by a proclamation.

Thirleby was ſent ambaſſador to the Emperor, and afterwards Secretary Petre was ſent to that Court. Mount continued there, but acted without a character. He often warned the King of the Emperor's deſign to force all the empire to ſubmit to the Pope and Council then ſitting at Trent. The German Princes applied to the King to protect and intercede for Herman, Biſhop of Cologne, and gave him a great character; but it does not appear that the King interpoſed in that matter. The Emperor inſinuated himſelf much into Thirleby; and endeavoured by him to make the King believe that the King of France was making great levies with a deſign againſt the King: but this was found to be falſe, and only an artifice of the Emperor's to keep up a jealouſy between the two Courts. The Emperor likewiſe prevailed on Thirleby to aſſure the King, that he did not deſign to enſlave Germany, but only to repreſs the inſolence of ſome princes, and to give juſtice its free courſe: ſo Germany was abandoned by both Courts. Yet the King often complained by Thirleby to the Emperor of the hardſhips his ſubjects met with in Spain from the inquiſition, and the other courts of juſtice, on pretence that the King and all that adhered to him were heretics; but it does not appear that any thing was done upon theſe repreſentations. 1546. The King neglects the German Princes.

The laſt meſſage the King ſent to the Germans was in

BOOK I. 1546.

in 1546, by Mount and Butler. The German Princes had prayed him to inſiſt againſt the Council of Trent, aſſuring him that the Pope would ſuffer no reformation. The Elector of Saxony was againſt having any thing to do with the King, as being a man that only purſued his own ends, and intended out of the two religions to form a third, only for enriching himſelf, having condemned their doctrine in his Parliament; but the greater number of the Princes of the union were of another mind.

Ferdinand diſcontented with the Emperor.

At this time Ferdinand, on ſome diſguſt from the Emperor his brother, ſent to the King, ſetting forth the claim he had to Spain, by the agreement of the marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon, and Iſabel of Caſtile, that whenever there ſhould be a ſecond ſon iſſuing from that marriage, Caſtile and Arragon ſhould be again ſeparated. He pretended likewiſe to the Netherlands, as his ſhare of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Burgundy, in lieu of which rich provinces he was forced to accept Auſtria and the provinces about it, which lay expoſed to the Turks, and were loaded with debts. Our Court returned an anſwer ſecretly; but being then in a good underſtanding with Francis, communicated the matter to him; upon which he writ to Ferdinand, encouraging him to ſtand by his claim, and promiſing him his aſſiſtance. But Ferdinand not caring to truſt the Court of France, ſent this letter to the Emperor; ſo this matter ended there.

The Duke of Norfolk's impriſonment.

The laſt important tranſaction was the fall of the Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon the Earl of Surrey. Upon their impriſonment, which was about the end of the year 1546, letters were writ by the Council to all the King's ambaſſadors, giving an account of this matter much aggravated, as if ſome dangerous conſpiracy had been diſcovered. Particularly Thirleby was ordered to repreſent it to the Emperor; but the Emperor being ill, and refuſing all audiences, a Secretary was ſent to receive his meſſage, to whom Thirleby ſet forth the whole matter in the moſt odious characters, which the Secretary promiſed to report to the Emperor. After ſuch black repreſentations, great matters might be expected; but a letter, which the Duke of Norfolk writ with his own hand to the Council, gives a very different account of that matter, with relation to himſelf. In it he ſays the Lord Great Chamberlain and Secretary of State had examined him on divers particulars: the firſt was, whether he had ever a cypher with any man, but ſuch as he had for the King's affairs, when he was in his ſervice? which he denied.

His letter to the Council.

There

There was likewiſe a letter of his found among Biſhop Fox's papers, about which he was examined: he remembered it was about the talk of the northern people, after the commotions there; but it was only againſt Cromwell, and not againſt the King; and he did not remember whether it was in cypher or not. Then he was aſked, if any perſon had talked to him about the Pope's breaking by his diſpenſation any peace that might be made between the King, the Emperor, and the French King, and whether he had inclined that way? He anſwered, that he remembered no ſuch thing; but declared himſelf againſt the Biſhop of Rome's uſurpations, and ſaid he had upon all occaſions ſpoken againſt them. He was aſked likewiſe, if he knew of a letter from Gardiner and Knevet, the King's ambaſſadors at the Emperor's Court, about a reconciliation with the Pope, which was brought to the King at Dover, he being there then. He ſaid, he had never been with the King at Dover ſince the Duke of Richmond's death; nor had ever heard of ſuch an overture; only that it had been ſaid in Council, when Sir Francis Bryan was like to die, that he had reported the Biſhop of Wincheſter to have ſaid, that he knew a way to ſet all right between the Pope and the King; upon which Sir Ralph Sadler was ſent to Sir Francis, to aſk the truth of it; but Sir Francis ſaid he had never heard any thing of it. Theſe were all the queſtions they put to him, and theſe his anſwers. He therefore prayed the Lords to intercede with the King, that his accuſers might be brought to him face to face, and that he might have the ſame favour Cromwell had; whom he hoped they did not compare him with; and he did not doubt but it would appear he was falſely accuſed. He ſaid, he believed ſome falſe man had laid ſome great matter to his charge. He proteſted his fidelity to the King, and was ready to confeſs if he knew wherein he had offended him. He tells what great enemies he had always had; firſt Wolſey, and then Cromwell, with many others. He counts his ſervices to the King, and wonders how any could think him unfaithful to the King, having received ſuch favours of him, and being his near kinſman. He prays them to lay all this before the King, and ends with ſuch ſubmiſſions as he hoped might mollify the King.

By this it appears he was to have been deſtroyed only upon ſuſpicions and old ſtories; but the King's death prevented his execution.

King

BOOK I.

King Henry had certainly a greater meaſure of learning than moſt princes uſed to have; and eſpecially in matters of divinity. But as this gave occaſion to much flattery, ſo his ſtrength of mind was not great enough to withſtand it; and it both corrupted his temper, and diſfigured his whole government. It was by this method that Cardinal Wolſey governed him for ſo many years; though otherwiſe he was a wiſe miniſter, and always purſued the true intereſt of England, in maintaining the balance of Europe, by favouring Charles or Francis the Firſt alternately, as the one ſeemed to riſe in ſtrength, or the other ſink. One great occaſion of flattering the King was his book againſt Luther. It was a maſter-piece in Wolſey to engage the King to own the book: if any aſſiſted him in the compoſing it, as probably there did, the ſecret was well kept. Whether King Henry was ſincere as to his ſcruples about his firſt marriage, can be only known to God; though the great expence he was at in the ſuit for many years, and all that while abſtaining from any unlawful commerce with Anne Bullen, which appears from her being with child ſo ſoon after her marriage, ſeem favourable circumſtances.

1547. A recapitulation of King Henry's reign. Wolſey's miniſtry.

It does not appear how Wolſey deſerved his diſgrace, unleſs the commiſſion given to the two legates empowered them to act ſeparately; and even then, he being truſted by the Pope, ſcarce deſerved ſo ſevere a correction, for acting according to his inſtructions. Nothing elſe material appeared againſt Wolſey; but it ſeems the new flatterers falling in with the King's paſſion, outdid and ruined him.

More's character.

More was the glory of his age: he thought the King's cauſe juſt, and favoured it as long as it was proſecuted at the Court of Rome; but when he ſaw a breach with that Court like to follow, he withdrew from the great poſt he was in; and the carrying matters againſt him ſo far as was done, is the greateſt reproach of that reign. His ſuperſtition indeed ſeems contemptible, but his conſtancy of mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's miniſtry.

Cromwell in his miniſtry did great things, by his conſtant flattery and ſubmiſſion. Pulling down the papacy, and ſetting up the King's ſupremacy, and rooting out the monaſtic ſtate in England, with ſo few convulſions and diſturbances, and in ſo ſhort a time, ſhew him to have been a great maſter in buſineſs. But an unfortunate marriage to which he perſuaded the King, and a ſuſpicion the King took up, that he was backward in the deſign

sign of breaking it, and that he had betrayed that secret which he had trusted him with to Anne of Cleves, worked his ruin.

1547. The Duke of Norfolk, after Cromwell's fall, grew to be first in favour; but was at last to have been sacrificed to the King's jealousy, who feared he would be too great, and, being the head of the Popish party, might be an uneasy competitor with the Seymours, during his son's minority.

The King's inconstancy in religion. The King was all his life fluctuating in matters of religion; sometimes making steps to a reformation, sometimes returning back to his old notions. For though, when he first threw off the Pope's yoke, the reformers flattered him; yet, being too hasty in reforming, and not paying that deference to his judgment which he expected, as if the infallibility of the Popes had been transferred to him with the supremacy, he turned against them; and the adherers to the old opinions flattering him again, seemed for some time to have brought him back: but he still perceived the old leaven of the papacy working in them, so that he was always wavering between those whom he found unwilling to submit to his infallibility, and those whom he suspected were averse to his supremacy. Perhaps the apprehensions of the Council that was to meet at Trent might be one restraint upon him, from proceeding to any further innovations in religion, especially in that received doctrine of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, which he himself too had defended against Luther.

But whatever his faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence to open a door for letting in the truth of the Gospel upon the nation, and to deliver it from blind and implicit obedience, and from the terror of the ecclesiastical courts, to put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and to render this Church an entire body within itself, and free it from all dependence on any foreign power; and lastly to destroy the monasteries, which had always been the strong holds of Popery; and thus to open a way for all that came after.

So that while we observe the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, at the same time we see the justice, wisdom, and goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride of Popery, become its scourge; and in directing his pride and passion so, as to bring about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change, that

BOOK I. 1547. that a milder reign could not have compaſſed, without great convulſions, and much confuſion; and in reſcuing us by his means from a vain and heatheniſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, into a greater ſimplicity of belief, and a greater purity of worſhip.

Of

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the Second Book of the Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

THE former account of King Edward's reign is ſo full, that there are few things to be added; yet there are ſome gleanings that may not be unacceptable.

Vargas's letters concerning the Council of Trent.

The Council of Trent, the ſecond ſeſſion of which was in this reign, being the moſt important foreign tranſaction that happened at this time, it is not improper to make a digreſſion, in order to give an account of a great diſcovery lately made, with relation to that affair, which confirms all that Padre Paulo ſays of that Council in his hiſtory of it. It is a parcel of letters in Spaniſh, writ to Cardinal Grandville, Biſhop of Arras, and chief miniſter to Charles the Emperor, by Vargas and others. Vargas, the chief writer of them, was one of the greateſt geniuſes of the time, and was employed by the Emperor in both

BOOK II. the ſeſſions as the chief of the Council, for his ambaſſadors, in divinity matters that required either civil or canon law. They fell into the hands of Sir William 1547. Trumball, the grandfather of the preſent gentleman of that name, while he was King James the Firſt's envoy at Bruſſels; but probably under a promiſe of ſecrecy, and ſo lay concealed till lately, when by means of his grandſon they were publiſhed in Engliſh by Dr. Geddes, and more fully in French by M. Le Vaſſor.

The fraud and inſolence of the Legate. They give a juſt idea of that Council, of the fraud and inſolence of the Legate, and of the method in which matters were carried there.

Oct. 7. In one letter he tells, that the Pope and his miniſters dreaded the Proteſtants coming to the Council; that they were not themſelves, nor in a condition to treat upon that point; that whoever offered any thing not grateful to the Legate, was immediately ſaid to *ſpeak ill*, and *think worſe*.

In another he mentions a letter from the Emperor to the Pope, promiſing that nothing ſhould be done in the Council but what the Pope had a mind to, and that he would make the Prelates hold their tongues, and not oppoſe him; Vargas ſays, this was only writ to induce the Pope to grant the bull, and was not to be underſtood ſo literally (judaically he ſays) as to ſuffer the Pope to ruin all, but only to do reaſonable things: he ſays, the liberty the Pope took looks like fury and madneſs.

Oct. 12. The Biſhops knew not what they did. In another he ſays, the Legate never acquaints the Prelates with matters, till they are juſt to be pronounced, and then they paſs them without more ado; and that all that the Pope aims at is to authorize his own pretenſions by the Council: the Canons of reformation, he ſays, are ſo trivial, that ſeveral were aſhamed to hear them.

Oct. 28. In another he writes, he does not ſee how either Catholics or Heretics can be ſatisfied with what is done here; for all is done by the way of Rome.

Nov. 12. In another he writes, the Legate goes on in his old way, conſuming time in diſputing about doctrine, and that produces ſomething in a hurry to look plauſible; ſo that they have neither time to read nor underſtand what they are about: he thinks both God and his Majeſty were like to be much diſhonoured by what would be done there; and that if things went on ſo, the Church would be left in a worſe condition than ſhe was before.

Nov. 28. In another he ſays, there are not words to expreſs the pride, the diſreſpect, and ſhameleſſneſs with which the Legate

Legate proceeds; nothing but a miracle can prevent the succeſs and end he had foretold this ſynod would have; human means could not; and that the Emperor tired himſelf in vain negociating with the Pope and his miniſters; that the Legate had hammered out ſuch an infamous reformation, as would make them a jeſt to the world; that the Prelates reſented it highly, and many thought they wounded their conſciences by holding their tongues, and ſuffering things to be carried thus. He ſays, this Council will undeceive the world, and convince them, that by reaſon of the management of Popes, no reformation is ever to be expected from a General Council. He hopes that nothing in which the Pope has pretenſions will be handled in this Council; for it cannot be done here, ſays he, but to the detriment of the whole Church, who have at preſent neither ſtrength nor courage to reſiſt; and unleſs God remedy it, he does not ſee when it will. He ſays, the Legate does whatever he has a mind to, without either numbering or weighing votes; hurrying and reſerving things which ought to be well weighed and digeſted to the laſt minute, ſo that the major part do not know what they are a doing till it is done. He ſays, every body is glad that the Council is drawing ſo near an end, there being many that wiſh it had never met; he owns he did, and would be miſtaken if they did not leave things worſe than they found them.

1547. The pride and impudence of the Legate.

No good to be expected from Councils.

In another letter, he complains that the decree of doctrine was not finiſhed till the night before the ſeſſion, ſo that many Biſhops gave their aſſent to what they could not underſtand. The divines of Louvain and Cologne, and ſome Spaniſh divines, publicly declared themſelves much diſſatisfied. He ſays, if this matter becomes public, it muſt quite ruin the credit of all that has or ſhall be done, and prevent the Council's being received either in Flanders or Germany. He tells, that the Biſhop of Verdun called the Canons of reformation a pretended reformation, unworthy of the ſynod: upon which the Legate gave him very rude language, calling him a boy, and an impudent raw man, and told him he knew how to have him chaſtiſed, and would not ſuffer him to ſpeak in his own defence. Thus, ſays he, the matters of God are handled, and none have the courage to ſpeak in his behalf, but are like *dumb dogs, that cannot bark.*

In another he tells, that the divines were employed in correcting ſome particulars in the decrees that were

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paſſed. So the infallibility, it ſeems, was removed from the Council to the divines the Legate employed.

1547. Dec. 19. In another he ſays, it had been happy if the Council had never met, by reaſon of the many miſchiefs it had already done, and is ſtill doing; he deſpairs of any good ever coming from a General Council; and expreſſes ſome fear of the Council's diſperſing itſelf.

1548. Jan. 10. In another he writes, this ſynod muſt end tumultuouſly and inglorioufly.

Jan. 19. In another, that the Legate had foiſted ſome things into the doctrine of orders, which muſt ruin all. He ſays, the Legate ſeems to be given over to a reprobate ſenſe.

Jan. 20. In another he ſays, all they drive at is to get the Pope's pretenſions eſtabliſhed under the doctrine of order, which will ruin all; thoſe being matters never yet ſo much as propoſed or diſputed of in the Council; nor indeed, as things ſtand, fit to be meddled with in this ſynod.

The decree concerning the Pope's authority propoſed, but not paſſed. The decree of order, on which the Legate had ſet his heart, was this; *That as the old Jeruſalem, the pattern of this new and heavenly Jeruſalem, had different orders under one chief governor, ſo the viſible Church of Chriſt has its chief Vicar, the only and ſupreme Head on earth; and by his diſpenſation offices are diſtributed ſo to all the other members, that in the ſeveral orders and ſtations in which they are placed, they may execute their functions to the good of the whole Church, with the greateſt peace and union.* A deputation of twenty was named to conſider of this; the Legate and the two Preſidents were three of them. It was ſeverely attacked by the Biſhop of Guadix.

The laſt of February. In his laſt letter Vargas writes, that the Legate would one way or other bring about the diſſolution of the ſynod; becauſe, if they can get their clauſes determined, they gain their deſire, and will never need any more Councils to ſerve their pretenſions; and if they cannot carry thoſe points, to rid themſelves of all fear, when they find they cannot bring the Council to do what miſchief to the Church the Pope and his miniſters would have them, they will then perplex and confound all.

This is the opinion this great ſtateſman expreſſes of this ſeſſion of the Council: nor had he a better of the former one under Pope Paul, as appears by the directions he gives concerning the government of a Council, and the office of an ambaſſador, which he drew up before the ſecond meeting of the Council; in which he affirms the Council of Trent had none of the eſſentials of a Council, but

but was managed so as to destroy all the liberty and authority of Councils, and to take away all hopes of having abuses redressed, or ever seeing any good come from Councils. The Legates, he says, managed matters so, that nothing was done but what they had a mind to, and in the manner too they had a mind to. Their talking of liberty, he says, was all cheat and banter; even the Pope's pensioners had not the face to deny it. The clause they put into the Canons of reformation, *saving in all things the authority of the Apostolical See*, was plainly saying, that what the Pope does not like shall signify nothing. He tells the methods the Legates used in negociating with people to change their minds, which every body took notice of. The Legates, when they proposed any thing, told their opinion first; and in the middle of voting, if they saw any one not vote as they would have him, they would speak before another was suffered to vote, sometimes in soft, sometimes in harsh and railing words, letting others understand how they should vote. He says, the common method was to assemble the Prelates in a general congregation the night before the session, and read to them the decrees they had formed; so that many not understanding them, and others being afraid, and others tired with the length, they were passed. The Legate's drift was to canonize all the abuses of the Court of Rome, and manage things like the compounding of a law-suit, representing the Pope as gracious in granting any thing, as if all had been his own: in which courses, says he, it is certain the Holy Ghost did not assist. They would often split abuses, and so render perpetual that part which the synod approved; and as for the other part, they will find ways, according to their custom, to defeat its condemnation. He says, nothing could be so much as put to the vote without the Legate's consent; who, though he was always sure of the majority, (by the number of the Pope's pensioners,) yet used strange tricks in the conduct of the Council. They had made their own creatures the Secretaries, Notaries, and Officers of the Council, so that it was a body without soul or strength in it; whereas the Council should have named all those. Thus the Council was employed rather in struggling with the Pope and his Legates, who would engross all to themselves, than in reforming and remedying the evils of the Church. He calls it a convention of Bishops, and not a Council: and concludes, it had been better not to have celebrated a Council at this time, than

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to have celebrated one after this manner, with ſo little fruit, to the ſorrow of Catholics, the ſcorn of Heretics, and the prejudice of the preſent and all future Councils.

1548. Malvenda and others make the like complaints. Oct. 12.

There is a letter of Malvenda, one of the Emperor's divines there, in which he complains, that the decrees, eſpecially of doctrine, were communicated to them very late; ſo that though the decrees may be found, (and it is well if they are,) yet paſſing them on the bare hearing them read, on the eve of a ſeſſion, muſt leſſen the authority and majeſty ſuch matters uſed to have. He owns nothing ſhould be done without the Pope's conſent; yet he ſays that ſhould be kept ſecret, leſt the Lutherans ſhould reflect on the liberty of the Council, which might ſafely enjoy more without prejudice to his Holineſs.

Nov. 22.

In another, he wiſhes this Council may not do more harm than good, eſpecially to the Germans that are here, who, ſeeing how it is under the dominion of the Legate, cannot have ſuch reſpect for it as is convenient.

Oct. 12.

The Biſhop of Oren writes in the ſame ſtrain: in one he ſays, if the Emperor does not ſet himſelf in earneſt to obtain of the Pope and the Fathers a reformation, we ſhall have our wounds only ſkinned over, and they will corrupt again quickly. He ſays, the Prelates are all much troubled to ſee how ill people that ſay any thing of a reformation are heard.

Nov. 28.

In another he writes, they diſcover here little or no inclination to do any thing that deſerves the name of a reformation: he prays God may remedy theſe things; and ſays, unleſs his Majeſty and your Lordſhip labour very hard, there will be no remedy left for the Church. He tells the ſame ſtory of the Biſhop of Verdun that Vargas does, and farther, that the Biſhop threatened, ſince there was no liberty, to go, having got leave of the Emperor. The Legate told him he ſhould not go, but do what he commanded him. He ſays, it will be a great reproach to the Biſhops, from whom the world expected a reformation, that they could give them nothing but what the Legate pleaſed; and, ſays he, it will be juſt for the people to ſtone us when we come home, if we take no better care of their intereſt.

Theſe are the ſentiments, concerning the Council of Trent, of thoſe that were far from being favourers of the Reformation, but who were in the ſecret of affairs, and wrote thus to the Emperor's chief miniſter. It is hoped this digreſſion may be of uſe, to ſhew how vain a thing it is to hope for a general reformation from any General Council;

Council; and how weak their prejudice is againſt our reformation, that we ſeparated from the reſt of the Church too ſoon, and would not wait till, by the concurrence of other Churches, a reformation might be agreed and ſettled in a General Council; which if we had done, it is plain by the management of this Council of Trent we ſhould till this day have remained in our old ſuperſtition and idolatry.

Thirlby writes of the Interim.

But to turn to the affairs of England; Thirlby was now ambaſſador at the Emperor's Court, and writ over to the Protector, warning him of the deſigns of the French againſt England; and likewiſe gives an account of the Interim, approving it, and calling it a high act of ſupremacy. By it all the doctrines of Popery were mollified, the Sacrament was allowed to be given in both kinds, and married Prieſts were ſuffered to officiate: but this was only a connivance, to laſt till the Council ſhould be reaſſembled, and ſettle matters finally.

Hobby ſent to the Emperor.

The Protector recalled Thirlby, either miſtruſting him, or that he might aſſiſt Cranmer at home in carrying on the Reformation, and ſent Sir Philip Hobby in his ſtead, who had been put in the Fleet in King Henry's time as a favourer of the new learning, as it was then called. He was now therefore ſent over as one on whoſe advices the government here might depend, as to the affairs of Germany.

When he came there, he writ over an account of the Emperor's quarrelling with his Confeſſor. The Confeſſor would not give him abſolution, unleſs he would recall the decree of the Interim, and extirpate hereſy. The Emperor ſaid, he would do no more againſt the Lutherans than he had done, and if the Friar would not abſolve him, others would; ſo the Friar left him. A propoſition of marriage between the Lady Mary and the brother of Portugal was at that time made by the Emperor, who ſeemed to think her not ſafe in England; but the Council rejected it. The Council, in one of their letters to Sir Philip, tell him of two perſons whom the French King had corrupted to betray one of their forts to him; and, that though he had promiſed their ambaſſador, on the faith of a gentleman, he would make no war upon them without giving them warning firſt, yet, hearing the commotions in England, he began hoſtilities againſt Boulogne three or four days after.

The perfidy of the French King.

The progreſs of the Reformation

Cranmer was now delivered from a great ſubjection, in which he had lived, to King Henry, to whom he ſubmitted

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mitted in many things he himſelf ſeemed to think wrong, either out of gratitude, or hopes of gaining on the King, or elſe a fearfulneſs of temper. Perhaps he thought that the example of the Apoſtles, eſpecially St. Paul's complying with the Jews in order to gain them, might juſtify him. Now he was delivered from that ſervitude, he reſolved to ſet about a farther reformation. He ſtudied to gain Gardiner, either to aſſiſt him, or at leaſt not to oppoſe him. He thought from his complying always with King Henry, he could not be very ſcrupulous in his own thoughts. He firſt ſet about preparing a book of Homilies to be read in churches, to give the people a farther meaſure of knowledge; and he added to them Eraſmus's paraphraſe of the New Teſtament, as the moſt unexceptionable book of that ſort, he having writ againſt Luther, and died in the Roman Communion, and having been much favoured in England. Cranmer told Gardiner his deſigns, and ſhewed him the draught of the Homilies: but Gardiner was reſolved to ſet himſelf at the head of the Popiſh party, and ſo rejected all the offers Cranmer made him; and inſiſted that all ſhould be kept quiet, and no changes made during the King's minority.

But as Cranmer had the perverſeneſs of the Popiſh party to deal with, ſo it was not eaſy to reſtrain his own ſide, whoſe heat ſometimes carried them to great diſorders, ſome inſulting the prieſts as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the Sacrament. This occaſioned two proclamations this year; the firſt, November the twelfth, againſt inſolence towards prieſts; and the other, December the twenty-ſeventh, againſt irreverent talkers of the Sacrament, and thoſe who in ſermons went to define any thing one way or other about the Preſence. The Viſitors went about with their injunctions; and Gardiner was put in the Fleet for refuſing to obey them.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The Convocation that ſat this year agreed unanimouſly to an order for receiving the communion in both kinds, which the Archbiſhop ſent them down: and a propoſition being offered to them for annulling all laws or canons forbidding marriage upon any vow of prieſthood, chaſtity, or widowhood, the propoſition was agreed to, and ſubſcribed by fifty-three, twenty-two only diſſenting; and a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of prieſts; and it was remarkable, that ſeveral of thoſe who agreed to it did never marry, while ſome of thoſe who diſſented now, did yet afterwards marry.

Cranmer

Cranmer went on, writing and labouring to root up the old ſuperſtition; but it had taken too deep root to be eaſily removed, eſpecially in the Univerſities, where they adhered ſo obſtinately to the old doctrines, that they would not ſo much as ſuffer diſputations upon them. Under all this oppoſition Cranmer expreſſed a wonderful mildneſs to thoſe that were even inſolent to him; and when it was ſaid to him, that if they ſhould get the power into their hands, they would ſhew him no favour; he anſwered, *Well, if God ſo provide, we muſt abide it.* 1548.

The Popiſh clergy were generally at the head of the rebels that roſe in 1549; and many of them were found to have complied and ſubſcribed the new book. Very few of the clergy ſhewed any great zeal againſt them. 1549.

Upon information that ſome of the Lady Mary's ſervants were active in thoſe commotions, the Protector and Council wrote to her about it. In her anſwer ſhe expreſſes her diſlike of thoſe revolts, but denied that any of her Chaplains or ſervants were there; and aſſured them that they were all good ſubjects to the King: her proceedings in matters of religion could not encourage the rebels, as they ſaid, ſince the rebels near her had not touched upon religion. She wiſhed their alterations and unlawful liberties were not rather the occaſion of ſuch aſſemblies. In ſuppreſſing theſe tumults, the Protector eſpouſed the people's intereſt againſt the Lords, and blamed them for their oppreſſions, which made him much beloved by the people. But he truſting to that, took too much upon him, and often oppoſed the whole Council, which at length ruined him, together with his brother, the Lord Seymour's father, which lay heavy on him, though that Lord had almoſt compaſſed his deſign of marrying the Princeſs Elizabeth. The Lady Mary denies that ſhe was concerned in the riſings.

As for the entertaining of foreign troops, which he bore the blame of, it is certain the whole Council concurred with him in it; for they found the bulk of the Engliſh ſtill tainted with the old ſuperſtition, ſo that they could not be depended on; whereas the Germans were zealous for the Reformation, and were ſafely to be truſted. However, this was called ruling by ſtrangers, and being generally laid on the Duke of Somerſet, ſhook him very much in his popularity.

The Papiſts were very active in the change that followed: Bonner's being removed was not much reſented, few loving or eſteeming him; and Ridley being the moſt eſteemed man of all the reformers. But falling on Gardiner,

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diner, who was in greater eſteem, though not more loved than Bonner, alarmed the whole party both at home and abroad; upon which the Council writ over a very ſevere character of him to the Court of France.

1549.

The Popiſh party deceived in their hopes on the Protector's fall.

The Papiſts expected to be more favourably dealt with upon the Protector's fall, they having been aſſiſting to the pulling him down; but they ſoon found themſelves deceived: and though they had hopes given them of better uſage, things went worſe with them than before.

1550.

In February next year the Duke was ſet at liberty; but confined within four miles of Schene, or Syon, under a recognizance of 10000l. and bound not to come into the King's preſence, unleſs called by the King and Council. Some days after his friends were likewiſe diſmiſſed from the Tower, upon their recognizances, after having been examined.

They were now endeavouring to ſet afoot again the match that had been propoſed between the Lady Mary and the Prince of Portugal, and Hobby was ſent to proſecute this matter at the Emperor's Court. Whether this flowed from the Earl of Warwick's ambitious deſigns to ſend her out of the way, or the Council's uneaſineſs at her perſiſting in the old religion, is not certain; but it is plain they had a mind to get rid of her. Hobby was alſo to repreſent to the Emperor, that they had connived at her maſs, in hopes that ſhe would conform herſelf to the laws, which were ſo ſtrict in that point, that no licenſe could be granted in oppoſition to them; but that ſhe abuſed the King's favour, and kept as it were an open church in her houſe: that they hoped the Emperor would give her good advice in that matter. But it ſeems the Emperor had little regard to this; for ſoon after he forbid our ambaſſador to have the Engliſh ſervice in his houſe. Upon which in England the Council forbid the Emperor's ambaſſador having the maſs in his houſe. The Emperor complains of this as a violation of the dignity of that character: but the Council ſtood firm, and would not recall their order, till the Emperor recalled his. It ſeems the carrying on the Reformation was ſtill cordially eſpouſed at that board.

Proceedings againſt Gardiner.

Gardiner's being kept ſo long a priſoner, without being proceeded againſt, raiſed a great outery. So the Duke of Somerſet and others were ſent to offer him the King's favour if he would ſubmit to him, and ſtudy to advance his proceedings. He inſiſted on having his liberty firſt, and then he ſaid he would ſpeak his conſcience. However

ever he at last signed six Articles in the presence of the Council; that the Common Prayer was a godly book, fit to be used by the King's subjects: that the King was a full and entire King, and to be obeyed notwithstanding his age: that the statute of the six Articles was justly repealed: and that the Kings of England had full authority in their dominions to correct abuses, and alter rites for the edification of their people, so those alterations were not contrary to the laws of God. But they resolved to carry his submissions further, and so drew up twenty new Articles, condemning celibacy, and all monkish vows, all images, relics, and pilgrimages; condemning all masses as superstitious, and fit to be taken away; affirming, that the Eucharist should be received in both kinds, and should not be adored; that the Scriptures contained all things necessary to salvation; and approving the book of Homilies, and ordinations, and Erasmus's paraphrase, which was ordered by the King to be put in all churches. And in a preface to this he was to declare, that he had encouraged the King's subjects, by his example, to repine at his proceedings; that he was sorry for it, and had been justly punished for it, and now thanked the King for his clemency to him; and did of his own will, without any compulsion, subscribe the following Articles. He refused to subscribe this preface; and said, he had never offended the King, so he desired his trial, not asking mercy, but justice: as for the Articles, he said, it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them while he was in prison. So he was brought before the Council, and refusing there to subscribe the Articles, he was sequestrated, and threatened that, if he did not conform within three months, he should be deprived; and they resolved to keep his house and servants till that time, in hopes that he might yet be reconciled before that time; and the matter till then was to be kept private. 1550.

Preaching forbidden, but by licensed persons.

The distractions which were raised all over the nation, by the contradictory sermons of those that were for the old doctrines, and of the reformers, gave occasion to a proclamation, prohibiting all preaching, except with the King's or Archbishop of Canterbury's license. But this being cried out against, as if it had encouraged ignorance and dissoluteness, the Bishops were ordered to appoint their Chaplains, or others at their discretion, to preach in their dioceses, notwithstanding the proclamation.

There were at this time likewise twelve appointed by the Council to devise an order for the creation of Bishops and Priests,

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Prieſts, as they call it. Heath, Biſhop of Worceſter, was one of them. So the order was drawn up, and brought to the Council, ſigned by all but Heath. He ſaid, he would obey, but not ſign it; and, perſiſting in that reſolution, he was ſent to the Fleet. And ſome time after, being called again before the Council, and required to ſubſcribe the book, and told that he might ſtill recover the King's favour, if he would do that; he acknowledged they had uſed him very gently, but ſtill ſaid the ſame he had ſaid before. So they argued with him, and offered him more time to conſider. He ſaid, he knew he could never be of another mind, nor could he conſent to other things, as the taking down the altars, and ſetting up tables in their room.

1550. Heath and Day in trouble.

The matter ended with a charge to ſubſcribe, under pain of deprivation. About the ſame time Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, was ſent for by the Council, for not obeying their order to remove altars, and ſet up tables in their ſtead. He ſaid he could not obey the order, and the beſt reaſon he could give, was that paſſage in the Hebrews, *We have an altar*; though they ſhewed him that Chriſt was meant by that altar, and that in Origen's days the Chriſtians had no altars, as he himſelf ſays: all did not prevail, and he ſaid he would loſe all he had, rather than obey their order. So he was ſent to the Fleet; and about the end of the next year Heath and he were deprived by a commiſſion; and they were afterwards delivered to the Biſhops of Ely and London, to be maintained by them. Probably they foreſaw the change of doctrine in Sacrament coming on, and ſo reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of breaking off their compliances.

Scandals given by many.

There was at this time a very ſcandalous practice of ſelling of all offices and employments: people ſaid, King Henry made endowments; but now, for all the wealth that had been ſeized on, no ſchools or hoſpitals were yet founded. Ridley writ very warmly to Mr. Cheek, on an order from Council to forbear collating Grindal to a prebend in St. Paul's, becauſe the King would keep that prebend for his ſtable; begging him either to ſpeak himſelf, or to ſhew his letter, and let that ſpeak.

Another thing that gave great ſcandal was a complaint againſt Holgate, Archbiſhop of York, for taking and keeping away a man's wife from him. The Council upon it wrote to the Archbiſhop not to come to Parliament, and ordered the matter to be examined; but what became of it does not appear. He was a covetous man, and a reproach

proach to the Reformation. Probably it was on such accounts that King Edward said, as is reported, of the Bishops in his time; some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government. At this time there was also a commission made out to enquire again after the Anabaptists, and to judge them. 1550.

Gardiner deprived.

Now Gardiner was brought to his trial; and Cranmer, with some others, was appointed to try him. He behaved himself very unreverently to the King, and slanderously to the Council, and abused his judges, calling them heretics; so he was deprived, and the Council ordered him to be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower, and his books and papers to be taken away, and neither pen, ink, nor paper to be allowed him, and none to be admitted to him. These severities both raised him to be the head of the Popish party, and moved the compassion of all the people. Gardiner had some time before sent a challenge to Hooper, to dispute publicly on the doctrine of the Sacrament, and promised to submit to the laws if he did not clearly carry the victory: Hooper accepted this, and the day was fixed; but when the time drew near, Gardiner said, he must first be set at liberty; so it all came to nothing.

An account of Bishop Hooper.

There was a new contention unhappily raised at this time, on the account of Hooper, who was a zealous, pious, and learned man. He had been in Zurich, during all the heats in Germany about the Interim; which was thought by some to be designed as a means to bring the people back to Popery, by keeping up the outside of it in the rites and ceremonies, and therefore was violently opposed by them; of this sort the reformed generally were, and refused to comply: on the other hand, those who were for submitting, who were mostly of the Lutherans, said, rites and ceremonies, being things indifferent in their nature, might lawfully be complied with, and consequently subjects were in duty bound to observe them when commanded by the magistrate. Those of Switzerland, who apprehended much a design of restoring Popery by this means, joined with the reformed of Germany, and were zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the rites prescribed by it. Hooper came from Zurich in the heat of this debate, and with this tincture in his mind.

He went through Flanders in his way to England, and was a witness, as he writes to Bullinger, of the violent oppres-

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oppreſſion of the Spaniards: he heard of rapes, adulteries, and robberies in every place. He was at the Duke of Saxony's houſe at Bruſſels, but the Spaniards would not allow the Duke, though he deſired it, to ſpeak with him. He had no hope of his liberty, but continued firm in his religion, and hoped yet to ſee it revived.

The Landgrave was kept at Oudenard, and was very uneaſy and inconſtant in his mind; ſometimes he was for ſubmitting to the Emperor, and going to maſs; ſometimes he railed at him, and at the Interim. The Pope and the Emperor, he ſays, were now in very ill terms; the Emperor would not conſent to the Council's ſitting at Bologna, and threatened to break with the Pope if he did not bring it back to Trent. He underſtood the Emperor had ſome deſign of breaking the peace of Switzerland. He wiſhed they would fear God, lead holy lives, and fight bravely; and God would protect them. The Emperor's army, he ſays, lay near Bremen; and the cities made no ſubmiſſions, but were furniſhed with ſtores for five years.

When Hooper came to England, he applied himſelf much to preaching, and was ſo much followed, that his fame came to Court: ſo he was appointed to preach at Court every Wedneſday in Lent, and Poinet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, on Fridays. Hooper writ from time to time to Bullinger of the affairs here. He tells him, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops of Rocheſter, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, agreed in all things with the Helvetic Churches, and were ſincerely for advancing the purity of doctrine; only he thinks Cranmer too feeble. He commends particularly the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and the Earl of Warwick, after Duke of Northumberland, who put on ſuch a ſhew of zeal, that Hooper thought him the beſt affected to the Word of God.

In another letter Hooper tells him, that he was named to be Biſhop of Glouceſter, but that he had declined it, both for the oath, which was foul and impious, and for the Aronical habits; and had given the King freely his reaſons, upon the King's aſking them of him. He commends him as the wonder of his age; and his ſiſter Elizabeth, as both very zealous, and very knowing: ſhe read Greek and Latin, and few could diſpute with her, eſpecially about religion.

Upon this, ſome from hence preſſed thoſe of Zurich to write to the King to drop all ceremonies, and ſeemed to blame

blame the Biſhops here, as being ſo earneſt in this matter, only becauſe they would not have that blamed to which they had ſubmitted themſelves.

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But thoſe of Zurich were too modeſt to interpoſe in ſuch a manner; only Bullinger writ about it to Cox, the King's Preceptor; who anſwered him, that he wiſhed all pomp might be removed from the Church, and that every thing there might be pure and ſimple; but excuſed himſelf on his low ſtation, and that he could do nothing but ſpeak to the Biſhops; he gives likewiſe a wonderful character of the King, as to learning, judgment, and zeal for religion, as indeed they all do.

When Hooper was named to be Biſhop of Glouceſter, Cranmer was deſired by Dudley not to charge him with the oath of ſupremacy, which he could not in conſcience take; and the King wrote to him, freeing him from all penalties he might incur on omitting thoſe rites which Hooper excepted againſt, but leaving the matter wholly to the Archbiſhop's direction. The Archbiſhop would not on that letter venture to act againſt the laws, ſo they endeavoured to get Hooper to comply. But Hooper was very warm in this matter, and expreſſed ſo much bitterneſs in his ſermons on this head, that the Council commanded him to keep his houſe, and not to preach or read till he had licenſe. But he writing and printing a book after this on that ſubject, the Council ordered him into the Archbiſhop's cuſtody, to be reformed or puniſhed by him; but the Archbiſhop not being able to work upon him at all, he was at laſt ſent to the Fleet. What he excepted againſt in the oath of ſupremacy was, *ſwearing by God, the ſaints, and the holy Goſpels*, ſaying, that God only was to be appealed to in an oath. While he was arguing on that before the Council, the King with his own hand ſtruck out thoſe words, ſaying, that no creature ought to be ſworn by. The King and Council were very willing to diſpenſe with the habits likewiſe; but Ridley prevailed on the King not to diſpenſe with them, ſaying, ſince they were indifferent things, the laws ought to be obeyed. This matter hung in ſuſpenſe nine months, all which time Hooper ſeemed reſolved not to yield, reflecting ſeverely and indecently on thoſe that uſed the habits. Cranmer was for yielding to him: but Ridley and Goodrick ſtood firm to the law, owning that they wiſhed that diſtinction of habits were aboliſhed, but ſaying that they could not conſent to ſo bad a precedent as that of breaking the laws. At length Hooper ſubmitted, and was conſecrated after the eſtabliſhed

BOOK II.

bliſhed form, by which he loſt much of the popularity he had gained. When he came to his dioceſe, he found it overrun with ignorance and ſuperſtition. He took great

1550. pains there, preaching twice, ſometimes thrice a day. He found the greateſt oppoſition to him roſe from the Prebendaries of his Church, and he made great complaints of it. And indeed all the Biſhops that were for the Reformation, met with moſt oppoſition in their own cathedrals.

The laſt and moſt eminent of the Popiſh Clergy, that fell into trouble during this reign, was Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham. The account of his matter, as appears in the Council-book of that time, is this. One Marnvil charged him with conſenting to the conſpiracy in the north; and he had a letter of the Biſhop's, which was the main of his evidence; which letter had been put into the Duke of Somerſet's hands, who had kept it, either out of kindneſs to Tonſtall, or to keep him in awe. This letter was now found, upon his laſt apprehenſion, among his papers: upon which Tonſtall was ſent for, and, not denying it to be his hand, was ſent to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary ſet him at liberty; and there he writ his book for the corporal preſence in his ſeventy-ſeventh year. It ſeems the evidence did not amount to a conſent to a conſpiracy, for he was only charged with miſpriſion of treaſon; and even that ſeems to have been a ſtretch, by Cranmer's proteſting againſt the bill for attainting him for miſpriſion, and by its being loſt in the Houſe of Commons.

1552. The Parliament not having paſſed the bill againſt it, a commiſſion was given to the Lord Chief Juſtice and others to determine the Biſhop's caſe. The Biſhop was brought before them, and deſired counſel, and time to make his anſwer; but both were denied him. He was charged as a conſpirator againſt the King and realm. He proteſted againſt every ſtep of their proceedings, and at laſt appealed to the King. However, they deprived him of his biſhopric, but did not attaint him of miſpriſion of treaſon; and he was kept in the Tower. This was one of the violent effects of the Duke of Northumberland's ambition.

But to look back to ſome matters that paſſed during thoſe proceedings: ſome were complained of to the Council, as being irregular in the worſhip of God; they confeſſed that they met to confer about the Scriptures, and had refuſed to receive the Communion above two years

years, and held (as that Council-book ſays) diverſe other evil opinions, worthy of great puniſhment: five of them were ſent to priſon; and ſeven gave bond to appear when called for. Theſe were probably ſome of the Anabaptiſts, though they are not expreſsly accuſed of that. 1552.

The great point then moſt canvaſſed in the Univerſities was the Preſence in the Sacrament. Peter Martyr in a letter to Bullinger tells him, that the King had ordered him to be preſent at the public diſputations in divinity, which were held once a fortnight; and that he moderated in a diſputation that was held in the college where he was placed. He was in a perpetual ſtruggle with the moſt obſtinate adverſaries. The buſineſs of religion did not go on as he wiſhed, though better than he had expected. He complains of the vices and human policy of the reformers, who were for purging religion, but altering outward things as little as might be, for fear of diſorders in the ſtate; whereas, he ſays, the Church has been ſo corrupted, that it can never be reformed, but by bringing matters back to thoſe pure fountains, and to the firſt ſound principles of religion; and preſerving the relics of Popery will make the return to it the eaſier. He commends the King wonderfully for his zeal, his learning and prudence, and gravity at that tender age. He ſays, many of the nobility were well inclined, and of the Biſhops ſome good ones, among whom he makes Cranmer the ſtandard-bearer.

He rejoices at Hooper's being made a Biſhop, and extols Coverdale's labours in Devonſhire. He tells him, the peace with France gave them hopes; but the Pope's deſigns of bringing his Council together again gave them great apprehenſions; but they ſtill truſted in God.

In another, he laments the death of the young Duke of Suffolk, as having been the moſt promiſing youth they had, next to the King. He commends likewiſe Hooper's labours in his dioceſe, and wiſhes there were more Biſhops like him. 1551.

Upon the death of the two young Dukes of Suffolk, Grey, Marquis of Dorcheſter, who married their ſiſter, was made Duke of Suffolk. He had three daughters, but no ſon. His eldeſt, the Lady Jane, was the wonder of her age, both for her learning, ſtrength and ſweetneſs of mind. Ailmer, afterward Biſhop of London, was her tutor. She made great progreſs, and ſeemed to love knowledge.

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There was nothing done during theſe two years, purſuant to the Act paſſed in 1549, for making a new body of eccleſiaſtical laws. When it paſſed, the two Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of Ely, Durham, Worceſter, Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Lincoln, Rocheſter, and St. David's, proteſted againſt it; perhaps becauſe only four Biſhops were made neceſſary to be of the number of the thirty-two. The thing ſlept for two years; and now in October, 1551, the Council wrote to the Chancellor to iſſue out the commiſſion. Peter Martyr gives Bullinger an account of this in March next year. He ſays, the King preſſed the Biſhops, that ſince the Papal authority was aboliſhed, their decrees ought not to be of any authority in the Biſhop's Courts; but another body of laws ought to be compiled for them. He commends the greater number of the thirty-two appointed, as learned and pious men: but ſeems to apprehend ſome difficulty in obtaining a confirmation in Parliament, when they ſhall have prepared the work. Thirty-two was found too great a number to do ſuch a thing; ſo a new commiſſion was made for eight to draw it up; and the draught was accordingly prepared, but it all came to nothing.

1551.

1552.

The Duke of Somerſet's fall.

There is a letter from one here to Bullinger, giving him an account of ſome new particulars relating to the Duke of Somerſet's fall. He tells him, that, when the Duke was found guilty of the conſpiracy againſt the Earl of Warwick, the Earl ſaid to the Duke, that though he was to die by the law, yet, as he had formerly ſaved him, ſo he would ſtill endeavour to ſerve him, how little ſoever he expected it from him; and therefore deſired him to fly to the King's mercy. Upon this the Duke petitioned the King; and it was hoped he would be preſerved, and thoſe two great men reconciled. But probably this was only an artifice in the Earl, to cover himſelf from the odium of the people, by ſeeming to act in his favour, and delay his execution, which was not till two months after his ſentence; whilſt at the ſame time he employed ſome that had credit with the King, to give him ſuch an ill impreſſion of the Duke's temper, as determined him to let the ſentence be executed upon him.

Hooper's impartial zeal.

In the ſame letter there is an account of Biſhop Hooper's impartiality in diſcharging his function in his dioceſe. As he was cenſuring ſome inferior people for their ſcandalous lives, one ſaid to him, *The poor muſt do penance, while rich men are overlooked:* upon which he promiſed to proceed againſt any perſon, how great ſoever, that they

they could prove guilty of adultery. So in a few days Sir Anthony Kingſton being accuſed of adultery, he cited him into his court. He at firſt refuſed to appear; at length coming, while the Biſhop was charging his ſin upon him, he gave him ill language, and ſtruck him: upon which he was preſently fined in five hundred pounds, and forced to do penance. This mightily raiſed the Biſhop's character and authority in his dioceſe; where he laboured indefatigably, preaching thrice, ſometimes four times a day, and great crowds came to hear him. 1552.

It remains to give ſome account of the Articles of Religion. The old doctrine had ſtill the law on its ſide, ſo new Articles were much wanted. The reaſon why they had been delayed ſo long, probably was the pupilage of the King, which it was thought would have leſſened the credit of them, if they had been publiſhed during it. So it was deferred till his ſixteenth year. They appeared firſt with a title, as if they had been agreed on in the ſynod of London, with a Catechiſm before them: but it is certain they never were offered to the Convocation; or at leaſt not to the Lower Houſe. Cranmer being in Queen Mary's time examined about this, owned them to be his doings; but denies that he knew of the title; and when he ſaw it, he ſays, he complained to the Council, who told him it had that title, becauſe it was ſet forth in time of Convocation. Philpot being charged with the ſame thing by the Prolocutor in the next reign, confeſſed that the book was never brought before the Convocation. Cranmer's reaſon probably for not bringing it before the Convocation was, that he obſerved many ready to obey orders when they were made, who yet would not concur in making them. 1553. The Articles of Religion prepared.

So they were publiſhed by the King's authority. A mandate was ſent to Cranmer, a few days before the King's death, to publiſh the Articles, and cauſe them to be ſubſcribed. This was done in purſuance of Cranmer's motion to the King and Council, that Biſhops might have authority to make all their Clergy ſubſcribe thoſe Articles; which he truſted would procure ſuch concord in religion, as could not elſe be looked for in many years. Publiſhed by the King's authority.

When the mandate came to Cranmer, he called together his Peculiars in London, and exhorted them to ſubſcribe the Articles, but compelled none, as he affirmed afterwards, when he was interrogated by Queen Mary's commiſſioners. But it does not appear that any thing

BOOK II. was done upon this; ſo it is likely the time allowed for the ſubſcribing ran farther than the King's life.

1553. The mandate for the Biſhop of Norwich, which is ſtill extant, dated June the ninth, in the ſeventh year of his reign, ſets forth, that the King, in order to have an uniform doctrine, and to avoid dangerous opinions and errors, ſends him theſe Articles, gathered by learned Biſhops and ſundry of the Clergy, which he required him to ſign, and obſerve, and cauſe them to be ſubſcribed by others; and to give an account to the King and Council of ſuch as ſhall refuſe, and preach contrary to them; and admit none to any benefice or cure, without their ſubſcribing them; and if the perſon was ignorant, and did not underſtand them, to inſtruct him, to grant him ſix weeks to examine them by the Scriptures; but then if he did not ſubſcribe, to reject him.

There follows an order to receive the Catechiſm, and ſee that all maſters of ſchools teach it; and the Biſhop is required to report to the Archbiſhop of the province how theſe orders are obeyed. This was ſo readily executed, that about fifty of the Clergy ſubſcribed it. The mandates to the other Biſhops are probably the ſame with this, though they are not left on record. There was likewiſe a mandate ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, which is ſtill extant, dated June the firſt, 1553, from their Viſitors, the Biſhop of Ely, Sir John Cheek, Mayo, and Wendy, ſetting forth with what pains and judgment of good and learned men theſe Articles were compiled; and that now they being promulgated by the King's authority, they, by their viſitatorial authority, did enjoin, that all Doctors and Bachelors in Divinity, and all Doctors and Maſters of Arts, ſhould before their creation ſwear to them, and ſubſcribe them; and if they refuſed to do ſo, be denied their degrees: and the form of the oath was added.

It ſeems by this way of proceeding, without the Lower Houſe of Convocation, as well as by a chapter in his *Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, that Cranmer had ſome deſign of putting the government out of the common way of Convocations, into provincial ſynods of Biſhops only, to be called by the Archbiſhop with the King's licenſe; for he ſaw that the Convocations now in uſe, formed of Deans, Archdeacons, and Chapters, and a ſmall proportion of the inferior Clergy, had no foundation either in Scripture, or in the practice of the firſt ages of Chriſtianity; but aroſe from that ſecond model of

of the Church, ſet out by Charles the Great, and built on the feudal law, which veſts a right of giving ſubſidies, in all thoſe who held ſuch tenures as qualify them to ſupport the ſtate. 1553.

King Edward was for ſome months under a viſible decay; and he was much troubled at the danger he ſaw religion would be in if his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed. So he drew up a device for the ſucceſſion with his own hand; by which he excluded all females from ſucceeding to the crown. It was by that to go to his own iſſue male; in failure of which, to the iſſue male of his iſſue female; then to the iſſue male of the Lady Frances; in failure of that, to the heirs male of her three daughters; or to the firſt iſſue male of any of their daughters. King Edward's ſcheme of ſucceſſion.

At eighteen the heir male was to enter upon the government; till then his mother was to govern with the advice of ſix out of a Council of eighteen, that he himſelf would name by his laſt will; or if ſhe were not, eighteen of the Council were to govern, provided that when the iſſue male was fifteen, all matters of importance ſhould be opened to him. He added ſome clauſes, providing that in caſe there ſhould be no heir male, the females ſhould only be governeſſes regent till an heir male ſhould be born: but this was thought ſuch a change of the conſtitution, that the King was prevailed on to ſtrike it out; as he altered a great deal of this ſcheme beſides. This was put in form by the judges, and ſuperſcribed in ſix places by the King's hand. There was another paper ſubſcribed by twenty-four counſellors and judges, by which they obliged themſelves, by their hands and ſeals, and oaths and honours, to obſerve every article in that writing, and whatever the King ſhould declare by his laſt will touching the limitation of the crown, to defend and maintain it to the utmoſt of their power, and to proſecute and puniſh to their uttermoſt any that ſhould depart from it.

Cranmer oppoſed this much, and argued with the King againſt it, and in the Council, pleading the legitimacy of the Lady Mary: he ſaid, he could not without perjury ſubſcribe it, having ſworn to obſerve King Henry's will. The judges and lawyers told him, that the King being in poſſeſſion, might diſpoſe of the crown as he pleaſed; yet he held out till the King required him to ſet his hand to his will, and ſaid he hoped he would not reſiſt him more than all the reſt of his Coun- Oppoſed by Cranmer.

BOOK II.

cil: ſo at length his love to the King made him yield, and he ſigned the will.

1553. The Primate of Ireland poiſoned.

A little before the King's death an odd thing happened in Ireland. Goodacre and Bale had been ſent over to promote the Reformation in Ireland: the former was made Primate of Armagh, and now being invited to a Popiſh Lord's houſe, was poiſoned by a draught which a monk drank to him firſt of; ſo that they both died of it.

A character of King Edward's Court.

The death of King Edward ſeemed a juſt judgment on thoſe who pretended to promote a reformation, but whoſe lives were a reproach to it. The groſs ſcrambling for the wealth that had been dedicated with good deſigns, though to ſuperſtitious uſes, without applying any part of it to the relieving the poor, inſtructing the youth, or any other good purpoſe, made people think it was robbery, not reformation, that warmed their zeal. The ill lives of thoſe who profeſſed the Goſpel, and even the Clergy on that ſide, took off the prejudices of the people againſt Popery, and gave them kinder thoughts of it, as if the looſeneſs of morals had been the conſequence of forſaking confeſſion and penance and thoſe ceremonies. There were indeed ſome ſhining lights among them, who had kept up the honour of the Reformation by their lives, as they did afterwards by their deaths; but they were few againſt many bad; and many of the Clergy who complied in this reign hated all that was done, and ſet the people againſt it, becauſe it took away all the gain they uſed to make by their maſſes, and other practices of that nature. All the good men of that time often complain bitterly of this in their letters one to another; their only hope of any good ſeemed to be placed in the King, from whom they expected every thing. In one thing God ſtill ſeemed to watch over the Reformation, that as when in the beginning of this reign it was almoſt ruined in Germany, it flouriſhed in England; and now that it ſunk here, it revived in Germany; ſo that thoſe who were perſecuted on that account never wanted a ſanctuary to fly to for protection.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the Third Book of the Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

THE Queen, upon her firſt coming to the Tower of London, ſent for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and told them, *That though ſhe was fixed in her religion, yet ſhe would not compel others.* The Queen's words ſoft, but her proceedings ſevere.

Theſe ſoft words were ſoon forgotten, as appears from the ſeverities that followed in this reign, of which there is now found an authentic account in the original Council-book of that reign, from Auguſt the ſeventeenth, 1553, to the end of the year 1557. Coverdale and Hooper were immediately ordered to repair to the Court. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet in November. The Convocation writ was ſent to Cranmer, Auguſt the fourteenth, but was executed by Bonner, Biſhop of London. An order was ſent to the Biſhop of Norwich, to let none

BOOK III. preach without a ſpecial licenſe: the ſame was intimated to the Lord Mayor of London; and was, no doubt, univerſally both ordered and executed. Auguſt the ſecond, 1553. the Guards were ordered to defend the preacher at Paul's Croſs, upon what had happened to Bourn. Few came, it ſeems, for the Lord Mayor was ordered to make the ancients of the companies reſort to ſermons, that the preacher might not be diſcouraged by a ſmall audience. Auguſt the twenty-third, Gardiner was declared Lord Chancellor. His appointments were about 1100l. per year, out of which he was to maintain his ſervants, and the Maſters in Chancery. One John Melvil, who is called a Scot, and a ſeditious preacher, was ſent next day to Newgate. And the ſame day an order was ſent to the Mayor of Canterbury, to ſet two in the pillory for ſeditious words, and to apprehend Symonds, and ſend him up, and to puniſh all ſeditious talkers at their diſcretion: but Symonds was afterwards ordered to be releaſed upon his repentance. Cranmer was called before the Council in the beginning of Auguſt, and ſeverely reprimanded, and confined to his houſe; probably for ſigning King Edward's will, which many that were then ſitting at the Council had done, and ſo were aſhamed to proceed further againſt him, who had oppoſed it ſo much. Hooper appeared before the Council Auguſt the twenty-ninth, and, for all the zeal he had ſhewn for the Queen's right againſt the Lady Jane, was ſent to the Fleet. Coverdale being a ſtranger was ordered to attend till farther orders. On the fourth of September, Latimer was ſummoned to appear: and ſeveral others were ſent for. September the fifth, all the ſtrangers were ordered to depart that had ſettled at Glaſtonbury, in order to ſet up a manufacture there, and had formed a congregation. The tenth, a letter of thanks was ordered to the Cornwall gentlemen, for chooſing honeſt Knights for the Parliament; and there being ſome debate between the Sheriff and them about it, he was ordered to accept the election, and not trouble the county for any alteration. The thirteenth, Latimer was ſent to the Tower a cloſe priſoner, for his ſeditious demeanor, as it is entered. And next day, Cranmer in the Star-chamber, for his treaſon againſt the Queen, and for moving tumults by ſpreading ſeditious bills, was ordered to the Tower, and referred to juſtice. October the fourth, the Archbiſhop of York was ſent to the Tower; and Horn, Dean of Durham, was ſummoned, but he was gone beyond ſea in time. Nothing

thing gave more offence than promoting petitions for retaining the doctrine and ſervice ſettled in King Edward's time: thoſe of Maidſtone were accuſed of this; and this is often mentioned in the Council-book. 1553.

Though the government thus made haſte to overthrow all that had been done in King Edward's reign, yet the Popiſh party run faſter than them; for they broke into the churches, where thoſe that favoured the Reformation met frequently to prayers and ſacraments, foreſeeing what was coming upon them, and endeavouring to prepare themſelves for it; and diſturbed their devotions, and inſulted their miniſters, and laughed at their worſhip; and charged them with many falſe ſtories; in many places ſet up their altars and the maſs by force, before the Parliament met to change the laws.

The Duke of Northumberland ſhewed ſuch abjectneſs, as might have been expected from ſo inſolent and guilty a man; he begged his life, that he might do penance all the reſt of it, if it were in a mouſe-hole. He ſent for Gardiner, who could give him no hopes of life, but adviſed him to ſee to his ſoul, for he thought he muſt die. The Duke deſired a learned confeſſor, for he ſaid, he had always been of his religion, and had complied out of ambition in King Edward's days, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and promiſed to declare it at his death. The Biſhop wept, and was ſo concerned for him, that he had almoſt prevailed with the Queen to ſpare his life: but the Emperor, who was then deſigning the marriage, and foreſaw what ſtruggle there might be againſt it, and what miſchief ſuch a man as the Duke might do, writ to the Queen, poſitively adviſing his death; ſo he was executed. Gates and Palmer ſuffered with him, though they had tried to ſave themſelves by going to maſs in the Tower, and receiving the Sacrament in the Popiſh manner; but when they came to die, ſpoke general things only; and Palmer, though he ſaw two die before him, ſhewed great firmneſs of mind in ſuffering. The Duke of Northumberland begs his life, but in vain.

When the Convocation met, Weſton was choſen Prolocutor; and the Queen ſent them a meſſage to diſpute about religion. The account of this diſputation is in the Abridgment. It ſeems Philips, who was one of the five that refuſed to ſubſcribe, afterwards recanted and ſubſcribed. The Convocations during this reign did nothing worth mentioning, only took up again all the old notions, even before they were enacted. Yet this Convocation A Convocation meets.

and

BOOK III.

and the next were ſummoned by the Queen's writ, with the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*.

1553. There was at this time an infamous ſtory ſpread of the Queen's being with child by Gardiner; but the innocence of her paſt life, as to ſuch things, and the other's great age, was enough to juſtify her, and make them deſpiſe ſuch an idle report: but the Earl of Suſſex, in his officious zeal, traced it through eight or ten hands, till at laſt one was indicted for having reported it; though it would have looked better to have neglected it. The ſame Earl examined ſeveral about a deſign of an inſurrection, on the arrival of the Prince of Spain.

1554. A treaty of marriage with the Prince of Spain. In the beginning of the next year, the Emperor ſent over Count Egmond and others, to treat of a marriage for his ſon with the Queen. And the Queen gave a commiſſion to the Lord Chancellor and others to treat with them: and Prince Philip of Spain ſent full powers from Valladolid to the ſame effect. What quickened the treaty was, an account of a vaſt treaſure come over from the Weſt Indies to Seville. They wanted money to manage the Parliament, and they ſaw where only it was to be had. This is the firſt hint we find of corrupting Parliaments. All was agreed; and the conditions were much to the advantage of the nation. Philip was much diſguſted at it, and deſired to marry more ſuitably to his age; and the nation ſhewed ſo much averſion to the marriage, that the Count of Egmond with the others that were ſent to treat of it ſaw themſelves in ſuch danger, that they fled away to avoid it. A Parliament was to be called, to approve the conditions of the treaty.

Wyat's riſing and principles. Sir Thomas Wyat had been often employed in embaſſies, particularly in Spain; where he had ſeen ſo much of the ſubtilty and cruelty of the Spaniards to all that came under their yoke, that he could not but be concerned for the miſery that he ſaw his country like to fall under. He was the Duke of Northumberland's kinſman; yet he would not join in Lady Jane's buſineſs, but proclaimed the Queen at Maidſtone, before he knew that any other had done it; for which ſhe ſent him thanks by my Lord Arundel, to whom afterwards he appealed for the truth of it, when he was in the Tower. Nothing moved him to riſe but his zeal for his country; he did not pretend religion in the caſe: and many Papiſts joined him. When he paſſed Charing-Croſs, he did not turn down to Whitehall, which he might have eaſily forced, for

for it was but ill guarded, which ſhewed he meant no harm to the Queen's perſon. His marching into London was to engage the city to join with him in a petition to the Queen againſt the Spaniſh match. The Queen was ſo well ſatisfied of his intentions, that ſhe intended to pardon him, had not a meſſage from the Emperor determined her to cut off his head. He never accuſed the Lady Elizabeth; but on the ſcaffold fully cleared her, and referred himſelf to the declaration he had made to the Council, of her innocence as to that matter. The Queen, to ſhew a ſignal act of mercy, pardoned all that had been engaged in this riſing. Only it gave a colour to the ſeverity againſt the Lady Jane Gray and her huſband. The Lady Jane was a wonderful woman, and was then learning Hebrew; ſhe often wrote to Bullinger in Latin, with great reſpect and ſubmiſſion to him, and a ſingular zeal for religion, but with a great deal of modeſty. 1554.

Severities againſt the married Clergy.

The government now finding all things under their feet, began their ſeverities againſt thoſe that adhered to the Reformation. Commiſſions were ſent every where, to proceed, as on other points, ſo particularly againſt the married Clergy; which were executed in the moſt unjuſt and arbitrary manner that could be. Some were deprived without being convicted, or ſo much as cited; and ſome cited, though they were in priſon, and immediately deprived; ſome were deprived, though their marriage had been only before orders; ſome made to reſign, with the promiſe of a penſion, which yet was never performed; ſome deprived juſt before the half year's receipt, though they had paid tenths and ſubſidies to that time; and ſome deprived before they received the money that was to pay their firſt-fruits to the Queen, and yet left chargeable with them. By the beſt accounts that can be made, about nine thouſand were deprived on this account. The married Biſhops were thruſt out of Parliament, and Deans and Archdeacons out of Convocation; many were put out of their livings, and others reſtored, without ſo much as form of law: churches were changed, altars ſet up, maſſes and dirges ſung, before the law was repealed: by which we may eaſily ſuppoſe, when the laws were altered, with what vigour and ſpeed they were put in execution.

The Queen writes firſt to King Philip.

All matters about the marriage being ſettled, the Emperor ſent a fleet for the Prince of Spain. The Queen was prevailed on to break through forms, and write the firſt

BOOK III. 1554. first love-letter to him. She tells him in it, that though he had not writ since their alliance had been treating, yet thinking herself obliged by his affection for her, confirmed by good effects, and by his letters to the Emperor's ambaſſador, could not refrain from letting him know the duty, in which ſhe always deſigned to correſpond with him; and ſhe thanks him for all his good offices. She tells him, the Parliament had agreed to the articles of their marriage, and thought them more than reaſonable; and therefore ſhe truſted his coming to England would be both ſafe, and agreeable to him. And ſo ſhe recommends herſelf affectionately and humbly to his Highneſs, as his entirely aſſured and moſt obliged ally.

Proceedings againſt heretics. In the mean time, the Council was proceeding in matters of hereſy. One Wotton was clapped in the Fleet for his obſtinacy in matters of religion. Letters were ſent to the Lord Rich and Sir John Wentworth, to puniſh ſome in Eſſex, that diſſuaded the people from frequenting the divine ſervice then eſtabliſhed. Upon this many were committed, and others bound over to appear. March the eighth, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer to Sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford. Others were ordered up from the country. Barlow, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, fled beyond ſea; but the man that carried him over was ſeized at his return, and ſent to the Marſhalſea, and thoſe that ſeized him were thanked by the Council; ſo much they encouraged zeal.

A Convocation. The ſecond Convocation of this reign now met. The Prolocutor Weſton, with others deputed, were ordered to Oxford to diſpute with the three Biſhops there. As ſoon as they returned, they gave in their report of the conference, atteſted under the ſeal of the Univerſity, and ſoon after were diſmiſſed; for the Parliament ſat but about a month this year.

On the third of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were judged obſtinate heretics: but Cranmer being attainted, was dead in law, and ſo not capable of any other ſentence.

Cranmer's treaſon pardoned, that he might be burnt. He was very earneſt to have his treaſon pardoned; but that was, it ſeems, complied with, not out of any regard to him, but, on the contrary, only that he might be burnt as a heretic, which could not be done while he ſtood condemned of high treaſon; ſo that this ſhew of mercy was really at bottom the greateſt cruelty. The twentieth, a ſervant of Lady Elizabeth's was brought before

before the Council; but nothing is mentioned about it, but only he was ordered to attend. There were ſuſpicions of her being concerned in Wyat's riſing, as was before told; and it is alleged that Gardiner ſtudied to ſuborn witneſſes againſt her; and that it went ſo far, that a warrant came to the Lieutenant of the Tower for her execution; but he refuſed to obey it till he knew the Queen's pleaſure. This was publiſhed in her reign, and not contradicted, as far as appears; only it ſeems to be denied in a declaration ſhe herſelf made, when ſhe was Queen, as ſhall be told in its place. The twenty-ſixth, Sir Henry Bedingfield was ſent with inſtructions from the Queen for the ordering the Lady Elizabeth. June the firſt, an order was ſent to Bonner to ſend learned and diſcreet preachers into Eſſex to reduce the people there: it ſeems, he thought of no other way of reducing any, but by ſeverity. Orders were given for the reception of the Prince of Spain, and to receive the Duke of Savoy at Dover. Several were ordered to be put in the pillory, and to loſe their ears. In July, orders were given to puniſh thoſe concerned in the impoſture *of the ſpirit of the wall.* Some of the Lady Elizabeth's ſervants were committed for words: and two treaties for the marriage were delivered to the Lord Treaſurer by the Lord Fitzwater, who had been ambaſſador in Spain. 1554.

The marriage, and the jollities on that occaſion, put ſome ſtop to ſeverities; but it was a ſhort one: for, Auguſt the fifteenth, orders were ſent to the Juſtices in Suſſex to puniſh thoſe that railed at the myſteries. And on the nineteenth, thanks were ordered for Tyrrell and others, for their care, and they were ordered to impriſon all that did not come to divine ſervice, and keep them there till their amendment: ſeveral were impriſoned in Huntingdonſhire. On the twenty-firſt, orders were ſent to examine into a conſpiracy in Suffolk: and in September, an order was ſent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to puniſh the ſpreaders of falſe rumours.

The Council order ſevere proceedings.

But now came on the great affair of reconciling the nation to the See of Rome. The two former Parliaments could not be brought to this, though they yielded many things, and ſeemed willing to bring matters back to that ſtate in which King Henry left them; and weakly thought by that compliance to ſave the reſt. But nothing could ſatisfy the Court but a total reconciliation with the Pope; ſo when they were found to ſtick at that, they were ſent home. The Queen was extremely ſolicitous

The reconciliation with Rome deſigned.

citous to get a Parliament to her mind. She wrote to the Earl of Suſſex; (and probably ſhe wrote in the ſame ſtrain to all thoſe ſhe confided in;) ſhe told him, ſhe had

1554. ſummoned a Parliament to the twelfth of November; ſhe deſired him to admoniſh the electors to chooſe men of wiſe, grave, and catholic ſort, ſuch as meant the true honour of God, and proſperity of the commonwealth, which ſhe and the King her huſband did intend, without the alteration of any man's poſſeſſion, as the hinderers of her good purpoſes, and the favourers of heretics did falſely report. She bid him come up by the feaſt of All-Saints at the fartheſt, that ſhe might conſult with him about the matters that were to be treated of in Parliament: this was wrote the ſixth of October. Upon this, the Earl wrote to the gentlemen of the county to reſerve their voices for the perſon he ſhould name; and he wrote to the town of Yarmouth for a Burgeſs.

Pole ſent Legate for that end.

When the news of the change of government in England and the Queen's intentions came to Rome, Pole was the only perſon that could be ſent Legate, as well on account of his own merit, as the Queen's deſire: ſo a bull was prepared and paſſed, declaring him Legate, ſome time before Commendone the Queen's meſſenger arrived at Rome; for it ſeems they took it for granted, on King Edward's death, that her right would take place, and that ſhe would reconcile the kingdom to that See.

Writes to the Queen, Aug. 13, 1553.

Pole, who was now retired to an abbey about three hundred miles from Rome, on the Lake de Garda, as ſoon as he heard he was named Legate, he wrote to the Queen, expreſſing his joy at her exaltation, which he looked on as a ſingular work of Providence; and deſires her to conſider, that all the miſeries of England came from her father's leaving the Apoſtolic See, and Catholic Church: he tells her what he had done and ſuffered on account of her mother's marriage, and her right; and that now he was more particularly concerned to know her mind as to religion, ſince he was named Legate to her, the Emperor, and the French King; and therefore ſent one to know her mind, which though he did not doubt of, ſince it was on her account that ſo much outrage had been done to the Apoſtolic See, and yet before he would proceed in his Legatine function, he deſired to know her pleaſure more particularly.

The Queen's anſwer, Oct. 10, 1553.

Upon this ſhe anſwered him, thanking him for his kind expreſſions and good advice, and expreſſing her reverence and obedience to the holy See, and her concern

that

that she could not yet declare her mind openly in that matter: she tells him, that as soon as it was safe for her to do it, she would let him know; for other particulars she referred him to his messenger: she was then crowned, and she hoped the Parliament would repeal all the bad laws, and that she should obtain the Pope's pardon for all her faults, and thanked him for the clemency he had already shewn her. With this she sent Ormanet back to him. 1554.

The bull that the Pope sent to Pole is a panegyric on the Queen; but as these bulls are things of form, so the powers and instructions are to be found in the breves. Many of these, with other letters and papers, have been found since the *History of the Reformation* was printed, in a part of Cardinal Pole's register, and, relating to a matter of great consequence, deserve a particular account to be given of them.

His first powers.

The first paper is the breve the Pope sent him of his own motion, dated the eighth of March, 1554, empowering him to receive all heretics of what sex or rank soever, even Bishops and Archbishops, communities as well as persons, and to absolve them, how great soever their sins were, how long soever they had continued in them, and though they were such as were reserved immediately to the holy See; to pardon all irregularities, all bigamies of ecclesiastics, they first leaving their wives, so that they might continue in their functions, and be promoted; (all infamy being pardoned on their private confession and penance, and they excused from public shame;) to absolve communities from unlawful pactions, though confirmed with oaths; to dispense with Lent, and the vows of Regulars; to suffer any of the Clergy, except Bishops, that were married, upon their conversion, to live in that state, and to declare the issue lawful, only excluding them from ecclesiastical functions; to unite benefices; and, lastly, to agree with those that possessed any ecclesiastical goods, and to discharge them for all the profits they had wickedly received, and the moveable goods they had consumed, (they restoring first the immoveable goods that they unduly detained, if that seemed to him convenient,) and to apply what should arise from such agreement to the Church, or to schools and the advancement of studies: he was likewise empowered to delegate others under him for the performance of these things; and, because he was to stay some time in Flanders, to execute

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execute his powers without the kingdom to all belonging to it that ſhould apply to him, eſpecially as to orders unduly received, to confirm Biſhops and Archbiſhops promoted by a ſecular nomination, during the ſchiſm, upon their returning to the unity of the Church, and to provide to all ſees, upon any vacancy, ſuch as the Queen ſhould recommend, according to the cuſtoms of the kingdom, and to abſolve and reabilitate all Clergymen, notwithſtanding all their paſt errors: and theſe powers were confirmed, all conſtitutions notwithſtanding.

The Cardinal ſtops in Flanders.

When Pole came to Flanders, he was ſtopped by the Emperor till his orders were ſent to England. When they were ſeen there, they were thought very ſhort of what would ſatisfy the nation. So Pole ſent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, who came back to him with two breves.

Fuller powers ſent to Pole.

The firſt is of no great importance, only giving him a general and full power, becauſe of ſome doubts about what faculties he was to uſe while he was with the Emperor, or with the King of France, to whom he had been ſent Legate *a latere* to mediate a peace between them; and becauſe ſeveral unforeſeen caſes might happen with relation to England, that could be comprehended within the powers given him, that therefore he might make uſe of all faculties ſent to him, either by himſelf, or by one deputed from him, and do every thing that he might think would conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy See, and the bringing the Queen's dominions to the communion of the Church; and likewiſe giving him all powers of a Legate *a latere* while he was with the Emperor, for all his dominions; and the ſame while he ſhould be with the King of France.

In the other breve, the Pope ſays, that as he had made him Legate *a latere* in hopes of reducing the kingdom to the unity of the Catholic Church, out of which there is no hope of ſalvation; and as, by the progreſs already made, he hopes that work will go on more eaſily, the more indulgent and bountiful he ſhews himſelf, with relation to the poſſeſſions of the Church goods; and becauſe he would not obſtruct the ſalvation of ſo many ſouls by any worldly regards, he empowers him to treat with all the detainers of eccleſiaſtical goods, for whom the Queen ſhould intercede, and to compound with them, that they might without ſcruple enjoy and detain the ſaid goods; and to conclude every thing proper and neceſſary,

ceſſary, with relation to them; ſaving always ſuch things as for the importance of them it ſhould ſeem fit to him to conſult the holy See about.

1554. This was dated June the twenty-eighth, and ſent to Pole in July. A little before this, Cardinal Morone had writ to him, that he had laid his letters before the Pope, who now began to deſpair of the affairs of England: the Pope ſaid, he had given no cauſe to the Emperor, or any other, to uſe ſuch extravagant words. It ſeems Pole had deſired to be recalled; but the Pope anſwered, that that could not be done without a great diſgrace to himſelf, to the See, to the Emperor, and to Cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. The Pope ſaid, he would write to the Queen, and to the Prince of Spain, and would ſend the letter by Ormanet, who was diſpatched with every thing that he deſired. He ſays, the Pope was unreſolved, and ſpoke often very variouſly about the goods of the Church.

All laid before the Emperor.

The Emperor being now at Valenciennes, the Cardinal ſent Ormanet to him. He had an audience of the Biſhop of Arras, who aſſured him of the Emperor's heartineſs in matters of religion; but ſaid, it was neceſſary, before any ſtep were ventured on, to know the ply the affairs in England were like to take, and to conſider whether the ſecuring the Church's goods to the poſſeſſors ſhould come from the Cardinal, or from the King and Queen; and he deſired to ſee the Cardinal's powers. Ormanet preſſed diſpatch, where he ſaid ſo many ſouls were endangered by delay, and that the honour of it might fall on the Prince, by the doing it on his firſt coming to England: he farther ſaid, that all things neceſſary were committed to the Cardinal, but more particular reſolutions could not be taken but on the place. The Biſhop of Arras promiſed to lay all before the Emperor, and to do all good offices.

The Cardinal yet put off by delays.

The Biſhop wrote to the Cardinal much to the ſame purpoſe, that the Emperor had ſent an expreſs to England; when he returned, he would be able to give him a poſitive anſwer: he ſaid, he knew the King and Queen's zeal, but they muſt take care not to ſpoil all by too much haſte. The Cardinal anſwered him, ſending him a copy of his powers, and preſſing his going to England as ſoon as the expreſs ſhould return, and expreſſing his impatience of the delays, as much as in civility he could.

Philip, who was now at Wincheſter, ſent over the Count of Horn to the Emperor, and by him a letter to

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the Cardinal, which the Cardinal anſwered with high compliments, and inſiſting earneſtly for leave to come over. And a little after the Biſhop of Arras wrote to him, that he had ſeen his faculties, and aſſured him that the Emperor preſſed his diſpatch, and did not doubt but it would be ſpeedily accompliſhed. It ſeems, the Emperor's Confeſſor had written to him preſſingly on that head, on which the Cardinal wrote to him like a man in a rapture, thanking him, and animating him to perſiſt in his zeal for that great work.

1554.

The reaſon of thoſe delays.

He was ſtill put off with new delays, which probably was done on account of the elections that were then cloſely canvaſſing for all over England. They ſaw in the two former Parliaments who they were who could not bear the returning to their old ſervitude to the Papacy; and ſo till the elections were over, and the pulſe of the majority was tried, they reſolved the Legate ſhould not come over, to give any umbrage to the people. Or perhaps it might be only an artifice of Gardiner's, to enhance his own merit, by making the difficulties appear the greater.

On the thirteenth of October, Pole wrote to the Pope an account of his conference with the Biſhop of Arras, and with the Emperor himſelf. The Biſhop aſſured him of the Emperor's good diſpoſitions, but told him he muſt come to particulars, and conſider the impediments, and how to remove them. He anſwered, that he had full powers, but deſired to know from England what the impediments were. At his audience with the Emperor the impediments thought of were two; one was about the doctrine, in which he ſaid, no abatement or indulgence could be allowed of; the other was about the church-lands, which frightened many that knew the ſeverity of the church-laws againſt ſuch as uſurped them. Firſt, he ſaid, the Pope was ready to diſcharge all the profits already received, and the cenſures incurred, and deſired no part of them for himſelf, though he might juſtly have expected it, for all the damages he had ſuſtained; but he regarded the ſervice of God, the benefit of the kingdom, and the piety of thoſe Princes, ſo much, that he had empowered him to grant ſuch favours as they ſhould intercede for, and to ſuch as they ſhould think worthy of them, and were capable to aſſiſt him in matters of religion. The Emperor thanked the Pope for his favour, and ſaid he had granted enough: he ſaid, he knew, by his own experience in Germany, that the lands were the

the things they ſtood moſt on: as for the doctrines, they believed neither one ſide nor the other; but he thought the lands, having been dedicated to God, ſhould not be all yielded up to the poſſeſſors: he deſired the Legate not to open the whole extent of his powers to any others than himſelf. The Cardinal ſtill preſſed, that it would be a great ſcandal to the world, if the reconciliation were not ſettled by this Parliament, eſpecially now the Queen had received ſuch a mighty aſſiſtance by her marriage. The Emperor ſaid they muſt have ſome regard to the diſpoſition of the people, who ſhewed yet a great averſion to the Papacy; he inſinuated that the French would not be wanting to encourage tumults, and diſturb them as much as they could. The Legate ſaid, it would be endleſs to ſtay till all impediments were removed: but they ſaid he muſt have a little patience, till the Secretary they had ſent returned from England. 1554.

About the ſame time Maſon wrote to the Queen, that the Cardinal began to deſpair of ſucceſs in his legation, and, if he did not ſhortly ſee ſome more appearance of ſucceſs, would go back to Rome a ſorrowful man: he gives a vaſt character of the Legate.

At the ſame time, the Cardinal wrote to King Philip, telling him that he had been a year knocking at the gates of the palace, but nobody opened to him, though he had ſuffered exile more than twenty years, becauſe he was againſt ſhutting the Queen out of that palace: but he ſays, they ſhut out the Vicar of the great King and Shepherd, St. Peter's ſucceſſor, or rather St. Peter himſelf, who had been ſo long driven out of England; and compares it to Peter's knocking at Mary's door, when he was delivered from Herod out of priſon, and runs out on this allegory with an eloquence that ſeems little in ſo great a man on ſuch an occaſion.

The Queen ſent to bring him over.

At laſt the Queen ſent Lord Paget and Lord Haſtings to bring him over. They wrote on their coming to the Emperor, from Bruſſels, the thirteenth of November; and the Emperor, when he heard them give an account how matters were in England, rouſed himſelf in a cheerful manner, and bleſſed God for the ſtate he now ſaw England in, and that he had reſcued it from all the calamities it had fallen under; and that he had made the Queen the miniſter of reſtoring it to the wealth and dignity he had once ſeen it in: he rejoiced that God had given her ſo ſoon ſuch a certain hope of ſucceſſion, and promiſed them all aſſiſtance that they ſhould need: then

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they went to the Cardinal, whom they extol beyond meaſure, calling him the man of God; and ſaid he was ſo humble, that he would not come into England as a Legate, but in what manner the Queen pleaſed; and they aſſured the Queen, that all things ſhould paſs as to the poſſeſſions on the Pope's behalf, ſo as ſhould content every one. Pole had taken leave of the Emperor, and was to go to Calais as faſt as his health would permit, where every thing was ordered to be ready for his tranſportation.

The Queen believed herſelf with child.

It ſeems, by this letter, the Queen believed herſelf with child, and it was thought that the grief and ſhame of the diſappointment ſhe met with in that, after ſhe had publiſhed it to the world as being ſure of it, had an ill effect on her health and life.

There was about this time an abuſive libel publiſhed, in form of a letter from Bradford to the Queen, intimating that the Queen deſigned to give the crown to the King, and reflecting on his lewdneſs. The printer was found, and condemned to loſe his ears in the pillory; yet he was pardoned; why, does not appear; probably it was on his diſcovering ſome of thoſe whom they were ſeeking out for the ſlaughter.

Pole carries his powers beyond the limits ſet him.

There is nothing to be added to the account formerly given of this Parliament, and the reconciliation made in it; only it appears that Pole carried his powers beyond the limits ſet him: for Pole, no doubt, deſired the Queen to name thoſe whom ſhe deſired ſhould be confirmed in their poſſeſſions of church-lands, as his breve directed him; but they were afraid of making people deſperate, if they made any diſtinction of perſons. So Pole confirmed them all, whereas, according to his breve, he ſhould have conſulted the Pope firſt, it being a matter of great importance. So he made the Council ſenſible that it was neceſſary to have it confirmed at Rome, as appears by the meſſage ſent thither.

Some preach for reſtoring the abbey-lands.

Maſon writes from Bruſſels on the twelfth of December this year, that one of the Emperor's Council had told him that his maſter was diſpleaſed that a preacher had been beating the pulpit jollily for the reſtitution of abbey-lands; that if the Prince deſigned it, and thought it convenient, he did his duty; but otherwiſe he wonders how, in a well-ordered commonwealth, a ſubject ſhould be allowed to raiſe ſtorms by ſuch unbridled ſermons; that it was a thing to be ſpoke of to the Prince and Council, not to the people: he thought the man might well be

ſilenced,

silenced, being a monk, and having vowed poverty, and yet possessing a deanery, and three or four benefices. He said he had heard, from other ambassadors, of England's being returned to the unity of the Church; but as for their own ambassadors, it was their ordinary to know the least of the affairs of their own kingdom. A little while after he gave the Emperor notice of the Queen's big belly, and of the quiet state of every thing in England: upon which, the Emperor entered into discourse with him of the great difference between governing with rigour, and governing so that the Prince and people might naturally understand and love one another. This was good advice, but particularly now that they were resolved to proceed unmercifully against heretics. The Queen seemed so sure of her being quick with child, that she ordered Bonner to have *Te Deum* sung upon it. 1555.

The Archbishop of York, at King Philip's request, was released, on a bond of 20000 marks for his good behaviour: whether he complied, or not, does not appear. The Archbishop of York set at liberty.

No more mention being made of that complaint put in against him for keeping another man's wife, there is no reason to believe it: for at this time they would never have dropped so flagrant an instance against the married Clergy, in such a man, if there had been any proof of it. In January, Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill religion; Miles Coverdale, being a Dane, was sent to Denmark, with a pass for himself and two servants: so much regard was had to him as a foreigner.

On January the twenty-ninth, Cardinal Pole gave deputed powers to the Bishops to reconcile all persons to the Church, pursuant to his first breve. All the Clergy were to be entirely restored, and confirmed in their benefices, and to be capable of farther favours, upon their doing the penance prescribed: those accused or condemned of heresy were only to be restored to the peace of the Church, for the quiet of their consciences: all irregularities were to be taken off: public abjurations and renunciations were to be moderated, or forgiven at discretion; and the Bishops were empowered to name persons to absolve, and reconcile all lay-persons to the Church. With this he gave rules for them and their officials: the most material of which was, that they were to register all those that were reconciled, that so they might proceed against those that were not.

Now came on the burning of heretics. Many had been kept in prison above a year and a half, till a law was

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made againſt them; and now they were condemned on articles put to them, which, by the eccleſiaſtical law, they were obliged to anſwer. Gardiner ordered eighty of the priſoners to be brought before him, and tried to bring them over by promiſes and threatenings; but only two of them yielded, Barlow, who had been Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and another.

Hooper, the firſt Biſhop that ſuffered, barbarouſly uſed.

It was reſolved that Hooper ſhould be the firſt ſacrifice. He was brought before Gardiner in Southwark. He was ſtyled only John Hooper, Clerk. He had been offered a pardon the day before by him, and others of the Privy Council, if he would confeſs his hereſies, and return to the Church, which he refuſed: ſo now he was brought to anſwer certain articles; but firſt had the ſame offer made him again, which he again rejected. The articles were three. 1. That he being a Prieſt, and of a religious order, had taken a wife, and had by preaching and writing defended that his marriage: to which he anſwered, that he owned the fact, and was ſtill ready to defend it. 2. That he had ſuſtained that perſons married might, for the cauſe of fornication, be ſo divorced, that they may lawfully marry again: he confeſſed it, and offered to defend it againſt all that would oppoſe it. 3. That he publicly maintained, that in the ſacrament of the altar the true and natural body and blood of Chriſt were not preſent under the accidents of bread and wine, but that it was only material bread and wine: he anſwered, that the natural body of Chriſt is not really and ſubſtantially in the ſacrament of the altar, and that the maſs was of the Devil, and an idol. Gardiner tried to prevail on him by perſuaſions; but when that would not do, he gave ſentence, and delivered him over to the ſecular arm. Upon which, the Sheriffs of London took him as their priſoner: but it was reſolved to ſend him to Glouceſter. An order was ſent with him to burn him there, and to call in ſome of reputation in the ſhire to aſſiſt the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city: and becauſe he was, as all heretics are, ſays the letter, a vain-glorious perſon, he was neither to be ſuffered to ſpeak at large going to his execution, nor at it, for avoiding farther infection. But though they would not let his words be heard, his ſufferings, which were very violent, and his conſtancy in them, had not the leſs effect. He had been a year and a half in priſon very hardly uſed. He ſent his wife out of England, to ſecure her from the ill uſage many of the wives of the Clergy had met with. He wrote

wrote often to Bullinger, from his prison; many of his letters were intercepted. In those that remain he expresses a great constancy and patience: he was preparing himself for what he expected, to seal the truth with his blood. Bullinger sent him a circular letter, to encourage those that were in prison on that account, which he sent about to them all: he tells him in his answer, how they were troubled by the enemies of the Gospel, that they were kept from seeing one another, and treated with all manner of indignities, and daily threatened with the last extremities, which did not terrify them that were inwardly fortified, that knew in whom they believed, and were sure they suffered for well-doing. He sent him two books, one of true religion, the other of false, and dedicated to the Parliament, as an apology for the reformation; which he desired him to correct and print quickly, and not be frightened from doing it by the apprehension of any harm it might bring upon himself; for that he committed himself to God, who was his defence and guard, through Christ, to whom he had entirely dedicated himself. 1555.

March the eighteenth, some being to be burnt in Essex, an order of Council was sent to the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Rich, to be present at their executions. And the first of April, informations being brought that there were preachers at work in several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all Sheriffs to seize them.

May the sixteenth, persons were named to carry the news of the Queen's delivery to foreign Princes; the Lord Admiral to the Emperor, Lord Fitzwater to the French Court, Sir Henry Sidney to the King of the Romans, and Shelly to the King of Portugal: the twenty-ninth, orders were sent them to be ready to go at warning.

June the first, the Bishop of London was ordered to proceed against some suspected of evil religion. On the third, letters were sent to the Lord Rich, to assist at the executions of some heretics at Colchester, Harwich, and Maintree; and the Earl of Oxford was to send his servants to attend on the Lord Rich at those executions. They were either afraid of tumults, and that the people would rescue the prisoners out of the Sheriffs' hands; or it was only to grace those triumphs of theirs over heresy, as is now practised where the inquisition obtains.

June the ninth, letters were sent to the Lord North,

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and others, to torture ſuch obſtinate perſons as would not confeſs at their diſcretion; and another to the Lieutenant of the Tower to the ſame effect. Whether this was for concealing heretics, or ſpreading falſe news, does not appear: but whatever it was, this putting people, not at all convicted of any crime, to the torture at diſcretion, becauſe they were thought obſtinate, was a large ſtep towards the rigour of an inquiſition. This month ſeveral were ordered to be burnt in Suſſex and Kent, and the gentlemen of the county to attend at the executions; and thoſe that attended received thanks from the Council for their zeal.

1555. Orders for torture at diſcretion.

The Queen ſtill looked to be delivered of a child.

It was given out that the Queen had ſaid, ſhe could never be happily delivered, till all the heretics then in priſon were burnt; and in all paſſports that were given to go beyond ſea, it was put in as a condition, that they ſhould avoid all heretics, or places infected with hereſy.

They ſeem to have had ſome practices in their heads at that time; for a woman declared before witneſſes afterwards, in the year 1568, to Fox, who relates it again, that ſhe being delivered of a boy, near Alderſgate, on June the eleventh, 1555, the Lord North and another Lord came to her, and with great offers deſired her child of her, and told her ſhe need take no care for it, for it ſhould be well provided for, if ſhe would ſwear ſhe never had ſuch a child; and after ſome women came to her, one of whom they ſaid was to be the rocker. But ſhe would not by any means part with her child. This having happened at the very time that the Queen ſeemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give juſt ſuſpicions of ill deſigns, and may ſhew us that it was no new thought in the Papiſts, ſome few years ago, to put an impoſtor upon us, for their own ſupport and our ruin.

Plots pretended.

In the beginning of July, an information being brought of a commotion deſigned in Suſſex, judges were ſent to proceed in it according to law, and twelve perſons were brought up as guilty of a conſpiracy; but the matter dropped. Bird, Biſhop of Cheſter, who had been deprived for his marriage, thought fit to repent; and Bonner made him his ſuffragan, and appointed him to preach before him: he choſe for his text thoſe words, *Thou art Peter*; but, whether his conſcience ſmote, or his memory failed him, he could go no farther than the text, ſo that the matter turned to the triumph of the other party.

July the ninth, the Biſhop of London was ordered to burn

burn three condemned heretics, and to proceed againſt the reſt. At this time Pole thought it became him to write to Cranmer; but he writes with ſo much declamation and aſſertion, and ſo little proof, inſulting the poor priſoner, though with a ſhew of tenderneſs, that the letter does but very little honour to his memory. 1555.

July the eleventh, there was a talk again of commotions, and the Sheriffs had orders to watch them; and informations were brought of a conſpiracy in Eſſex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorſetſhire; and on the ſixth of Auguſt thanks were ſent the Lord of Oxford and Lord Rich, and Juſtices in Eſſex, for their care; and they were ordered to proceed in examining into the late intended conſpiracy, and to bring the offenders before them: if it was treaſon, they were to ſuffer as traitors; or if it was not, they were to puniſh them according to the ſtatutes.

The Pope's bull for reſtoring all church-lands.

Auguſt the twenty-eighth, notice was given to the Sheriffs and Juſtices, that the King was going to Flanders. In September, the ambaſſadors that had been ſent to Rome came back, and brought with them a bull of the Pope's, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and beſtowing the title of King of Ireland on the crown of England; which bull was accepted here, and ſent over to Ireland to be publiſhed there. It ſeems the inſolent Pope would not give audience on powers from the King and Queen of England and Ireland, pretending that none could aſſume the title of King, but as derived from him; and our miniſters knew too well the bigotry of the Engliſh Court to diſpute the matter. But their main errand was to get a confirmation of the ſettlement of church-lands made in Parliament by Cardinal Pole; which was not only refuſed, but a bull publiſhed, that in effect repealed it all. It begins with ſetting forth how former Popes had condemned all alienations of church-lands on what pretence ſoever; and goes on, that many having poſſeſſed themſelves of lands belonging to the Church, under pretence of alienations, and continuing in that poſſeſſion, by which the incumbents are great ſufferers, and the Popes, who uſed to ſupply poor ſtrangers out of thoſe lands, are no longer able to do it, and can ſcarce maintain themſelves and their families; which is a great offence to God, reproach to the Clergy, and ſcandal to the faithful; therefore the Pope, by virtue of the fulneſs of the apoſtolic power, annuls all alienations or impropriations, or leaſes for lives, or beyond three years; or exchanges and farms

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farms of city lands, goods, or rights, belonging any ways to the Church, to and by whomsoever made, though by Popes or Cardinals, without the solemnities required by law; though confirmed by oaths, or established by long prescriptions: all these are made void by the apostolic authority, and the possessors of such lands are to be compelled to make satisfaction for all the mean profits received; and all judges are required to give judgment conformable to this bull. Dated July the twelfth. All that the English ambassadors could obtain toward softening this matter, that England was not named, nor the late settlement fulminated against particularly. By this it appeared how fraudulently that transaction for securing the abbey-lands to the possessors was carried on.

Steps towards an inquisition.

Pope Paul pressed mightily the setting up of inquisitions every where; and it is probable that the King or his Spanish ministers made the Court of England sensible that that was the only sure method of rooting out heresy. They had already set up torturing at discretion, and now by another step they had brought the matter much nearer. In March this year instructions had been given to the justices of peace, to have one or more honest men in every parish, secretly to bring their informations of the behaviour of the inhabitants. One of these was directed to the Earl of Sussex, who acted with a superlative degree of zeal. He sent up accounts of all his proceedings on those instructions; and as to this matter of the informers he answers, that it was agreed, that the justices of peace, in their several limits, shall secretly call to them one or more honest and secret men, as they think good, and command them by oath, or otherwise, as they see fit, secretly to search out such persons as behave themselves ill in church, or idly, or despise by words the King and Queen's proceedings, or go to make any stir, or unlawful gathering together of the people, or tell any seditious tales or news to excite the people; and that these informations shall be given secretly to the same justices; and the justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they are accused; and upon their examination shall punish them according to their discretion.

This is just the method of the court of inquisition, to have sworn spies every where, upon whose secret information persons are taken up; and are asked, first, why they are brought thither? and then tortured till they tell all that the inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves,

ſelves, or others, but are neither ſuffered to know what is informed againſt them, nor who the informers are. Arbitrary torture, and now ſecret informers, ſeemed to be two great ſteps to prepare the nation for a regular inquiſition. 1555.

In September there were hopes given of the King's coming back, and Sir Richard Southwell was ſent to attend him. A paper was caſt into a houſe at Fulham, intimating ſome ill deſigns in Eſſex; which being brought to the Council, they ſent order into that county to ſee what foundations there were for it.

September the twelfth, Brooks, Biſhop of Glouceſter, Cardinal Puteo's ſub-delegate, who was the Pope's delegate to try Cranmer, (it ſeeming indecent that Pole, who was to be his ſucceſſor, ſhould be his judge,) came to Oxford, with Martin and Scory, the King and Queen's commiſſioners, to demand juſtice againſt Cranmer, exhibiting articles againſt him. Cranmer made a long apology for himſelf, and, among others, ſaid, that the loſs of his promotion grieved him not, but that he thanked God for it: but what grieved him moſt, he ſaid, was to ſee all the pains and trouble that King Henry and himſelf had taken, to retrieve the authority of the Kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from the baſeneſs and inconvenience of a foreign yoke, now loſt; and to ſee the King and Queen in their own realm become his accuſers before a foreign power: if he had tranſgreſſed the law, they had authority ſufficient to puniſh him, and he ſhould willingly ſubmit to it. After examining him, they required him to go to Rome within eighty days to anſwer in perſon: he ſaid, he was willing to go, if the King and Queen would ſend him. Cranmer proceeded againſt.

October the ſixteenth, Ridley and Latimer ſuffered martyrdom; and Gardiner, who was impatient till he heard the news, ſoon after he heard it was ſtruck with an illneſs, of which he died, after languiſhing ſome time.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. The Court of Rome would not allow his ſee to be vacant by his attainder, till he was deprived by a commiſſion from Rome. A mock proceſs was carried on for eighty days at Rome againſt him, in which it was falſely ſaid, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was judged contumacious, and then a formal ſentence was given in the Pope's name, and he was judged an obſtinate heretic, and deprived, and delivered over to the ſecular arm; and a commiſſion came over to the Biſhops of London and Ely to degrade him.

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him. His repentance and conſtancy to the laſt, and his holding his hand in the fire till it almoſt burnt away, are all mentioned by Thuanus, ſo that the truth of the facts cannot be diſputed.

The Privy Council were concerned to ſee his paper of recantation printed, and ordered all the copies to be burnt. Pole, in his letter to Cranmer, owns his mildneſs and unblameableneſs of life; and though he throws off theſe characters as of no importance, yet his mentioning them ſhews they were true. Ridley, in a letter to Grindal, ſays, he ſhewed how well he deſerved the great character of the chief Paſtor and Archbiſhop of this Church. And if it had not been for his too feeble compliance in King Henry's time, and this laſt unhappy ſlip, he would have been one of the greateſt patterns in hiſtory. His humility, meekneſs, and charity; his contempt of wealth and greatneſs; his labours in ſearching into all eccleſiaſtical authors, both ancient and modern, out of which he made collections on all matters of divinity, with his own hand, make him deſervedly the admiration of all that know his character. All the vexations he went through, which were ended with a cruel death, he received at the hands of perſons whom he had faithfully and effectually ſerved: for he had both ſerved the Queen, and reconciled her to her father; and had ſhewed particular favour to Thirleby and others, that concurred now to finiſh this tragedy.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But to return to public affairs. The Convocation ſat this year with the Parliament; and the Lower Houſe were deſired by Bonner to name eight or ten perſons to hear ſome ſecret propoſitions from the King and Queen, and Cardinal, for the good of the kingdom and Church. Upon that they choſe the Prolocutor and ten more; and to theſe the Biſhop of Ely propoſed to offer the Queen a ſubſidy of eight ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, in return for the favour ſhe had ſhewn the Clergy, in forgiving the firſt-fruits and tenths, and reſtoring the impropriations of benefices to the Church, that by the diſſolution of monaſteries had been veſted in the crown. During this Convocation, the Clergy of York were joined with them, and ſo they made together a national ſynod; for which the Cardinal took out a licenſe under the Great Seal. In this ſynod the Cardinal ſet himſelf with ſuch zeal to remove abuſes, that many of the Clergy wiſhed him in Rome again.

There is a letter of Maſon's, which gives an account of

of a treaty set on foot this summer, between the Emperor and King of France, in which the Queen was mediator, and Pole and Gardiner were sent over to Calais in order to it, and the Constable and Cardinal of Lorrain were to meet them; but the Pope's death made it necessary to send that Cardinal to Rome: what progress was made in the treaty does not appear. He tells of a design to convert Westminster into an abbey, which the Dean and Prebendaries mightily opposed, and chiefly Dr. Cole, who affirmed, that monks were not instituted by Christ, as he said Priests were: but the Court, he says, were resolved upon it. He says, that the Princes of Germany were much alarmed at Cardinal Morone's coming to Ausbourg; but that the Emperor had sent such powers to his brother Ferdinand, that his coming was like to be without effect. BOOK III. 1555.

Mason writes afterwards from the Diet, that matters of religion had not been quite settled, but were to continue as they were till next meeting; and it was provided that all parties should live according to their own religion. The Emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes, that the marriage of the Bishops and Clergy had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused to be allowed of.

On the seventh of January, a letter was sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry, requiring them to choose some grave Catholic man for their Mayor that year; and three were named, one of which they were to choose. 1556.

On the fourteenth, a very singular kind of a letter was written to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London; ordering them to take care, that, when any heretic shall be hereafter executed, there be a great number of officers and others appointed, to see such as shall comfort, aid, or praise the offenders, or behave themselves to the ill example of others, and to apprehend and commit them to ward; and to give order that no householder suffer any apprentice or servant of his to be abroad at such time, other than such their master shall answer for. Philpot had suffered about a month before this with great constancy and heroic courage; and he being a man highly esteemed, it is probable that the people shewed a more than ordinary concern at his sufferings, which drew this inhuman letter from the Council; for they had none to execute at that time.

While these things were doing in England, the scene abroad

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abroad was much changed by the reſignation of Charles the Fifth to his ſon Philip. He firſt reſigned to him all the dominions derived from the houſe of Burgundy, and then the crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it. And January the ſeventeenth, letters were written to all the ſtates and cities in Spain, intimating this. He owns in theſe, what he had always denied to the Germans, that all his wars there had been undertaken on the account of religion, to bring all Chriſtendom to peace and unity, and to ſettle every thing in a General Council: but that he had been interrupted in this; the German Princes having been drawn into a league with the French King, againſt their oaths and fidelity to him, and attacked him both by ſea and land; and the French, having procured the Turks to fall upon him in Hungary, where he was forced to bring an army, and keep the field ſo long, that it had brought upon him many painful infirmities: this had ſo deſtroyed his health, that he was not able to bear the weight of affairs any longer. And therefore as ſoon as he had ſettled his ſon's marriage, he brought him over to him, that he might communicate to him ſuch things as were neceſſary for him to know, and then reſigned to him the crown of Caſtile and Leon with all their appurtenances, which are more amply contained in inſtruments which he had ſigned of the ſame date with this letter. He truſted that he would govern them well, and that they would obey him faithfully, in the ſame manner as if God had taken him to his mercy, and as they had done to him during his reign.

1556. Charles the Fifth's reſignation of Spain.

Soon after this he retired to the place where he had deſigned to ſpend the reſt of his days, and there is great reaſon to think he applied him to ſerious reflections on religion. He knew all the corruptions and tricks of the Court of Rome, and the artifice with which the Council of Trent had been managed; he knew all the grounds on which the Lutherans and the reformed in Germany built their perſuaſions: but buſineſs and intereſt, and the prejudice of education, had blinded him hitherto. But now that he was at full leiſure, and paſſion and intereſt had no more power over him, there are great preſumptions that he became perſuaded of the reformed religion. All that had been about him in his retirement were ſoon after his death clapped up in the inquiſition, and burnt.

Reaſons to think he died a Proteſtant.

Auguſtin Caſal, his preacher, was burnt at Valladolid, with thirteen more, in the year 1559. His Confeſſor, Conſtantine Pontius, was taken up likewiſe by the inquiſition

sition for being a Protestant. He died in prison, probably of the torture they put him to; but his bones and effigies were burnt before King Philip at Seville. And so were the bones of the learned Egidius, who had been named to the bishopric of Tortosa by the Emperor Charles. At the same time eighteen more were burnt for being Protestants: and the history of the inquisition tells us, that if the holy tribunal had not stopped these reformers, the Protestant religion had run through all Spain like wild-fire, people of all degrees and sexes being at that time wonderfully disposed to embrace it. 1556.

The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been Confessor to King Philip and Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life, and, some months after his death, was confined to his palace at Tor de Laguna by the inquisition, on suspicion of his being a Protestant: and after staying there seven years, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and at last was condemned as one suspected of heresy. All this laid together makes it probable that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine which was so much spread among those who were then most about him.

Mezeray tells us, that King Philip, on his arrival in Spain, caused many to be burnt for heretics in his own presence, both at Seville and Valladolid, and that, if reports may be believed, he intended to have burnt his father's bones for heresy; and was hindered only by this consideration, that, if his father was a heretic, he had forfeited his dominions, and had no right to resign them to his son.

The method in which the Queen put her affairs.

But to return from this digression to the affairs of England. There are two papers without date, which shew in what method the Council was to proceed; which were probably written either at King Philip's going beyond sea, or at this time when he had the Spanish monarchy put in his hands. One of them is a memorial of what the Queen was to recommend to the Council, written in Cardinal Pole's hand. She was to put them in mind of the charge the King gave them at his departure, which was to be rehearsed to them; and was perhaps the following paper: she was to desire them to attend at Court, the matters to be treated of being of great weight, and they were to send what was proposed to the King, to know

BOOK III. 1556.

know his pleaſure, before it ſhould be executed: particularly they were to ſend over to the King that very day the reſolution of the Council, concerning what was to be propoſed in the Parliament. And ſince the King delayed his coming over, they were to conſider whether it would be any prejudice to her affairs to delay the Parliament till Candlemas, and whether money would not be wanted, in the mean while, for ſetting out ſhips, both for the Emperor's paſſage into Spain, and for the King's return, and for paying the debts. She was to charge them to call in her debts, as the beſt way to clear what ſhe owed to others; and was to offer them authority to do it effectually; and they were to inform her every week what was paid in, and what order was taken for the reſt: and thoſe who had any commiſſion to execute any matter were at the end of a week to inform the Council what progreſs they had made; and the Council was to begin no new matter the ſecond week, till they were informed of what was done the former week. Thus was the poor woman to be taught what ſhe was to ſay; for of herſelf ſhe ſeemed capable to think of nothing, but how to deſtroy heretics, and extirpate hereſy.

The other paper is in Latin, and ſeems to have been that which the King left behind him. It appoints a ſelect committee, to whom the ſpecial care of matters of ſtate and revenue, and the weighty affairs of the kingdom, were to be referred; and they were conſtantly to attend, and were the ſame with what is now called the Cabinet Council. The perſons named in it were the Cardinal, (in all great matters, and when he could conveniently come,) the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Pembroke, Biſhop of Ely, Lord Paget the Comptroller, and Petre the Secretary. They were deſired to lay aſide all their differences and quarrels, and amicably to counſel ſuch things as might tend to the glory of God, and the honour and good of the crown and kingdom; and they were to inform the Queen, at leaſt thrice a week, of all their conſultations and actings. Particularly they were to conſider when the Parliament ſhould meet, and what ſhould be there propoſed, and to put it in writing; and on Sundays they were to communicate to the whole Council ſuch matters as they ſhould think convenient to be laid before them. They were to take ſpecial care for the payment of debts, for the retrenching of expence, for the good management of the Queen's eſtate, revenues, and cuſtoms, and for the adminiſtration of juſtice. Theſe were

were the orders; how they were obſerved does not appear. The Queen herſelf never came to Council, and the Cardinal very ſeldom: the Board was always very thin; often not above three or four were there. 1556.

Proceedings againſt heretics.

Now we return to give an account of what is found in the Council-book. In January thanks were ordered to Lord Willoughby and others in Lincolnſhire. Upon the condemning of ſome heretics, the Council had been applied to, to ſee if a pardon ſhould be offered them before execution; but they found ſo few inclined to accept it, that they would not expoſe the Queen's pardon to any farther contempt, and ſo they were ordered to proceed according to the laws without delay. Letters were likewiſe ſent to ſeveral Sheriffs, ordering them, though the priſoners ſhould be acquitted by law, yet to detain them in cuſtody till they ſhould hear from the Earl of Suſſex.

In February the Council was alarmed with a play to be acted at Shrovetide, to which many were to come, and they ordered Lord Rich to examine into it, and ſtop it; and a little after he had thanks for ſtopping it: he had the actors in priſon; but upon his giving them a good character, they were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and he was to have an eye on all ſuch meetings. Several enquiries were made at this time after ſeditious books; and ſeveral commitments made on that account.

This month an order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to torture two perſons at diſcretion; and a like order was afterwards ſent him in the June following. It ſeems at this time they expected the King's coming over, for the firſt of June the Lord Admiral was ordered to attend him.

Wotton, who was then ambaſſador in France, wrote over that ſeveral heretics fled over into France, and were there well received; particularly that Henry Dudley and Chriſtopher Aſhton were plotting there againſt the Queen: upon which he was ordered to demand them to be ſeized, and delivered to her officers.

The Pope diſpenſes with the French King's oath.

He wrote likewiſe that the heretics took great advantage from the new war that the Pope had engaged the French King to make on the King, after a truce of five years had been ſworn to by both Kings. But the Pope ſent a Legate into France, to perſuade that King to begin the war, and diſpenſe with his oath. This diſpenſing with the oaths of Princes gave ſuch offence to every body, that it has not been publicly put in practice ſince that time. But the Proteſtant Princes in Germany believe

 that

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1556.

that ſuch a power is ſecretly lodged with the confeſſors of the Popiſh Princes, and therefore in their dealings with thoſe Princes take their word, but never put any thing to their oath. For they ſeem to reckon themſelves bound by their word as men, and members of human ſociety; but they think their oaths, being acts of religion, belong to their confeſſors to tell them how far they were bound to keep them, and when they might lawfully break them. But we have had inſtances in our days of Princes profeſſing the reformed religion, to the reproach of the Reformation, declaring themſelves freed from their leagues and alliances, for no better reaſon than becauſe they thought fit to declare ſo.

Pole's national ſynod.

Pole was now in his ſynod endeavouring to bring the Clergy to their duty. In December they examined *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*; and ſome were appointed to prepare a Book of Homilies; and a tranſlation of the New Teſtament was ordered; and the ſeven Sacraments were treated of. The Cardinal ſent an order to the Prolocutor, to intimate to the Clergy, that they ſhould confirm no leaſes made of their benefices; probably in obedience to the Pope's bull, that condemned all leaſes for above three years.

In January propoſitions were made for having ſchools in all cathedral churches. Pole found that the taſte of knowledge which had been raiſed in the nation was not eaſy to be extinguiſhed; and therefore he ſeemed to think it beſt to allow them ſuch a degree of knowledge as might be eaſily governed, and kept within bounds. This ſynod petitioned the Queen for maintaining their liberties and immunities; but on what account, or with what effect, does not appear. Pole prorogued the ſynod to the tenth of November, and thence to the tenth of May, that the Biſhops might have time to make their viſitations, in which they were to take an exact account of all eccleſiaſtical goods: from the tenth of May it was again prorogued to the tenth of November, on account of the great penury and dearth. July the twenty-eighth, the Council, hearing of ſome naughty books concealed in the Ducheſs of Suffolk's houſe, ordered the Biſhop of Lincoln to ſearch for them, and ſend them up. The nineteenth, the Council was alarmed with reports of conſpiracies in Suffolk and Eſſex; and orders were ſent to enquire into them. Auguſt the twenty-firſt, thanks were ordered to the Earl of Suſſex, for his diligence in apprehending the ſpreaders of ſeditious reports, with whom he is deſired

Proſecution of heretics.

to

to proceed according to the laws; and a letter was ordered to the Biſhop of Norwich, to apprehend and puniſh ſuch lewd prieſts as were married, and repaired to their wives. The twenty-third, thanks were ordered to the Lord Darcy for apprehending ſuch as uſed conventicles and readings about Harwich; and they were to be fined, and bound over to appear before the Biſhop of London, who was ordered to reduce them to the Church, or order them according to the laws. September the fourth, the Earl of Suſſex having moved that offenders ſhould be proceeded againſt by martial law, was thanked for his zeal, and told, that though they deſerved ſuch uſage, yet it was thought beſt to puniſh them as the laws order; but that, after they had had their puniſhment, he ſhould keep them in priſon, and in irons, till they ſhould know themſelves, and their duty: and the fifteenth, he and the other juſtices of Norfolk were thanked for their diligence in puniſhing one Long. 1556.

Calais in danger of falling into the hands of the French.

At this time they were alarmed with the danger Calais might be in: ſo a ſtate of the fortifications, and what was neceſſary to maintain the place, was laid before the Council; but the giving orders was delayed till the King's coming, which was then expected daily.

Privy-ſeals, to the number of one thouſand, at one hundred pounds apiece, were at this time ſent about every where for the loan of money; but it came in very ſlowly. October the ſixth, a letter was ſent to the Earl of Suſſex at Calais, to ſearch for ſome that had fled thither from England; probably they were heretics. The ſeventh, Lady Throgmorton begged leave of the Council to ſend ſome ſupply of money to her huſband in France, which was granted for once, provided it did not exceed forty crowns: it ſeems the way of exchange was much beſet, when ſo ſmall a ſum could not be ſent without leave. November the ſeventeenth, the Biſhop of London was ordered to take and puniſh a companion of him that was called Trudge-over; and they complain to him, that two perſons charged with hereſy had been releaſed by him, and were now grown worſe than ever. And in a book, that ſeems to be the minutes of the Council, it is entered, that twenty-four perſons were diſcharged by him who were ſtill rank heretics.

Our fleet was at this time ſo ſmall, that 14000*l.* being ordered for repairing, furniſhing, and victualling it, they reckoned 10000*l.* a year afterwards would anſwer every thing that was neceſſary. On the nineteenth of February, 1557.

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1557. one was ordered to be proceeded againſt for ſome deteſtable words, not fit to be heard; and only ſuch part of them were to be opened as might ſerve for evidence to the jury. The twenty-firſt, complaints were made of a jailor that ſuffered heretics to go about freely. The twenty-fourth the Queen expected the King hourly, and the Admiral and others were ordered to attend him. An ambaſſador came at this time from Ruſſia, and landed in the north of Scotland. Several orders are entered likewiſe about Lord Sturton and his ſervants, three of which were to be hanged in chains.

An account of Lord Sturton's execution.

In the former hiſtory the Queen was commended for her firmneſs in not pardoning the Lord Sturton, for ſo heinous a crime as murdering a father and his ſon in his own houſe: but it ſeems the ſtory, as it has been handed down by very old people in Wiltſhire, is very different. The day before the execution was appointed, a report was ſet about, that a pardon was coming down; upon which the Sheriff came to the Earl of Pembroke for advice, who was then at Wilton. The Earl was much troubled at it; and fearing leſt ſome ſuch meſſage might come from Court, ſhut his gates very early, and ordered them not to be opened till next morning. Lord Sturton's ſon came down with the order, but finding the gates of Wilton could not be opened, rode over to his father with the news. In the night the Sheriff came ſecretly to Saliſbury, and when the ſon was gone to Wilton in the morning, where he thought the Sheriff ſtill was, he brought his men together, and executed the Lord before his ſon could come back with his pardon. This is ſet down from thoſe whoſe authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, gave an entire credit to it. It is not unlikely that ſo meritorious a man as Lord Sturton was, who had proteſted againſt every thing done in King Edward's Parliament, ſhould have many to plead for him in this his extremity.

The twentieth of March, the King came to England; and the gentlemen of Kent attended him, and provided him with poſt-horſes. In April the Counteſs of Suſſex, who was ſeparated from her huſband, was ſeized coming over with ſuſpicious letters, and ſent to the Fleet; and was ordered to be examined ſtrictly. Particulars are not ſet forth, but referred to the minutes in the cheſt. It ſeems an invaſion in Dorſetſhire by the French was apprehended; ſo orders were ſent to make muſters in that country, and have them ready, either againſt an invaſion,

or

or a rebellion; and three hundred men were sent to Calais, with orders about the fortifications. BOOK III.

June the fourteenth, the Council was alarmed with a complaint of naughty plays: whether there was any thing in them relating to religion or the government, or they only feared such a concourse of people as they brought together, does not appear. June the twenty-ninth, 2000 men were ordered for Calais and the places about it: and soon after, 200 foot and 600 horse more were ordered in all haste to Calais; and assurance was given, that more should quickly follow. There were then great apprehensions of disorders on the borders of Scotland, which were wholly in the hands of the French. 1557.

Bonner at this time gave the city of London a dismal spectacle; thirteen persons were burnt at Stratford in one fire: he had condemned sixteen; but Pole hearing there was hopes of working on three of them, got an order to have them put in his hands; and he prevailed so on two of them, that they abjured, and he obtained their pardon of the King and Queen: their abjuring is called in the pardon that passed for them *a most extraordinary thing*. A severe prosecution.

But it seems the Cardinal was not always so mild towards heretics, for this year he had ordered the heretics to be proceeded against in his diocese, and July the seventh sent a *Significavit* of some of them to be delivered to the secular arm.

Some of the writers of that time call him *the Whip and Executioner of the Church of England*. And the visitors he sent to Oxford were not only to restore the Pope's authority, but to enquire whether any neglected the Pope's ceremonies; and if they found the least suspicion against any, they were without delay to eject them. They raged against many in the University, and burnt in the market-place numbers of Bibles and other books. The same severities were used at Cambridge. The nation began every where to grow sick of these cruelties; and the great promoter of them, the Earl of Sussex, died in March this year. The nation disliked this cruelty.

Complaints were brought against several Sheriffs and Magistrates of towns, that when heretics were delivered to them by the Ordinary, they had delayed the execution: so they were required to signify what it was that made them stop their usual proceedings. The Sheriff of Essex was afterwards fined ten pounds, because his deputy had respited an execution at Colchester.

August the third, thanks were ordered to Serjeant

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Brown for his proceeding with Trudge-over, and orders given how to diſpoſe of his head and quarters. Many were ordered to be proceeded againſt for writing and ſpreading ſeditious books. The Lord Rich always continued to give the Council notice before any execution, and ſo laid the odium of the ſeverity on them; ſo they wrote to him to proceed according to law, and not to trouble them any more on thoſe occaſions.

They were at this time very angry at the election of a bad Mayor at Calais, at ſo critical a time, and threatened them of Calais with bringing their charter in queſtion for ſuch an election.

Auguſt the fifteenth, upon the news of the defeat of the French at St. Quintin's, and on the ſecond of September, when St. Quintin's was taken, orders were given to have rejoicings in the city.

Auguſt the twenty-fourth, letters were ordered to the Mayor and Aldermen of Briſtol, requiring them to conform themſelves in frequenting ſermons, proceſſions, and other ceremonies, and not to abſent themſelves as they had done of late, nor expect the Dean and Chapter to come with their croſs and fetch them out of the city, which was unſeemly. On the ſixth of October, news came of the peace between the King and the Pope; and rejoicings were again ordered in the city.

The Council was now much taken up about the loans and privy-ſeals. Their cruelties to the heretics had ſo moved the compaſſion and turned the ſpirit of the nation againſt them, that they were afraid of calling a Parliament, though the ſtate of affairs, and want of money, made it ſo needful: ſo they tried other ineffectual ways of raiſing money, which increaſed the nation's jealouſy more than it added to the Queen's treaſure.

Bonner called on by the Council to be ſevere.

Bonner was again quickened by another letter, to proceed againſt heretics: upon which, he ſent Dr. Chedſey to Colcheſter; who tells him, in a letter he wrote to him, that he had found there heretics, Anabaptiſts, and unruly perſons, ſuch as the like was never heard. There is in the minute-book an account of one Benbridge, who offering to recant, the Sheriff had delayed execution; for which he was chid; and the Biſhop of Wincheſter was ordered to examine whether his converſion was ſincere or not. Here this Council-book ends; for the laſt paſſage in it relates to religion, (as indeed there is almoſt nothing elſe in it at all, but proceedings againſt hereſy,) and is a letter to the Biſhop of London, requiring him to proceed accord-

according to law againſt one John Rough, a Scottiſh miniſter, whom they had ſent to Newgate. BOOK III.

This cruelty, which ſhewed itſelf in all parts of the nation, with the haughtineſs of the King, and the ſhameful loſs of Calais, made the government be univerſally hated and contemned. A book publiſhed in Queen Elizabeth's time, corrected, if not written, by Burleigh, entitled, *The Executions for Treaſon*, counts four hundred perſons that ſuffered publicly in Queen Mary's days, beſides thoſe ſecretly murdered in priſon; twenty of theſe Biſhops and dignified Clergymen; ſixty of them women, and more than forty children, ſome big with child, one child born in the fire, thrown in again and burnt. 1557.

It does not appear that the Biſhops or Clergy ſhewed any great inclination to entertain Pole's project for reforming abuſes; or took much pains to reduce the people by the way of inſtruction. All that is found this way is an inſtruction of Bonner's to his dioceſe in 1555; and another of Watſon, Biſhop of Lincoln, to his in the year 1558. Bonner in his did not think fit to leave out the ſecond Commandment, as is done in moſt of the catechiſms of the Church of Rome, becauſe the people here had been uſed to hear ſo much of it; ſo he gave in his own way, and inſtead of the words, *nor worſhip them*, he gave it thus, *nor adore them with God's honour*.

The Pope hated Pole, and took all occaſions to expreſs his diſpleaſure of him; all the Biſhop's bulls in this reign run in the ſtyle of Papal proviſions, that the Pope, by his apoſtolical authority, provided the perſon to the ſee, and ſet him over it; without any mention of the Queen's recommending, or of the Chapter's electing. Upon this the Biſhop renounced every clauſe in his bull that was in any ſort prejudicial to the crown, and ſo he had the cuſtody of the temporalities given to him.

There was a Convocation in January 155$\frac{7}{8}$: Harpsfield was choſen Prolocutor. Bonner, as the Cardinal's commiſſary, propoſed heads of reformation; and the Lower Houſe deſired leave to offer their propoſitions. In February they granted a ſubſidy of eight ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. Complaint was made of a want of Prieſts to ſerve the cures: to remedy this, it was propoſed, that no Prieſt ſhould be taken to ſerve in the wars; that the Biſhops might unite ſmall benefices, to be ſerved by turns; that the pariſhioners of chapels of eaſe might be obliged to come to the pariſh-church, till Proceedings in Convocation. 1558.

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1558.

curates could be provided; and that Biſhops might be authorized by the Pope to ordain out of the ſeaſons. Then the Convocation was prorogued to the eleventh of November, and thence to the ſeventeenth, on which day the Queen died.

A general treaty of peace opened.

But now to open the ſtate of the nation: Calais was loſt, and the nation ſo exhauſted, that it was hard to ſupport the government; the two favourites of the Kings of France and Spain were clergymen, the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the Biſhop of Arras. They found that the war neceſſarily put a ſtop to the extirpating of hereſy; ſo they projected a peace, that the Kings might be at full leiſure to go on with that work.

France for that end was willing to make great reſtitutions, but declared poſitively, that they would never part with Calais. A treaty was opened, and the Queen ſent the Earl of Arundel, the Biſhop of Ely, and Dean Wotton to it, to treat in her name. It ſeems they had no hopes of the reſtoring of Calais, ſo they moved the Council to lay it before the Parliament: in anſwer to which, the Council wrote to the ambaſſadors on the eighth of November; they tell them, that it was beſt not to break it to the whole Houſe, but to the nobility and ſome of the graver ſort firſt: but before they would take that ſtep, they had aſked the Queen's mind; ſhe thought it beſt to lay it firſt before the King; and therefore they ſent them a letter to deliver to the King, and were reſolved to ſtay for his anſwer before they went any farther: they write, that the Queen was ſtill ſick and weak; they hoped for her amendment, but were driven to fear the worſt. In a poſtſcript they tell them they had received their letters, by which they ſaw the French would not reſtore Calais, and that the King had told them, that though every thing elſe was agreed between the French and him, yet he would agree to nothing, unleſs the Queen was ſatisfied: therefore they order them to lay before the King the importance of leaving Calais in French hands, as much to his Low Countries as to England: how much it would touch the honour of the King and Queen, and make the ſubjects of this realm uneaſy, if all the King's other allies had places reſtored to them, and a peace was made without this reſtitution, when the war was begun at the King's requeſt, and for his ſake. Yet, they ſay, if all other matters are agreed, much were to be endured for the wealth of Chriſtendom, which was giving up the

point.

point. They desire a plain and speedy answer, that they may know what to offer to the nobility and Parliament, with relation to this matter. BOOK III.

1558. The ambassadors answered them, that though the French King had said he would hazard his crown sooner than part with Calais, yet for all those high words they did not despair. The commissioners of both Kings were gone to their masters to receive their final orders. The ambassadors believed, if the King was positive for the restoring Calais, the French would agree to it; but if he spoke but faintly of that matter, they would persist to refuse it; they had therefore said nothing to make the King think the Queen or kingdom would consent to a peace without that, because their instructions were express in that point. The King always said he would make no peace, unless the Queen was satisfied; so if she insisted on that point, they believed the French would restore Calais rather than lose the view of peace.

And whereas they had wrote to them, that if all other points were agreed, much were to be endured for the peace of Christendom; yet it was hard, that all others should have restitution, and poor England bear so great a loss alone: nor did they think leaving Calais to France would procure a sure peace; they thought that the French keeping Calais was a sign they did not intend to continue the peace, at least with England. The French might annoy England on the side of Scotland, now that the Dauphin had married the Queen of Scots; and it was not unknown to them what they pretended by that match, probably that was the claiming the crown of England on the Queen's death.

If the French kept Calais, the English could neither hurt their enemies there, nor assist nor be assisted by their friends; but were shut out of Europe, and would be always the latest in knowing the transactions abroad; and that place would be a scourge to England, as it was when Edward the Third took it; which made him venture through all France from Normandy, with a small army, to besiege it, a greater army following him, through which he was forced to fight his way, till at last he routed them at Cressy, and then took the place. The French would sign any terms to keep that place; but that would be only parchment and wax; and they knew by experience what French parchment and wax was. They said, if a war should follow between England and France, they were not sure Spain would join England: whereas

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whereas now the King could not honourably make peace without us; and he himſelf ſaid he would not: ſo they thought it better to continue the war now begun, till Calais was reſtored, in conjunction with the King, than to make a peace, and let it go, and then to be forced to begin a new one alone. All this they thought themſelves bound to lay before the Council.

The Biſhop of Ely adds, that he was with the commiſſioners, and found they were not agreed about Corſica and Sienna, and that the French inſiſted on the reſtitution of Navarre, ſo that he thought the treaty would be broken off without coming to a peace.

The Earl of Arundel adds, that the Biſhop of Arras had writ to him, that the French had ſaid they would condeſcend to every thing, rather than yield Calais; but that he had told them, that, without full ſatisfaction to England, they would not treat with them in any ſort; and ſo they parted, in a manner that looked more like a rupture, than a concluſion of the treaty. However the ambaſſadors doubted whether it was about Calais only that they differed. This letter was writ the day after the Queen's death. Her death freed the Spaniards from that difficulty.

A relation of the occaſion of the Queen's death.

We now come to the concluſion of this inglorious reign. Campana gives an account of the immediate occaſion of the Queen's death, different from other authors: he ſays, that King Philip, finding he was not like to have children by her, and her health in an ill ſtate, deſigned a marriage between the Duke of Savoy and the Lady Elizabeth. The Queen would never hearken to this; yet, now that ſhe was declining very faſt, he ſent over the Duke of Feria, to propoſe the match to the Council, without any regard to the Queen; and to uſe all poſſible means to bring it to a concluſion. The Queen reſented this highly, and, when ſhe ſaw it was deſigned to force her to it, fell into a deep melancholy. The Council did not entertain the motion, and the Queen's death in a few days put an end to it; for it does not appear that he ever propoſed it to Queen Elizabeth, though he ſtayed ſome time in England. However true this account be, the nation was now delivered from a very ſevere and unhappy, though ſhort reign; in which no good deſign was ſet on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation; but ſuperſtition and cruelty was all that was thought of. Even the war, which commonly uſed to ſlacken ſeverities, had not that effect here. The Queen delivered herſelf ſo up to her

her confeſſor, and had ſuch an inexorable hatred againſt thoſe ſhe eſteemed heretics, that there is but one ſingle inſtance of a pardon granted to any condemned for hereſy; and that was at the Cardinal's interceſſion. BOOK III. 1558.

Providence ſeemed to allow us to feel in this female reign, from which all mildneſs might have been expected, ſo much of the barbarity and cruelty of that religion, as might raiſe a laſting abhorrence and deteſtation of it in this nation; and made the ſucceeding reign ſo long, ſo glorious, and ſo proſperous, that this ſhort and deſpiſed one ſeemed but a foil to ſet it off the more, and to make us more nearly ſenſible of what importance the religion of the Prince is to the welfare and happineſs of the people.

This unhappy Queen's death came, as it were in the critical moment, to blaſt the deſign that had been laid by the two favourite eccleſiaſtics of the Kings of France and Spain, of extirpating hereſy upon the concluſion of the peace that was then in agitation: and then the ſucceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, and the death of the French King in the July after, put an entire ſtop to it; for France fell under the confuſions of a minority, and the cruelty of the Spaniſh government occaſioned the revolt of the Netherlands; under both which, hereſy, as they called it, gathered great ſtrength; and the Queen of England protected both ſo effectually, that Henry the Fourth owned his being ſupported by her in his loweſt ſtate was the chief means that brought him to the poſſeſſion of the crown of France: and the United Provinces had their main dependence on her protection and aſſiſtance.

So graciouſly did God ſeem to watch over the Reformation, that in the very time that the enemies of that work reckoned it was to be rooted out, he not only removed the great inſtruments of miſchief, but raiſed up this glorious Queen, who not only revived it amongſt us, but, by a kind and tender influence, guarded and protected it every where elſe. So we now turn to view the auſpicious beginnings of that reign.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Of the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

NO Prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded ſtate of affairs than this Queen did, the nation being engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The Queen had no ally but King Philip, whom ſhe knew ſhe was no longer to depend upon, whenever ſhe ſhould begin to make thoſe alterations in religion which ſhe deſigned. The Duke of Feria, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, took all occaſions to let her know that his maſter, being the moſt Catholic King, muſt protect that religion. The Papiſts, whom ſhe found in the miniſtry, poſſeſſed her with fears of rebellions at home, and wars from abroad, if ſhe ſhould alter religion: and thoſe whom ſhe joined with the Papiſts in her councils, chiefly Bacon and Cecil, had been ſo uſed to comply in matters of religion, that they were eaſily brought to bear what they did not approve; and apprehended great danger in proceeding too quick in thoſe matters. 1558.

The Queen's inclinations to the Reformation were univerſally relied on: her education and knowledge; her bad

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bad uſage in the former reign; and her title to the crown, which was founded on a marriage made in defiance to the Pope, led all people to conclude that ſhe would declare for it as ſoon as ſhe ſaw it ſafe for her to do ſo. Upon this, ſome, that were forward in their zeal, began to pull down images, and make changes: and, on the other hand, the prieſts apprehending what was like to follow, began to alarm the people out of their pulpits in a very ſeditious manner againſt all changes: ſome went ſo far as to call her title in queſtion, and ſet up the pretenſions of the Queen of Scotland. To put a ſtop to theſe things, ſhe by one proclamation prohibited all preaching, and by another all alterations by private hands. As her miniſters adviſed this caution in religious matters, ſo they adviſed her to digeſt the loſs of Calais, and come into a peace with France and Scotland.

Mount ſent to Germany; and a match with Charles of Auſtria adviſed.

They likewiſe thought of new alliances. Mount was brought to England again; and was ſent with inſtructions by Cecil to all the Princes of Germany, to know how far the Queen might depend on their aſſiſtance, and to receive their advices on the affairs of England, and particularly concerning a proper marriage for the Queen. Mount found them all ready to receive the Queen into the Smalcaldic league; chiefly, if the Reformation was to be on their model. The match they all propoſed was with Charles of Auſtria, the Emperor Ferdinand's ſecond ſon, brother to Maximilian, King of Bohemia and Hungary; who, though he complied in the outward acts of the Popiſh worſhip, yet was known to be a Proteſtant. The Elector Palatine and the Duke of Wirtemberg aſſured Mount, that Charles would declare himſelf a Proteſtant, as ſoon as he dared for his father's diſpleaſure; and that he himſelf had told one of them ſo; and that when his father, ſuſpecting him, would have had him ſwear that he would never change his religion, he had refuſed it; and told him, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New Teſtament and orthodox Fathers; upon which the Emperor ſaid, he perceived this ſon was corrupted too. They thought this match would be a great ſtrengthening to the Queen, would engage the whole houſe of Auſtria in the Proteſtant religion, and unite the whole empire in an alliance with the Queen.

Whenever the news of the Queen's coming to the crown reached Zurich, all thoſe who had retired thither reſolved to return to England. They had been entertained

tained there both by the magiſtrates and miniſters with a tenderneſs and affection, that engaged them to the end of their lives to make all the acknowledgments poſſible for it. Bullinger was the chief perſon of that ſociety, with whom they held the cloſeſt correſpondence. Peter Martyr was there likewiſe, and treated with a ſingular reſpect, even to ſubmiſſion. Jewel had been formed by him at Oxford, and continued in a conſtant correſpondence with him, writing to him always by the title of Father. The letters that paſſed were preſerved in the library of Zurich, and copies of them having been tranſmitted hither, with an atteſtation, under the ſeal of that noble canton, of their being faithfully tranſcribed, and compared with the originals. Theſe letters are ſo particular, that, if there had not been great interruptions in the ſeries of them, we ſhould have had a clear thread of the hiſtory of that time.

1558. The Reformers return to England.

Jewel writes to Peter Martyr from Frankfort, June the twenty-ſixth, 1559, that Horn and Sands were got to England, and were well received by the Queen; many biſhoprics were void, and ſome were lately dead; that White had preached a very ſeditious ſermon at Queen Mary's funeral, exciting the people not to ſuffer any changes in religion, and to deſtroy the fugitives that ſhould return to England; telling them, that whoever ſhould kill them would do a deed acceptable to God; at which the Mayor of Wincheſter, and Heath, Archbiſhop of York, were highly diſpleaſed. He adds, that Bonner was confined to his houſe.

1559. They were well received by the Queen.

Gualter wrote to Maſters, the Queen's phyſician, January the ſixteenth. He congratulates with him on the change; he wiſhes they would not hearken to thoſe, who, ſeeing that Popery could not be honeſtly defended, or entirely retained, would uſe all artifices to keep up, as much as they could, the outward face of it, that the return to it may be the more eaſy. He tells him, they had experience of that in Germany, and know what influence ſuch perſons have, by the ſeeming modeſty of their councils, and pretended fitneſs to maintain an univerſal agreement. He ſays, men may ſuffer ſome things to remain, to avoid the giving ſome ſmall offence, under this colour, that they will be continued only for a little while, which yet afterwards they will find it ſcarce poſſible to remove, at leaſt not without great ſtrugglings. Dr. Maſters in his anſwer tells him, he had laid his letter before the Queen,

BOOK IV. Queen, and ſhe had read it all. He promiſes to uſe his beſt endeavours for carrying on a ſound reformation.

1559. The Earl of Bedford had gone out of England in Queen Mary's time, and ſtayed at Zurich. He had a true zeal for the Reformation, and particular regard for the divines there; upon which they wrote often to him, preſſing him to take care in the firſt beginning, to have all things ſettled upon ſure and ſound foundations.

Proceedings in Convocation. In the Convocation that met the twenty-fourth of June, but ſix Biſhops and the Abbot of Weſtminſter appeared: three ſent proxies: the other four (for the reſt of the ſees were vacant) are not mentioned. The Biſhops promiſed the Lower Houſe to lay the articles offered them before the Houſe of Lords; and accordingly gave the paper containing them to the Lord Keeper, but never received any anſwer. The Convocation, after ſeveral prorogations, was at laſt diſſolved the ninth of May. This was the laſt feeble ſtruggle made by the Popiſh Clergy in Convocation.

The Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords ſtiffly oppoſed the Reformation; and, being all on one ſide, and few of the temporal Lords learned enough to anſwer, triumphed mightily over them, and ſtopped very much the progreſs of it. Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, the twentieth of March, that he was arrived at London, and ſurpriſed to find the Pope's authority not yet thrown off; and maſſes ſtill ſaid. He tells him of the diſputation then reſolved on: he ſays, the populace was ignorant and perverſe: he adds, that the Queen ſpoke of Peter Martyr with great eſteem: he tells him, Brooks, Biſhop of Glouceſter, was dead, and cried out as he was dying, that he was damned. In a letter to Bullinger, of the twenty-ſecond of May, he ſays, they had need of great zeal and courage; for, beſides their old enemies, the deſerters who had left them in the former reign were now their moſt bitter enemies. The Spaniards had much corrupted the morals of the nation. He ſays, things were coming to a better ſtate. The Queen refuſed to be called Head of the Church, that being a title, ſhe ſaid, due only to Chriſt. He ſays, the Univerſities were ſtrangely corrupted by the Spaniards. The Lord Bedford, he ſays, was very ſincere and zealous againſt Popery, and for promoting the Goſpel. He writes, that ſeveral Princes were making addreſſes to the Queen for marriage; but many ſuſpected her inclinations lay to one Pickering, a worthy and pious man,

man, and of a moſt noble figure as to his perſon. Jewel, in a letter to Peter Martyr of the ſixth of April, gives him an account of the public diſputation. He tells him, that Cole treated the Reformers with many reproaches, and much ſcorn; that he put himſelf into great convulſions of body, and affirmed things boldly without any proof; and ſaid, that it was not fit that the people ſhould underſtand the public worſhip, for *ignorance was the mother of devotion*. Horn read the Reformers' paper gravely and modeſtly. All who were preſent acknowledged the victory to be clearly on their ſide: by this, he ſays, the Popiſh cauſe ſunk much in the opinion of the people. In another of the twenty-eighth, he tells Peter Martyr, that the Biſhops contended earneſtly in the Houſe of Lords; and none more vehemently than Thirleby. He laments, that no care was taken of ſchools, or of promoting learning; and ſays, that the Univerſities were in a miſerable condition. The Queen had thoughts of ſending for Peter Martyr; but he did not adviſe him to come over, unleſs he were invited in the honourable manner he deſerved. Many of the Queen's miniſters were in hopes of entering into the Smalcaldic league; and ſome poſſeſſed the Queen that Peter Martyr's coming over would obſtruct that. He ſays, many, who were returned from exile, were ſtill in great want. He complains in another letter of the want of zeal and exceſs of caution in promoting the Reformation. The Papiſts in Queen Mary's time had done every thing violently, without waiting for law; but now every thing was managed in ſo ſlow, ſo cautious, and ſo prudent a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received upon his own authority. This caution, he ſays, ſunk the ſpirits of thoſe that favoured them, and exalted their enemies. Yet, he ſays, the maſs was laid aſide in ſeveral places, though there was no law to do it. The nobility were zealous in their hatred to Popery. The Queen had ſoftened her maſs much: but he wiſhes ſhe could not be prevailed on to put the crucifix out of her chapel. He ſays, ſhe was truly pious, but thought it neceſſary to proceed by law, and dangerous to give way to a furious multitude. Cox, on the twentieth of May, writes to Weidner, another divine of Zurich, that he found the ſhort reign of Queen Mary had ſo hardened the minds of the people in their ſuperſtition, that it would not be eaſy to change them. He complains of the oppoſition the Biſhops (the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* he calls them) made in the Houſe of Lords

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to every good motion, and that none there could maintain arguments againſt them. The divines, he ſays, who were returned from exile, were called to preach before the Queen; where they affirmed the Pope to be Antichriſt, and their traditions blaſphemies. Some of the nobility came over to them every day, and many of the people, but not one of the clergy; they were a body not to be moved. He tells him, that King Edward's laws were now to be revived, and bleſſes God for it.

All buſineſs was brought to good concluſion in Parliament. The King of France's death gave ſuch a change to affairs abroad, that the Queen and her miniſters ſeemed to be mightily animated with it. In the beginning of Auguſt, it appears, from a letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, that preachers were ſent to many different parts. Jewel had all the weſtern counties for his province. The Popiſh Biſhops made a poor addreſs to the Queen not to change the ſtate of religion, to which ſhe anſwered reſolutely. They reſolved now rather to loſe their biſhoprics, than to abjure the Pope, though they had often done it before. They were full of rage, and gave out prophecies that this change would be ſhort-lived, to keep people from receiving the Reformation. However, the Queen had courage. He thanks God for the ſtate to which their affairs were then brought. Matters went well in Scotland. Knox preached in ſeveral parts of the country, and was well guarded: the monaſteries were every where pulled down, and the ſuperſtitious ſtuff in them all deſtroyed.

They all rejoiced in the happy turn of affairs then in Scotland, the much greater part of the nation declaring openly and zealouſly againſt Popery.

The beginnings of the Reformation in the Parliament of Scotland.

The Scottiſh nation had ſhewed a wonderful diſpoſition towards a reformation upon the death of King James the Fifth, 1541. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this, forged a will in the name of the deceaſed King, making him regent. But the nobility had no regard to it, but owned the Earl of Arran to be the heir of the crown after the young Queen, and the heirs of her body: ſo they took the oaths to the Queen as Sovereign, and to the Earl of Arran as Governor, till the Queen came of age; and the Cardinal was ſecured. In 1542 a Parliament met, in which the regency of the Earl of Arran was confirmed, and the oaths they had taken ratified; and they were required to confirm them by ſolemn oaths in full Parliament. A Council was named at the ſame time, of which the

the Cardinal was not one; the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, five Biſhops, two Abbots, eight Earls, five Lords, with ſome commoners for the boroughs, and the officers of ſtate compoſed it; ſix of theſe was the number that was at leaſt neceſſary to concur with the Governor. This Parliament paſſed an Act allowing all the *Lieges of the realm to have the holy writ of the New and Old Teſtament, in the vulgar tongue in Engliſh or Scotch, of a good and true tranſlation, and that they ſhall incur no crime for the having or reading of the ſame; providing always, that no man diſpute or hold opinions, under the pain contained in the Acts of Parliament.* The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, in the name of all the Prelates preſent in Parliament, *diſſented to this Act, as being one of the three eſtates of the Parliament, till a provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of the realm, to adviſe and conclude thereupon.* But, notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the Act paſſed. At this time they ſent ambaſſadors to treat concerning the Queen's marriage with Edward then Prince of Wales; and they provided, that if the Queen went out of the kingdom, even after ſhe was of age, the Governor ſhould continue his authority all his life; and on his death, the neareſt perſon of the blood was to ſucceed him. BOOK IV. 1559.

There was not the like care taken in the ſubſequent treaty with France. But the French, at the concluſion of the marriage, proceeded in a very perfidious manner: for in 1558, a little before the marriage-articles were ſettled, the young Queen being about fifteen, a ſecret act was paſſed; in which ſhe declared, that ſhe having made a diſpoſition of the crown of Scotland in favour of the crown of France, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without heirs of her body, which ſhe intended ſhould have its full effect; and perceiving the ſecret deſigns of ſome who were practiſing that, in default of heirs of her body, the crown ſhould deſcend to ſome lords of the country, depriving her by that means of the power of diſpoſing of it; and conſidering that great troubles might ariſe if what ſhe did were known, ſhe having no ſtrong places at her own diſpoſal, and not being able to oppoſe them; ſhe proteſts therefore, that whatever conſent or agreement ſhe ſhould make to the articles ſent over from the ſtates of her kingdom relating to the ſucceſſion, ſhe ſtill intended that the diſpoſition ſhe had made in favour of France ſhould have its full effect, notwithſtanding any ſuch agreement, which ſhe declares to be contrary to her will and intention. This inſtrument was ſigned by her

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and the Dauphin. But it was thought ſo neceſſary to conceal it, that Francis the Second ſent a formal obligation under his great ſeal, by which he bound himſelf to the Duke of Chatelherault to maintain his right of ſucceeding to the crown of Scotland in default of heirs of the Queen's body. The inſtrument is ſtill preſerved.

The Reformation grew to be every where deſired, and the Popiſh Clergy were become univerſally odious. The Queen mother for ſome time courted the party that was for a reformation, and connived at every thing they did, till ſhe thought all was ſure; and then ſhe threw off the maſk, and declared herſelf openly their enemy. Upon this there was a great and ſudden turn. The churches were purged from idolatry and ſuperſtition: the monaſteries were broke open, and many acts of hot and irregular zeal were complained of every where. Only one thing is much to the honour of Knox and his followers, that, in that tumultuary reformation, amidſt all that popular heat, no blood was ſhed during the whole time of it; which being told by Leſley, Biſhop of Roſs, admits of no doubt concerning the truth of it.

The lords of Scotland, that were confederate againſt the government of the Queen Dowager, ſent a memorial to the Queen of England, together with a petition to her, ſigned by the Papiſts as well as Proteſtants.

They ſet forth, that the arms they were forced to fly to was no rebellion; that when it was agreed that the Queen ſhould be carried to France, a treaty was made by the Parliament, and ratified by the King and Dauphin of France, that Scotland ſhould be governed by their own laws, and their own people; that they ſhould have all offices; that no French garriſons ſhould ſettle in the kingdom. Afterwards, when the Parliament was brought to conſent to the marriage between the Queen and the Dauphin, it was declared and ratified in the ſame manner that the ſucceſſion belonged to the Duke of Chatelherault after the heirs of the Queen's body, and that Scotland ſhould be governed by a council of natives; and the caſtles were to be put in ſure hands. Upon which, ambaſſadors were ſent to France, and the marriage was concluded. They were dealt with to endeavour that the crown of Scotland ſhould be given to the Dauphin; which they refuſing, the demand was changed, and only the matrimonial crown deſired, which was explained that he was to be King for life. When theſe ambaſſadors were returning, about half of their number died in one night ſuddenly at Dieppe,

Dieppe, the reſt that came home believing that they had been poiſoned. This point was gained in Parliament by the Queen Dowager's management; and the matrimonial crown was given to the Dauphin, but with this condition, that the Duke's right ſhould not be impaired by it. When this was done, the Queen Dowager forgot all her promiſes. She firſt took the great ſeal from the Earl of Huntly, the Duke's particular friend, and gave it to a French advocate; and put the Earl in priſon, and ſet a great fine upon him, and left him only the name of Chancellor: ſhe made another Frenchman Comptroller, and gave him the charge of the revenue of the crown: ſhe put all Scotchmen out of the ſecrets of the council, committing them only to Frenchmen: ſhe kept French garriſons in ſeveral places, who lived on diſcretion: ſhe ſent the revenue to France, and brought thence decried money, and made it current in Scotland: ſhe likewiſe coined baſe money, and paid the ſoldiers with it. All abbeys that fell void ſhe either kept ſo, or gave them to Frenchmen: ſhe never followed the advice of thoſe lords, who, upon her entering on the government, were named for her council. The nobility had made many repreſentations to her againſt all this, ſometimes publicly in companies, and ſometimes more privately. She had practiſed with Lord James and others, who were no friends to the Duke, to join with her againſt the Duke, and for the French, promiſing them on that condition to bear with their religion. By this they were encouraged to do things, by which they incurred the cenſures of the Church; and by a law little known were brought into danger of the guilt of treaſon. Upon that, proceſs was ordered to be made againſt them: the Queen tempted them to engage in the French intereſt; but that not prevailing, they were declared traitors. 1559.

The nobility being alarmed at this, the Queen Dowager with her French ſoldiers ſeized their eſtates, and entered St. John's town in a warlike manner, and left a garriſon in it. But this alarming the whole nation, and ſhe finding that ſhe had not force enough to conquer the nation, prevailed on the Duke, and the Earl of Huntly, by great promiſes, to quiet the country; which they did.

The nobility having ſeparated, on the Duke's giving them aſſurances that matters ſhould be kept quiet till the Parliament, and ſome companies coming over from France to Leith, the Queen Dowager ordered that town to be fortified. The nobility upon that charged the Duke

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1559. with breach of promiſe, who could do no more than preſs the Queen to forbear giving cauſe of jealouſy; but to no purpoſe. The town was fortified, ſhe had put all the ammunition into it, and the French continued to ſend over more forces. The Duke, with the nobility, repreſented to the Queen that ſhe plainly deſigned a conqueſt. She deſpiſed their requeſts, thinking herſelf now ſtrong enough to ſubdue Scotland. Upon this, the Duke, with the nobility, and the Barons and Burgeſſes of the realm, conſidering the imminent danger, and that no remedy was to be expected at her hands, that their Sovereign was married to a ſtrange Prince, and in the hands of the French, without any council of her own natural people, and that the Queen Dowager perſiſted in ruining the liberties of her daughter the Queen's ſubjects, on deſign to knit that kingdom for ever to France; they had, on all theſe grounds, been conſtrained to conſtitute a council, for the government of the kingdom, and for the uſe of their Sovereign, to whom they had ſignified the ſuſpenſion of the Dowager's authority; and though they had ſpent all their ſubſtance, in withſtanding the French power, for the ancient rights of the crown and of their Sovereign, yet they could not long preſerve themſelves againſt the power of France, a greater force being to be ſent over from thence next ſpring. Therefore they lay the whole matter before the Queen of England, and commit their cauſe to her protection, deſiring only that their country may be preſerved from France, with the rights of their Sovereign, and the whole nation.

To this they add a petition, that the French ſoldiers then within the kingdom might be removed ſpeedily; that they might live quietly, and be ſuffered to offer to the King and Queen ſuch articles as were neceſſary for the peace and good government of the kingdom, without alteration of their ancient liberties. This was ſigned by the greateſt of their nobility, Papiſts as well as Proteſtants; ſo that it appears that religion was not pretended to be the cauſe of the war.

When this repreſentation and petition was brought to the Queen, Cecil drew up a ſtate of the matter, putting this as the queſtion, *Whether it was meet that England ſhould help Scotland to expel the French, or not?* He ſays for the negative, that it was againſt God's law to aid ſubjects againſt their Prince; and that it was dangerous to do it; becauſe aid ſecretly given would do no good, and publicly, would draw on a war: that then the French

French would make any compoſition with the Scotch to join with them againſt England, and would conſent to any thing rather than England and Scotland ſhould be united; that the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Princes of Italy, would join the French; and that many in both kingdoms will diſapprove of it. 1559.

But, in oppoſition to this, he concludes for aſſiſting the Scotch: he lays it down for a principle, that it is agreeable to the law of God and nature, that every prince or ſtate ſhould defend itſelf, not only from perils that are ſeen, but from thoſe which may probably come; and to uſe the ſame manner of defence which the adverſary uſeth of offence. He ſays, the crown of England hath a ſuperiority over Scotland, as the Emperor has over Bohemia or Milan. He ſays next, that England would be in great danger from the French, if they become maſters of Scotland; that the French had been long enemies to England, and falſe in all their treaties with them for ſeven hundred years; that France had made peace becauſe of their poverty; but that, as ſoon as it recovered from that, which could not be long, it muſt have war; beſides the hatred that the houſe of Guiſe, who then governed the French councils, bore to England; that they had queſtioned the Queen's title, and ſet up their own againſt it, and had uſed means at Rome to get the Queen to be declared illegitimate; that the embroilment of Scotland was the only thing that reſtrained them from carrying their pretenſions farther; that they had already publicly joined the arms of England and Ireland with the Queen of Scots' arms; that the aſſaulting England by the way of Scotland was eaſy, puts France in no danger if it miſcarry, but England in the greateſt if it ſucceed; that therefore no time was to be loſt, ſince the prejudice, if they delayed too long, would be irrecoverable.

The Queen ſent forces, under the Duke of Northumberland, to the borders of Scotland; and what followed upon that is ſet forth in the hiſtory.

The lords and others in Scotland entered into an aſſociation; in which they promiſed to ſet forward the reformation of religion, according to God's Word, to the utmoſt of their power; that, conſidering the miſbehaviour of the French, and the intolerable oppreſſion by their ſoldiers, maintained by the Queen Dowager, under colour of authority, and the manifeſt danger of becoming their conqueſt by the fortifications they had on the coaſt, and other attempts, they promiſe to join the Queen of England's

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land's army, then come to their aſſiſtance, for driving out thoſe oppreſſors, and recovering their ancient liberty, that they may be ruled by the laws of their country, and the natives of the kingdom, under the King and Queen their Sovereign; that they will hold no intelligence with their enemies, but by the advice of the reſt, or at leaſt five of their number; that they will proſecute this cauſe as their own particular cauſe, and hold all that withſtand it as enemies, and proſecute them as ſuch, according to the orders of the Council, to whom they refer the direction of the whole matter, promiſing in all things to ſubmit to them.

This was ſubſcribed firſt at Edinburgh in 1560, by the chief of the nobility, and by one hundred and forty others. But to return to England.

The progreſs of ſuperſtition in Queen Mary's time.

Jewel being returned from his circuit, writes to Peter Martyr, on the ſecond of November, that the people were better diſpoſed to the Goſpel than could be expected, conſidering the progreſs that ſuperſtition had made in Queen Mary's time; that none were more violent and obſtinate than thoſe who had been before of their body: they had turned them all out; and he complains of the want of hands. He rejoiced to hear that Peter Martyr was ſent for. He ſays, he feared that things would not end ſo well as they had begun: for, he adds, *We are iſlanders in all reſpects.* He ſays, the Queen was courted by the King of Sweden, and Charles of Auſtria; but perhaps the Queen meant to marry one nearer at hand, (Pickering probably he means:) he concludes, though religion had made a quick progreſs in Scotland, yet the French did not deſpair of ſubduing that kingdom, and reſtoring their religion in it.

He wrote at the ſame time to Simler, who had complimented him on his being made a Biſhop, that he was only nominated; that they hoped their Biſhops ſhould be paſtors and labourers; that to that end their great riches were to be diminiſhed, that being delivered from noiſe and pomp, they might be at leiſure to take care of Chriſt's flock.

Jewel's opinion of the diſputes concerning the veſtments.

On November the fifth, he writes, that he found debates raiſed concerning the veſtments, which he calls the habit of the ſtage, and wiſhes to be freed from them. He ſays, they were not wanting to ſo good a cauſe; but others ſeemed to love thoſe things, hoping to ſtrike the eyes of the people with thoſe ridiculous trifles. He calls them the relics of the Amorites. He wiſhes all theſe things

things may be taken away from the very roots. He complains of a feebleneſs in their councils: they talked of bringing Martyr over; but they looked, he feared, too much to Saxony to expect that. Some, he ſays, were ſo ſet on the habits, as if the Chriſtian religion conſiſted in garments. He ſays, they were not called to the conſultations about the ſcenical apparel: he could ſet no value on thoſe fopperies: ſome cried up a golden mediocrity; he feared it would prove a leaden one.

On the ſixteenth, he writes, that the doctrine was purely preached, but too much folly concerning ceremonies and maſks remained; the crucifix was ſtill in the Queen's chapel. He diſliked the worldly policy that appeared in this. They all ſpoke freely againſt it, but as yet without effect. He complains of the uncertainty of affairs. He did not ſee in what they would ſettle; nor did he know but he might be obliged to return to Zurich again.

In December and January the conſecration of the Biſhops came on; but here the letters to Zurich are interrupted for ſome months.

The Emperor propoſes to the Queen a match with his ſon Charles.

In February, 1560, an ambaſſador came over from Ferdinand the Emperor, with letters, propoſing a match between his ſon Archduke Charles, and the Queen. He had writ before to her of it, but thought fit to follow thoſe letters with a formal embaſſy.

She writ an anſwer excuſing herſelf, but in very civil terms, upon her reſolution not to change her ſolitary life. But it was never ſent; for the original lies ſtill in the Paper Office.

A conference about the Queen's crucifix.

Jewel writes, on the fourth of February, 1560, after his conſecration, to Peter Martyr, that they were then engaged in the queſtion about the lawfulneſs of having images in churches. He complains of the folly of ſome upon that head, who were otherwiſe thought perſons of good judgment. He ſays, Cox was the only one of thoſe he knew that was drawn to be of that mind. Parker and Cox on one ſide, and Grindal and he on the other, were to debate the matter in the hearing of ſome of the Council. He heard, they reſolved to ſet up crucifixes again in the churches where they had pulled them down; if they did, he would be no longer a Biſhop. In another letter, he tells him, that now a mighty change appeared in the people; and was promoted chiefly by their meeting in great numbers to ſing pſalms; 6000 ſometimes at Paul's Croſs ſinging together. This, he ſays, was grievous

BOOK IV. grievous to the Papiſts. Their prieſts were laughed at as they paſſed in the ſtreet; and their Biſhops were called hangmen to their faces. He mightily commends Cecil.

1560. On the firſt of April, Sands, Biſhop of Worceſter, wrote, that, on his return from his miſſion into the North, the Queen preſſed him to accept of the biſhopric of Worceſter, and would have been highly offended if he had abſolutely refuſed. He found it rather a burden than an honour; the doctrine of the Sacrament was pure: but there was a queſtion about images. The Queen thought it not contrary to the Word of God, and it ſeemed convenient to keep the crucifix in her chapel. They ſaw that ſuperſtitious people worſhipped this idol. He had ſpoken freely to the Queen about it, and ſhe had threatened to deprive him; but ſhe was ſince more ſoftened, and the images were removed. The Popiſh veſtments were yet uſed, but he hopes that would not be long. He ſays, it was the pretence of unity that gave occaſion to the greateſt diviſions. Parkhurſt came into England at the end of 1559, and went to his church in Glouceſterſhire. They could not perſuade him to be a Biſhop. He ſaid, he could not reſolve on being miſerable. Sampſon, who had been at Zurich with the reſt, and was eſteemed a learned and pious man, hearing, on his journey to England, that a biſhopric was to be offered him, writes to Peter Martyr for his advice, whether it was lawful to ſwear to the Queen as Supreme Head of the Church under Chriſt. He thought Chriſt was ſole Head of the Church, and no mention was made in Scripture of any Heads under him. He complains of the want of diſcipline, and of the preſſures that lay upon Biſhops; that they were forced to live at ſuch an expence, that they had nothing left for the doing any good works. He diſliked the way of electing Biſhops, without the conſent of the Clergy or people, as being different from the primitive inſtitution. Their ſuperſtitious dreſs he thought unbecoming. He prayed God it might never happen that a biſhopric ſhould be offered him. He reſolved to apply himſelf to preaching, and would avoid having any ſhare in the government, till he ſaw a full reformation made in every thing. He deſires Peter Martyr's anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. What Peter Martyr's anſwer was, is to be gathered only from Sampſon's reply. Sampſon writes the ſixth of January, that they had ſad apprehenſions. He wiſhes to be only a preacher, and not a biſhop; but there was yet a general prohibition of all preaching. He complains of the crucifix

cifix that was left in the Queen's chapel, and of the celebrating the Sacrament in the Popiſh faſhion: he adds, that injunctions were ſent to preachers, not to uſe freedom in the reproving of vice. He aſks their opinion, whether this was a thing indifferent; and whether, if injunctions were ſent to the Clergy of this ſort, they ought to obey them, or, whether they ſhould not rather ſuffer deprivation? He deſires Bernardin Ochino to write to the Queen, for ſhe had a great regard to him. He ſays, ſhe was truly a child of God: but Princes have not ſo many friends to their ſouls, as to their other concerns. He ſays, ſhe underſtood Italian, Greek, and Latin well; ſo they might write in any language to her: only they muſt write as of their own motion, and not as if any complaints had been writ over to them. He writes again, on the thirteenth of May, that a biſhopric had been offered him, but he refuſed it; and deſires Peter Martyr not to cenſure him till he knew the whole ſtate of the matter. But he rejoices that Parkhurſt was made Biſhop of Norwich. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, May the twenty-ſecond, that he was not yet got to his ſee, but the Church had been thunder-ſtruck, and cracked, which he did not know but fooliſh people might make judgments upon with relation to him. He ſays, that Bower, Fecknam, Pole, Scory, and Watſon, were put in priſon for railing at the changes. He ſays, the Queen expreſſed great firmneſs and courage in matters of religion. In another, July the ſeventeenth, he tells him of the peace in Scotland, and that the French were ſent away. Scotland was to be governed by a council of twelve, greater matters being to be referred to the Parliament. In one to Gaulter, after he had been in his dioceſe, November the ſecond, he complains of the load that government was to him, who had led all his life in the ſhade, and at ſtudy. He reſolves to make up what was wanting in him by diligence. He complains of the oppoſition he met with from the rage of the Papiſts. On the ſixth, he writes, that May, Dean of St. Paul's, who was to have been Archbiſhop of York, was dead; they did not know why that ſee was ſo long kept void. Parker was troubled at it, and wrote earneſtly about it to Cecil, telling him of the great complaints in the North, that they were not taken care of; that their people were become rude for want of inſtruction; that if they did it for the advantage of the Queen's Exchequer, it might coſt them more afterwards to reduce them, if once they were ſuffered to grow

A peace made in Scotland.

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grow wild and ignorant, like the Iriſh. He propoſes Young, Biſhop of St. David's, for York; and Gueſt, Biſhop of Rocheſter, for Durham. If they feared Biſhops practiſing to the prejudice of their ſucceſſors, he ſays, there were precedents for having Biſhops bound to leave their churches in no worſe caſe than they found them. He ſays, that he had preſſed this matter formerly, and would never ceaſe till it was done. He refers to the ruinous leaſes which the Popiſh Biſhops had made, when they ſaw the change coming on, and having then by law an abſolute power over their eſtates. The new Biſhops had ſcarce ſubſiſtence from their ſees, and were to be ſupported by dignities given them *in commendam:* and it was perhaps ſuggeſted, that they might be prevailed on to prolong or to confirm ſuch leaſes, for a little preſent relief. The Archbiſhop's importunity had its effect; for Young was removed to York, and Pilkington, a learned and zealous man, was made Biſhop of Durham.

Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, in February, wiſhing that all the remnants of former errors might be taken away. He wiſhes they could have obtained it. He ſays, the Queen would take no notice of the Council of Trent that was then to be opened again. He tells of his apologies being then publiſhed. He writes of the Counteſs of Lenox, Lord Darnly's mother, that ſhe was a more violent Papiſt than Queen Mary herſelf; that her ſon was gone to Scotland, it was thought, to marry the Queen of Scots. The Earl of Hertford had a ſon by Catharine Gray: if he was legitimate, he was to ſucceed to the crown by King Henry's will. He complains that ſchools were forſaken, and of the want of preachers, though the few they had were well received.

The Popiſh Clergy, when they ſaw no appearance of a change, generally complied with the laws; but it was viſibly againſt their heart and conſcience. This made the Biſhops receive many into orders, who were men of good hearts, and loved the Goſpel, but were not very learned, which was much cenſured: but pains were taken to breed up a more knowing race after them.

The French grow weary of the war in Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland took a very good turn about this time. France was diſtracted at home; which, together with the charge of ſending forces to ſo great a diſtance, made the French willing to make the matter up the beſt they could by a treaty. Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides: in the mean while the Queen Regent died: upon which Cecil and Wotton, who were employed

employed by the Queen in that treaty, wrote to the Queen for positive orders. The Council returned them an answer, directing them to keep this no longer a secret, but to acquaint King Philip with it, that if the French left the kingdom, on the Regent's death, without coming to any agreement, they should consult with the Duke of Norfolk, and the lords of Scotland in league with them, how to expel the French the kingdom forthwith without loss of time; for they understood the French intended to gain time as much as possible. 1560.

The treaty was soon brought to a conclusion. The French were to be sent away in three weeks. An assembly of the States was to meet and settle the nation. There was to be a council of twelve, of which seven were to be named by the King and Queen, and five by the States; they were to govern all affairs, and to be accountable to the Parliament.

A proposal of marriage to the Queen of England.

When matters were settled in Scotland, the Scots sent the Earls of Morton and Glencairn to the Queen. Their instructions run, that the estates of Parliament, considering the advantages of a perpetual friendship between the two kingdoms, ordered a proposition of marriage to be made to the Queen of England with the Earl of Arran, who, after his father, and in default of heirs of the Queen's body, was next heir of the crown of Scotland. They likewise expressed their thanks to the Queen for her good will to them, and particularly for the support she had given them of late, by means of which they enjoyed their present quiet: and they resolved that an embassy should be appointed to make the proposition in the most honourable manner. This order was signed by six Bishops, and as many Abbots and Priors, by the Duke of Chatelherault, and by several others of the nobility, and by eight Provosts of boroughs.

To this the Queen answered, that she received very kindly their thanks, and assured them that in the like occasion her aid should not be wanting to them. She received their proposition of marriage as a mark of their good intention for knitting the kingdoms in amity. She commends much the Earl of Arran, but says that she was not disposed presently to marry, though the necessity of the kingdom might constrain to it afterwards; she says, the amity between the two kingdoms was so necessary to their preservation, that it might remain firm without any marriage. And she desired the Earl of Arran should not forbear to marry on her account. She recommends to them

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them good agreements among themſelves, and promiſes that nothing ſhall be wanting on her part for the defence of both realms againſt the common enemy.

1560. The death of Francis the Second.

Things went on purſuant to this treaty; to which it was thought the French would have no regard, when their affairs were in a better poſture. But the death of Francis the Second in December, 1560, put an end to theſe fears, and to the union between France and Scotland. Now that Queen Mary had only her own ſtrength to rely upon, Queen Elizabeth ſent to demand her ratification of the treaty of Leith; which ſhe uſed many ſhifts to excuſe her not doing. This was the firſt occaſion of that jealouſy between the two Queens, which ended fatally to the one.

Queen Mary firſt excuſed herſelf on the abſence of her Council, and particularly of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorrain; and on her not having heard from her Council in Scotland: ſhe promiſed, when ſhe had heard from them, and had adviſed with her Council, ſhe would give
1561. an anſwer that ſhould ſatisfy the Queen. When the Lord James, her natural brother, came over, the ambaſſador was ordered to preſs her again, and receive her anſwer from her own hand. She anſwered, that ſhe was leaving that place, and going to Rheims, where the King was to be crowned, and could give no anſwer till ſhe came thither: ſhe ſaid, that Lord James was only come to do his duty to her, as his Sovereign, without any charge or commiſſion. They could get no other anſwer from her. The Queen of Scots had ſaid to the ambaſſador, that ſhe intended to give Lord James a commiſſion to look to the affairs of Scotland during her abſence: but ſhe changed her mind, and ſaid, ſhe would give none till ſhe came to Scotland herſelf; nor would ſhe diſpoſe of any thing till then. The reaſon why ſhe would not employ the Lord James was, becauſe ſhe ſaw ſhe could not draw him from his devotion to the Queen of England, nor from his reſolution to obſerve the late treaty and league between the two kingdoms; nor from his religion, though the Cardinal of Lorrain uſed great endeavours to prevail upon him. Therefore the ambaſſador recommends him mightily to the Queen. He tells her, that Queen Mary had great expectations from the Popiſh party, and particularly from the Earl of Huntly. He tells the Queen of a diſturbance in Paris, on account of an aſſembly of Proteſtants, where ſome were killed, which he apprehended would have greater conſequences.

And

And accordingly ſoon after the civil war broke out in France. The Duke of Guiſe endeavoured to prevent the Princes of Germany, and the Queen, from aſſiſting the Prince of Condé, pretending that the war was not raiſed on account of religion, but was only a conſpiracy againſt the Court. Queen Mary likewiſe courted the Queen, vowing eternal friendſhip with her, and wrote that ſhe would paſs through England, and ſent the Queen fine preſents. But the Queen ſaw through all this, and would not be diverted from aſſiſting the Prince of Condé. Upon this the maſk was thrown away, and the jealouſies broke out into open war. The Cardinal charged upon her all the diſorders of France, as the principal author of them. By that time the Queen of Scotland was got by ſea into her kingdom: ſhe has maſs ſaid to her, though it was put down every where elſe in the kingdom. 1561.

But now to return to England, and to give an account of the famous Convocation. Here is another ſtop in the courſe of the letters to Zurich, which, no doubt, if we had them, would give us a complete view of the great tranſactions then on foot. All that we know of their proceedings is from a very imperfect abſtract. 1562. Proceedings in Convocation.

They met on the thirteenth of January. Parker told them, they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the Church. The Queen earneſtly deſired it, and ſo did many of the nobility. They choſe Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, their Prolocutor, on the Archbiſhop's recommendation. After ſeveral cloſe conſultations, the Biſhops agreed unanimouſly in ſettling the articles of religion, and ſubſcribed them. Then the Upper Houſe appointed four Biſhops to draw articles of diſcipline. The Prolocutor, with ſix of the Clergy, brought up the articles of religion that had been ſent down to them: many had ſubſcribed them; but the Prolocutor propoſed, that ſuch as had not done it might be required to ſubſcribe either in the Lower Houſe, or in the preſence of the Biſhops: upon this, the Upper Houſe ordered the names of thoſe who had not ſubſcribed to be laid before them, upon which many more ſubſcribed, and the Biſhops ſtill renewed their former order. On the thirteenth of February, there were very warm debates in the Lower Houſe, on ſix articles that were offered to the Houſe. Firſt, That all holidays, except Sundays, and the feaſts relating to Chriſt, ſhould be abrogated. Secondly, That in the Common Prayer, the Miniſter ſhould turn his face to the people, that he may be heard, and they edified. Thirdly, That the Great debates concerning ſome alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

BOOK IV. 1562. the ceremony of the croſs in baptiſm may be omitted, as tending to ſuperſtition. Fourthly, That many being unable to kneel during the time of Communion, by reaſon of age or infirmity, and other kneeling and knocking their breaſt ſuperſtitiouſly, the order for kneeling may be left to the diſcretion of the Ordinary within his juriſdiction. Fifthly, That it be ſufficient for the miniſter in time of ſaying divine ſervice, and miniſtering the ſacraments, to uſe a ſurplice; and that no miniſter ſay ſervice, or miniſter the ſacraments, but in a comely garment or habit. Sixthly, That the uſe of organs be removed. The fifth is taken ſtrictly as it is in the original; but the ſenſe is not viſible, except the word *once* be ſupplied; and ſo the intention was, that it ſhould be ſufficient to uſe the ſurplice once. Great diſputes aroſe concerning theſe propoſitions; ſome propoſed to refer the matter to the Biſhops; many proteſted they could in no manner conſent to any one of them, ſince they were contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, which was ratified by Act of Parliament; nor would they admit of any alteration of what was already ſettled by that book. When they came to divide, forty-three votes were for the propoſitions, and thirty-five againſt them, and that no change ſhould be made in the Book of Common Prayer then eſtabliſhed. But when the proxies were counted, fifty were for the propoſitions, and fifty-nine againſt them; ſo that they had the majority of eight of thoſe who were preſent and heard the debates, and only loſt it by one abſent perſon. The ground that thoſe who oppoſed the propoſition went upon was, that it was aſſuming an authority to alter what was ſettled by the legiſlature. But it is not to be imagined that, if the affirmative had been carried, more was intended than to addreſs the Parliament to alter the book in thoſe particulars. After this, nothing was done but paſſing the ſubſidy, and tranſacting ſome things relating to benefices and dilapidations; the Lower Houſe agreed to the book of diſcipline with ſome amendments, and to a Catechiſm. They were prorogued by a royal writ to the tenth of April.

With this Convocation the hiſtory of the Reformation is properly concluded; but the letters writ to Zurich by the moſt eminent of our Biſhops give ſo full and particular an account of the firſt unhappy breach that was made in our Church, with ſo many curious incidents, that it is worth while to ſet that matter out in a clear light.

There was a great difference of ſentiments among the Reformers

Reformers on this point, *Whether it was fit to retain an external face of things, near to what had been practiſed in the times of Popery, or not?* One ſide ſaid, that the doing that would bring the people more eaſily into the real change of doctrine, while they ſaw the outward appearances ſo little altered. On the other hand it was ſaid, that this outward reſemblance kept up the inclination of the people to the former practices, and preſerved in them the old root of Popery; and, if it made them for the preſent more eaſily conform to the change that was made, it would ſtill make them much more eaſily fall back again to Popery: therefore they thought it right to put things in as great an oppoſition to Popery as could well be.

1564. A controverſy about the uſe of things indifferent.

The Queen had, in her firſt injunctions, ordered the Clergy to wear ſeemly garments, and ſquare caps, and appointed copes to be uſed, which had been laid aſide ever ſince the ſixth year of King Edward. There was a clauſe in the Act of Uniformity, empowering her to make ſuch additional ordinances.

This matter being ſettled, there followed a great diverſity of practice; many conforming themſelves to the law in all points; while others refuſed to wear the ſurplice, or the ſquare caps, and hoods. This made two parties in the Church. Many forſook their churches on both ſides: ſome, becauſe thoſe habits were uſed, and ſome, becauſe they were not uſed. The Papiſts inſulted them on this diviſion, and ſaid, it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, till they returned to one abſolute obedience.

Great diverſity in practice.

Upon this, in January, 1564, the Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, reflecting, not without ſome acrimony, on theſe diverſities, as if they were the effect of remiſſneſs in him, or the other Biſhops; requiring him, with the other Biſhops commiſſioned by her for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, to reform and repreſs all ſuch diverſities, both in Clergy and people. Upon that, ſix of the Biſhops met, four of whom were on the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and agreed to ſome rules and orders meet to be obſerved, not as equivalent to the Word of God, or as having any efficacy or holineſs in them, but as temporary orders, merely eccleſiaſtic, and as rules for decency, diſtinction, and order for the time.

The Queen wrote to the Archbiſhop to bring all to an uniformity.

Orders ſet out by the Biſhops.

They began with matters of doctrine, that all preachers ſhould ſtudy to edify, and ſhould manage controverſy with ſobriety and diſcretion, and exhort the people to frequent the communion, to obey the laws and the Queen's injunctions. All former licences were declared

 void,

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void, and to be renewed to ſuch as the Biſhop thought meet for the office of preaching; ſuch as preached unſound doctrine were to be denounced to the Biſhop, but not contradicted in the church. They were required to preach once in three months; thoſe who were not licenſed were to read Homilies. In the Sacrament the principal miniſter was to wear a cope, at other prayers only the ſurplice. In cathedrals they were to wear hoods, and to preach with them. All were to receive the Sacrament kneeling. Then follow rules about tolling the bell when people die, about the altar, the font, and godfathers; that no ſhops be opened on Sundays; that Biſhops ſhould give notice when any were to be ordained, that all may except againſt ſuch as are unworthy; that none be ordained but within their dioceſe, unleſs they have degrees. Rules were given for licences, and for Archdeacons to appoint curates to get texts of the New Teſtament by heart, and to rehearſe them. Ordinaries were to guard againſt ſimoniacal practices, and none were to marry within the Levitical degrees. Then follow rules about wearing-apparel, gowns, and caps. They added a form of ſubſcription to be required of all who were to be admitted to any office, or cure, in the Church; that they would not preach without the Biſhop's licence; that they would read the Scriptures diſtinctly and audibly; that they would keep a regiſter-book, and uſe ſuch apparel, eſpecially at prayer-time, as was appointed, and endeavour to keep peace and quiet in their pariſhes; that they ſhould read ſome of the Bible daily; and in the concluſion, that they ſhould exerciſe their office to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Queen's ſubjects, and obſerve uniformity in all laws and orders already eſtabliſhed; and that they ſhould uſe no ſort of trade, if their living amounted to twenty nobles, or upwards.

This order was ſettled by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in March. Great oppoſition was made to this by many; Sampſon and Humphreys, one Dean of Chriſt-Church, and the other reſident of Magdalen, and Divinity Profeſſor, were the moſt eminent of thoſe who oppoſed it. They were in great reputation, eſpecially in Oxford, and were diſtinguiſhed for their learning, piety, and zeal in religion. Upon this, ſeveral letters paſſed between our Biſhops and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other Divines of Zurich.

Hornwrites to Zurich upon theſe diviſions.

Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter, firſt writ to Gualter, on the ſixteenth of July, and ſtated the matter clearly to him.

him. He says, the Papists took advantage from this question about vestments, to say that Protestants could never agree. The act, he says, was made before they were in office, and they had no hand in making it. The act declared, that it was not out of any superstitious conceit that the vestments were enacted. The Bishops obeyed the law in a point which they thought indifferent. They had reason to fear, that, if they had left their stations on that account, their enemies would have come in their room: yet some thought they ought to let themselves be put out, rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. He desires he would write his opinion as soon as possible. He says, they were in hopes to procure an alteration of the act in next Parliament; but he apprehended great difficulty in it, from the opposition of the Papists. It seems, he wrote in the same strain to Bullinger: for Bullinger writes an answer on the third of November. He says, he had heard of the division from others; but not knowing the whole state of the question, he was not forward to give his opinion, till he had received his letter. He laments the breach: he approves their zeal, who would purge the Church from all the dregs of Popery; and on the other side commends their prudence, who did not forsake the Church because of vestments. The end of ministry was edification; and if they left it, worse would come in their room, and ceremonies would be out of measure increased. As for those who made these laws, or were zealous for them, he confesses he is not pleased with them: if they are friends, they act unwisely; if enemies disguised, they lay snares: yet he thinks every thing of that sort should be submitted to, rather than forsake their ministry; especially when it was declared, that those vestments were to be used without any superstitious conceit. But he proposes to them to press the Queen and the nobility to go on and complete a reformation, which they had gloriously begun. Upon the whole he concludes, that as on one hand he would deal tenderly with weak consciences, so on the other he proposes St. Paul's rule of *becoming all things to all men:* He circumcised Timothy not to offend the Jews, though at the same time he condemned those who imposed the Jewish yoke as necessary.

1564. Bullinger justifies those who obeyed the laws.

When Sampson and Humphreys knew what Bullinger and Gualter had writ concerning the vestments, they wrote them a copious account of the grounds of their refusal. He answered them, that he could not approve of

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officiating at an altar where there was a crucifix, or with a cope that had a crucifix on its back; but he underſtood their diviſion was about wearing caps and ſurplices. He tells him how he and Gualter had anſwered Horn's letter; and ſent them copies of thoſe letters. He did not like ſuch controverſies, and did not willingly meddle in them. He thought laws might be made, preſcribing decent habits to the Clergy; that this was not reviving the Levitical law, for every thing was not to be called ſo, which was practiſed by the Jews. Things were not to be rejected merely becauſe they had ſome conformity to the Moſaical inſtitution; nor was conformity to Popery a reaſon for rejecting every thing which they practiſed: otherwiſe, we muſt not uſe their churches, nor pronounce the Creed, nor the Lord's Prayer, becauſe they uſe them. He ſays, it favoured more of a Jewiſh or monaſtic temper, to put religion in ſuch matters. If it is pretended, that the obeying laws in indifferent matters was giving up our Chriſtian liberty, that might very much provoke the magiſtrate. He gives ſome inſtances of the ancient Fathers uſing and mentioning the uſe of particular habits. He adviſes them, ſince theſe habits were not made matter of religion, not to ſet too great a value upon them, but to yield to the time, and behave themſelves modeſtly. He did not approve laying a load of ſuch things on people's necks, but ſome things may be appointed for order and diſcipline. Chriſt kept the feaſt of the Dedication, though appointed by no law of God. If it be ſaid, the things commanded are not neceſſary, and are of no uſe; yet are they not for that to be condemned, nor are ſchiſms to be raiſed on that account.

The letter printed in England.

A copy of this was ſent to Horn; and Grindal and he, apprehending the good effect it might have to ſettle the minds of thoſe who were much ſhaken by the oppoſition that was made to the orders that had been ſet out, printed it.

Sampſon and Humphreys' anſwer.

Upon this, Sampſon and Humphreys wrote over to Zurich, complaining of the printing of their letter; and complaining of ſeveral things beſides veſtments; of the muſic and organs; of ſponſors anſwering in the child's name in baptiſm; of kneeling preſcribed in the Communion, and of unleavened bread uſed there; of the want of diſcipline; that the marriage of the Clergy was not yet fixed, but their children were by ſome eſteemed baſtards; of ſome Popiſh rites ſtill kept up; of the ſelling every thing in the Archbiſhop's court, as they uſed to do

do in the Pope's; of requiring ſubſcriptions of miniſters with relation to the ceremonies; and of their having mutilated the article in King Edward's time, which was expreſsly againſt the real Preſence in the Euchariſt. They owned that their letter had not fully ſatisfied them. They could not think the habits a mere civil thing, when they were the habits that ſerved to dreſs up the theatrical pomp of Popery. They approve of ſetting rules concerning order; but theſe overturned the peace and quiet of the Church for things neither neceſſary, nor uſeful, that ſerve to recommend forms which all now abhor. The Papiſts boaſt that theſe habits were brought in by them, and that we imitate them. They ſay, in King Edward's time the ſurplice was not univerſally uſed, nor preſſed; and the copes, that were then taken away, were now reſtored: ſo that, inſtead of extirpating Popery, we are planting it again. The ſuperſtition which the Papiſts had for theſe habits would return again if they uſed them; and they ſay, they were then as much eſteemed as the monks' habits uſed to be. They did not put religion in habits, but only oppoſed thoſe that did. They thought it gave authority to ſervitude to depart from their liberty. They did not deſert their churches, but to their grief were driven from them. They leave their brethren to ſtand or fall to their own maſters, and they only deſire the ſame forbearance, though hitherto in vain. They ſay, the Queen was irritated againſt them by others. All that was pretended for the habits was, that they were lawful; not that they were good or expedient. Habits were marks of their profeſſion, and they ought not to take them from their enemies. The ancient Fathers had their habits, but not diſtinct from the laity, or peculiar to Biſhops. They had cited Bucer; but he was for taking away the order about habits, by reaſon of the abuſe of them. They were far from any deſign of making a ſchiſm: they would not condemn things indifferent, as unlawful; and they wiſhed the occaſion of the contention, with the remembrance of it, were for ever buried. They who condemned the Papal pride could not like tyranny in a free Church. They deſired a free ſynod to ſettle the matter, where things ſhould not be carried according to the mind of one or two perſons. They wiſhed this Church would agree in rites, as well as doctrine, with the other reformed churches. They had a good opinion of their Biſhops, and bore with their ſtate and pomp. They had borne the ſame croſs, and preached the ſame Chriſt with them: and why are

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they turned out of their benefices, and impriſoned, and publicly defamed, only for habits? The Biſhops, they ſay, now ſtand upon it, as if the cauſe was their own; but to ſhew them that the diſpute was not about a cap, they ſend them an abſtract of ſome other things, which were the very rags of Popery.

Bullinger and Gualter anſwered this letter, telling them they did not expect their letters ſhould fully ſatisfy them: they only writ their opinion, becauſe they deſired it; they were ſorry they could not acquieſce in it; they would meddle no further. They thought it more expedient to ſubmit to the uſe of the habits, than by refuſing to be forced to leave their churches: they went no further, and did not approve of any Popiſh defilements, or ſuperſtitions. They knew nothing of thoſe matters of which they complain: they were things of greater moment than veſtments; and they hoped the letter they writ about the habits would not be ſtretched to thoſe matters. They adviſe them not only to hold faſt the truth, but to act as prudent ſtewards, and not to prejudice it by an over-eager or moroſe temper.

Bullinger and Gualter's anſwer to them.

Bullinger and Gualter, ſeeing the diviſions like to go further than the matter of the veſtments, thought the beſt ſervice they could do their friends was, to write to the Earl of Bedford, being well aſſured of his zeal in matters of religion. They tell him, that when they firſt heard of the contention about veſtments, they freely gave their opinions, that the Clergy ought not to deſert their ſtations for things of ſo little importance, and leave them to be filled, perhaps, by wolves and deceivers. But they heard now, that not only the veſtments are complained of, but many other things that plainly ſavour of Popery. They are ſorry their private letter was printed, and their judgment of the veſtments was extended to other things, of which they did in no ſort approve; and their opinion was made uſe of to caſt a load on perſons, whom they ſhould rather compaſſionate in their ſufferings, than ſtudy to aggravate them. It was a ſenſible grief to them to ſee the Church of England, ſcarce got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their own inteſtine broils. So, having a confidence in his affection to the Goſpel, they pray him to intercede with the Queen and the nobility, in the Parliament that was ſoon to meet, for their brethren who were ſuffering, who deſerved great regard for the ſincere zeal they had ſhewn for religion, and ſince the only thing that they were ſoli-

They wrote to the Earl of Bedford.

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citous about was, that religion ſhould be purged from the dregs of Popery. They beg him to employ his intereſt, that the Church of England, ſo happily reformed to the admiration of the world, may not be defiled with any of the remnants of Popery. This he ſays would look like a giddineſs in them, and grievouſly offend all their brethren, both in France and Scotland, who are yet under the croſs. The Papiſts, he ſays, will juſtify their tyrannical impoſitions by what is now done among them.

They write in the ſame ſtrain to Grindal and Horn; who, underſtanding that thoſe of Zurich were not pleaſed with their printing their letters, and having received from them ſeveral heads of things in the conſtitution of the Church, to which they excepted, wrote an anſwer jointly to them on the ſixth of February. They ſay, when they printed their letter, they ſuppreſſed the names of thoſe to whom it was directed. It had the good effect they expected: it had ſatisfied the minds of many, who were upon the point of leaving their churches, and others were ſilent and leſs violent in their oppoſition than they had been. Some few were turned out, but not of the learned ſort, except Sampſon, whom they own to be both pious and learned. Humphreys and other learned men were ſtill continued in their ſtations. The letter they had printed related to veſtments, and could not be applied to any thing elſe; nor was there any other queſtion then on foot; and it was calumny to ſay their opinion was aſked about any other matter. The Queen, and ſome of the nobility, were much provoked at the noiſe and complaints ſome had made. The Papiſts triumphed, and hoped to come in again. They atteſt the great God, that this diſſenſion was not raiſed by any fault of theirs, and that it did not lie at their door, that theſe veſtments were not quite taken away: they had laboured with the utmoſt earneſtneſs and diligence to obtain what their brethren deſired, and themſelves wiſhed for; but ſince they could not do what they would, they muſt be content with doing what they could. As to other particulars complained of, they deny ſome of them; and plainly own, they do not approve of others, ſuch as the uſe of figured muſic, and organs, and women's baptizing; of the form of ſponſors in baptiſm, which they openly declared they did not think convenient; the uſe of the croſs, though the words ſpoken when it is made ſhew that no ſuperſtitious conceit is kept up by it. They ſay, they ſuffer the poſture of kneeling in the Sacrament, with the due caution ſet

Grindal and Horn's letter, ſhewing their uneaſineſs in many things.

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down in King Edward's book, declaring the reaſon for which it is uſed. For their courts, though they cannot entirely correct the abuſes of them, yet they openly inveigh againſt them, and will continue to do ſo, till they ſend them back to hell, from whence they came. Every man, they ſay, has full freedom to declare his mind as to all theſe abuſes. They had laboured to purge them out in the laſt Parliament; which, though it had not then its deſired effect, yet they would not ceaſe to do, till they brought it to a happy concluſion.

The other ſtill inſiſted; and Sampſon, in a letter to Bullinger, reduces the queſtions concerning habits to ſeveral heads, and deſires a full and particular anſwer to them: but the Divines of Zurich wrote, that they would meddle no more in thoſe matters.

Jewel's ſenſe of thoſe matters.

In February, Jewel wrote to Bullinger, that he was ſo attacked by different hands, that it took him up wholly to anſwer them. He tells him of the great heat that was in the Parliament concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. The Queen would ſuffer no declaration to be made, though it was vehemently preſſed on both ſides: ſhe was jealous that ſuch a declaration would turn the eyes of the nation too much towards the riſing ſun.

He ſays, the controverſy about the veſtments had raiſed great heats; the Queen would hear of no change in that matter. Some of their brethren were ſo eager in that matter, as if the whole buſineſs of religion was concerned in it: they leave their ſtations rather than yield a little; nor were at all moved by their moſt learned letters, nor by the advices of their friends. He ſays, they had had no other important debates. Cheyney, Biſhop of Glouceſter, profeſſed himſelf openly a Lutheran in Parliament; but he was not like to have many followers.

In another letter ſoon after, he tells him, that Cardinal Grandvill intended to cut off the intercourſe between England and the Netherlands, hoping to provoke the Engliſh to break out into tumults: but the deſign turned upon himſelf; for the Engliſh reſolving to ſettle their trade at Embden, the people of Flanders could not bear it. The Pope had ſent an agent to Ireland to raiſe a flame there; but he was taken and ſent over priſoner to England. In Scotland the Queen alone had the maſs, all the nation being averſe to it.

Reflections on this matter.

By Grindal's and Horn's letters it appears their zeal was only to preſerve the Church in the Queen's favour, and in obedience to the laws. Yet in ſome letters writ to Zurich,

Zurich, by some of those that adhered to Sampson, there are complaints, that Parker, and Grindal, and Horn, were too much sharpened in this matter; and they pray them to endeavour to soften them: but they own that Pilkington of Durham, Sands of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, had shewn great moderation, and deserved thanks for it. They desire them to write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those dregs of Popery removed, or at least to tolerate those who did not approve of them. 1566.

Other letters written to Zurich by some Bishops.

Pilkington, in a letter to Gualter, complains that the disputes begun about the vestments were carried through the whole constitution: the Papists blew the coals, and many were offended. The blame was cast on the Bishops. They suffer, he says, many things against their hearts, groaning under them; but they could not alter any thing without the Queen, nor could they change the laws: they had only this choice, whether they would bear these things, or break the peace of the Church.

Parkhurst owns that there are some things that do not please him, though many good people are pleased with all that is done; but, he says, there are very few things that he dare find fault with. Sands was of the same mind, and in a letter to Bullinger laments the occasion of this dispute, and hopes God will put an end to it. Sampson and Humphreys wrote a long and particular answer to the letter that Grindal and Horn had sent to Bullinger. They complain, that the Archbishop had contributed to buy an organ for Canterbury, which did not look as if he disliked it; that many were put in prison for not providing godfathers and godmothers for baptizing their children; that many good things agreed to in the Convocation of 1562 were suppressed, for nothing was of force but as the Queen and the Archbishop consented; that the Bishops now took these matters upon themselves; that a church, which had been formed in London during the persecution in Queen Mary's days, with their ministers and deacons, and had continued all that time, though many of them were burnt, was now extinguished. But the Divines of Zurich wrote, that they would meddle no more in those matters. The last letter wrote upon this subject was, in August 1567, to the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich; expressing their grief that some learned men were deprived; that those who had given good proof of themselves in the Marian persecution were now not only turned out, but imprisoned.

BOOK IV.

1566.

ſoned. They hear that in Ireland many who have the ſame ſcruples are kept out of trouble, by the Queen's order, upon the interceſſion of the Biſhops; which makes them think that the like favours might be obtained in England, if the Biſhops would intercede with her Majeſty for it; which might be the rather expected, ſince the Biſhops own that it were better for the Church that theſe ceremonies were all laid aſide, and affirm that they had often moved in Parliament that they might be taken away, that ſo the Church might be more pure, and leſs burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but they will, out of their piety, endeavour to procure favour to their brethren.

Theſe letters give a clear and true account of the beginnings of theſe diſputes, of which we have ſeen and ſtill feel the unhappy conſequences; and ſhew us plainly what was the ſenſe of the moſt eminent and moſt learned of our Reformers in theſe matters.

The Queen of Scots marries the Lord Darnley.

In Scotland things were running into great diſorder. The Queen, as ſhe liked the perſon and eaſy temper of the Lord Darnley, ſo ſhe was adviſed by her Council to the marriage. He was next heir to the crown of England after the Queen of Scots: for the Queen Dowager of Scotland, Henry the Eighth's ſiſter, after King James the Fourth was killed, married the Earl of Angus: and though that marriage was afterwards declared to be null, by reaſon of a precontract, yet the daughter of it was declared legitimate, being born *bona fide* on the mother's part. The Lord Darnley being thus deſcended, and born in England, might have been a dangerous competitor to that crown; ſo it was good advice to the Queen to ſecure her ſucceſſion by marrying him. When ſhe married him, ſhe declared him King, and put his name on the coin after her own. The qualities of his mind did not anſwer the gracefulneſs of his perſon. For ſome time he was in all things compliant to the Queen, but that laſted not long. She gained mightily upon people by her affable and obliging air, and by her ſeeming indifference in religion, which made them think ſhe continued a Papiſt more out of honour and intereſt, than from her own perſuaſion.

She ſhews more zeal in her religion.

But they had other thoughts of her, when ſhe began to expreſs more zeal in thoſe matters. Her kindred by her mother puſhed her on, and ſhe was animated, both from the Court of France, and Rome, to reſtore the Popiſh religion. On theſe hopes ſhe opened her gates to all

all that would come to her mass, and had many masses said every day in her chapel. The Scotch nation did not easily bear with the private mass, which she had before only for herself, and a few servants who were of her religion; much less could they bear with this. So in the Parliament of 1563, a petition was offered by the noblemen, the superintendants, and ministers of the reformed religion, setting forth, That whereas the last convention of the Kirk had sent to the Queen certain articles, to which they desired answer, to some of which the Queen had answered, and referred the rest to the present Parliament; so a full answer was now prayed. And whereas it was enacted, in the Parliament of 1560, that the mass and all Papistry should be put out of the realm, and Christ's religion be universally received; and whereas the Queen had by divers proclamations approved Christ's religion, and had promised that she would in this present Parliament establish it, and abolish all laws and constitutions contrary to the same; they desired, that the premises might be considered; and they laid before them the articles laid before the Queen, together with her answer, and the reply made to it by the Kirk.

The demands of the reformed.

In the articles they demand, First, That the mass, with all idolatry, and the Pope's power, be abolished, and the true religion ratified through the whole kingdom, as well in the Queen's person, as in the subjects, and that the people be required to resort to prayers and preaching on Sundays, as they were to the idolatrous mass before. Secondly, That the ministers may have maintenance assigned them, where they labour, or in parts adjacent, and not be put to crave them of others; and that benefices then vacant, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned persons, upon their trial and admission by the superintendants; and that no bishopric, abbey, or other benefice, having many churches annexed to it, be given to one man; but that they be severally disposed of, that every man may serve at his own church, and have a glebe and manse assigned him; and that the churches be kept in due repair. Thirdly, That none may have charge of souls, or publicly instruct youth, but such as are tried and admitted by the superintendants and visitors of the churches. Fourthly, That lands given for hospitals be restored for the use of the poor, and that all rents and profits belonging to any order of friars be applied to the same use. Fifthly, That horrid crimes, as blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, incest, and murder, with other crimes which

BOOK IV.

which they reckon up, be ſeverely puniſhed; and that order be taken about tithes, for the eaſe of the labourers of the ground.

1566. The Queen's anſwer.

To this the Queen anſwered, that ſhe did not think there was any impiety in the maſs; and hoped her ſubjects would not preſs her to receive any religion againſt her conſcience, ſince ſhe had not preſſed, nor meant to preſs the conſcience of any man, but left them to worſhip God according to their perſuaſion; and beſides, by changing ſhe might loſe the friendſhip of her old ally the King of France, and of other Princes, from whom ſhe might find great ſupport. But when the Parliament meets, ſhe would conſent to every thing that the three eſtates ſhould agree upon; and ſhe renewed the aſſurance ſhe had given, that men's lives and eſtates ſhould be in no hazard for any cauſe of religion. As to the ſecond article, the Queen thought it not reaſonable to deprive herſelf of ſo great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as by putting the patronage of benefices out of her hands; yet ſhe was contented to aſſign a reaſonable maintenance for the miniſters. She referred the other articles to the Parliament.

The reply of the Kirk.

To this anſwer the Kirk replied, that the firmneſs ſhe expreſſed to the maſs gave great grief to her good ſubjects. They ſay, their religion was no other than that which Chriſt revealed, and the Apoſtles taught: they require her in the name of God to embrace the means whereby ſhe may be perſuaded of the truth; which they offered to her by preaching, or by public diſputation, whenever ſhe thought fit. As to the prejudice that would follow her changing her religion, by its diſſolving her alliances with France, and other foreign Princes; they anſwer, that true religion is the certain means to keep up a confederacy with him who is King of kings, which ought more to be valued than all other confederacies. As to the ſecond article; they did not intend to defraud her of the patronages, but only that the perſons preſented by her ſhould be tried by the ſuperintendants appointed for that end; for as the preſentation belonged to her, ſo the collation belonged to the Church; the contrary would introduce ignorance and diſorder into the Church. They tell her, it is againſt all good conſcience to retain a good part of the benefices in her own hands. They were deſirous to have her neceſſities relieved; but the tithes are the patrimony of the Church, out of which thoſe who ſerve in the miniſtry ought to be relieved, the churches

churches repaired, and the youth instructed. They conclude with thanking her for her willingness that the ministry be provided for; and pray that she would come to particulars in that matter. BOOK IV. 1566.

But these petitions were still put off; and the Queen, by her practice among the nobility, began to divide them into factions. When these petitions were read to her, she said, *she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion she professed*, and in wrath told them, *she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and the Catholic religion professed through the whole kingdom.*

The Queen managed the Parliament so dexterously, that neither the treaty of Leith, nor the settlement of religion made in the Parliament, 1560, were named, much less confirmed in this Parliament. Some small provision was made for the ministers; and acts were made, punishing sorcery and adultery with death. An act of oblivion passed for all that was done from March 1558, to September 1561. But the Parliament of 1560 came to be looked upon as an illegal assembly. Upon this the whole body of the reformed were much alarmed, and their jealousy increased by the Queen's marrying the Lord Darnley, who had been bred a strict Papist, and though he pretended now to be a Protestant, yet suspected of favouring Popery, as he afterwards returned to the open profession of it. This gave occasion to a much bolder petition, in which the body of the reformed set forth, that the true religion was established in that nation, and the mass, with all the idolatry and tyrannical usurpations of the Pope, suppressed, and they were going on to a perfect reformation: but that all had been stopped now for four years; that on the Queen's arrival the mass was set up again, and men put into offices, to which they had no right: from such beginnings, they saw what they were to look for: things grew daily worse and worse: but they hoped God would mollify her heart, out of their desire to maintain the public peace: they therefore prayed her to think of redressing these matters, and to answer their other petitions; assuring her of all due obedience to her laws and authority, but desiring her to give no occasion to think that she intended the subversion of the true religion, and the destruction of those who professed it; for, they assure her, they will never be subject to the Roman Antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it lay in their power to hinder it) any branches of his usurped authority to

BOOK IV. to have place within the realm. This prevailed no more than their other petitions had done.

1566. Some few particulars relating to the affairs of Scotland are set forth in the letters to Zurich. Parkhurst writes to Bullinger in the year 1566, that an Italian, called Signior David, who was in great favour with the Queen, was dragged out of her room, and stabbed by many hands; an Abbot, and one Black, a Dominican, much esteemed among the Papists, were also killed in the court. The lords who were then sitting in council escaped with their lives. Since that time, the Queen had brought forth a prince: she was reconciled to her husband, and called home her half-brother, and the lords that were of the reformed side. The Queen's son was not yet baptized, though he was ten weeks old, for she intended to do it with great pomp, in the great church of Edinburgh, after the Popish manner, though the inhabitants were resolved to hinder it. He apprehended she would bring over a force from France: he prays God either to convert or to confound her.

About the same time, Grindal likewise wrote to Bullinger, and after speaking a little of the affairs of England, and expressing his hopes of coming to a better temper in their disputes, he turns to the affairs of Scotland, where he writes that things were in no good state. They retained the profession of the truth, but the Queen endeavoured to extirpate it. She had now six or seven masses every day said in her chapel, and admitted all that would come; whereas at first she was contented with one private mass, to which no Scotchman was admitted. She had for three years stopped all payment of the ministers. There were no public changes yet made: the nobility and people continued firm; of whom he reckons the Earl of Murray the chief. The Queen was in very ill terms with her husband; for there was one David, an Italian, recommended to her by the Cardinal of Lorrain, who governed all the councils there, and was Secretary of State. The King finding he had no regard to him, and being young and rash, entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility, and having dragged the Italian out of the Queen's presence, notwithstanding her entreaties to save him, murdered him without any cause declared. This stuck so deep in the Queen's heart, that, though she had a son by him, she could never forgive him.

Grindal wrote another letter to Bullinger in June 1567, in

in which he tells him, that Scotland is fallen into new troubles; for their late King Henry was found dead in a garden near his lodgings. It was not agreed how he died; ſome ſaid that a few barrels of gunpowder were laid under the chamber where he lay, and thoſe being kindled, the houſe was blown up, and he thrown into that garden. Others ſaid, that he was dragged out of his chamber and ſtrangled, and then the houſe was blown up. The Earl of Bothwell was generally thought author of this murder. He had divorced his wife, and the Queen had married him, and made him Duke of Orkney. Almoſt all the nobility had left the Court before the marriage, finding no enquiry made into the King's murder. They met at Stirling, and laid the murder to Bothwell. Upon which an army was brought together to ſeize him, but he had made his eſcape: ſome ſaid the Queen was beſieged in a caſtle; others, that ſhe was made priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh, as having been conſcious of the murder of her huſband. BOOK IV. 1567.

To confirm this, there is another relation that may be more certainly depended upon. It is in the Life of Cardinal Laurea, writ by his ſecretary, the Abbot of Pignerol. Pope Pius the Fifth ſent Laurea to be his Nuncio in Scotland, to aſſiſt and encourage the Queen in her zeal. He ſent with him twenty thouſand crowns, as an earneſt of further ſupplies, and wrote to her with his own hand, recommending the Nuncio to her. When he came to Paris, he received letters from the Scotch Queen, expreſſing her deſire that he ſhould come as ſoon as may be, but deſiring him to delay his coming till ſhe might have all things prepared for his reception. Upon which he ſent her over four thouſand crowns, and wrote to her, preſſing her vehemently to be of a courageous mind, and to reſtore the Catholic religion in her kingdom. Three months paſſed before Laurea had any intimation from the Queen concerning his coming over. Upon which he preſſed her earneſtly by meſſages and letters to admit him.

The Queen held a convention of the eſtates, and had obtained, not without difficulty, that her child ſhould be baptized according to the rites of the Church of Rome; and that the Pope's Nuncio ſhould be admitted with due reſpect: upon which the Nuncio deſigned to go to Antwerp, as a ſafer way than by Calais. But he ſays, that ſuch a barbarous and impious crime was committed in Scotland, that it gave horror to think of it, much more to write of it. He tells the ſtory thus: The King had the ſmall-

BOOK IV. 1567.

ſmall-pox, and, not to endanger the Queen, had retired to a houſe at ſome diſtance from the palace. As he recovered, he was often viſited by her. One day they ſupped together, and ſhe left him, pretending ſhe was obliged to ſee one of her maids of honour (who was married that day) put to bed, according to the cuſtom of former queens. She was ſcarce gone, when ſome gunpowder, that was laid under the houſe, was fired, and the houſe was blown up, and the King killed. Some ſay he was not blown up, but that, hearing the noiſe of armed men, he got out by a back door into a neighbouring garden; and that he and one of his ſervants were ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. It is certain the King's body was found with no hurt, only a blackneſs all round his neck. All people were ſtruck with horror on this baſe murder; and libels were publiſhed upon it. Bothwell was diſcovered to be the cruel author of it. He, though a heretic, had been always zealous for the Queen, and faithful to her, and had reſcued her lately from a great danger in a ſedition. The Queen loved him deſperately, and he had divorced his wife, in hopes of marrying her. The Queen, fearing ſome tumult, thought fit to leave Edinburgh. So ſhe carried her ſon with her to Stirling; probably having agreed with Bothwell how matters ſhould be managed. One day, as ſhe went a hunting, Bothwell ſeemed to ſurpriſe her, and ſeize her by force: when ſhe came back with him to the caſtle, ſhe preſently made him Duke of Orkney, and declared him her huſband. Upon this, the minds of the people were mightily inflamed; and a tumultuary army being in haſte brought to Edinburgh, they marched to Stirling. When the Queen heard of it, ſhe, with a few women, and ſome of her court, went to them. They received her with due reſpect. They, being aſked why they came thither armed, made anſwer, they came only to puniſh Bothwell for his crimes, in the baſe and cruel murder of the King, and the force put upon her perſon. The Queen juſtified Bothwell, and ſaid, he had done nothing but by her conſent. This provoked them ſo, that they all cried out with one voice, *Then, Madam, you ſhall be our priſoner*; and without delay they impriſoned her there in a caſtle within an iſland in Lochlevin, with only one footman and two ordinary women to attend her.

Thus the Nuncio underſtood the matter: and it is probable he had not only the beſt informations, but the beſt diſpoſition alſo to favour the Queen, if it had been poſſible. There is one curious paſſage more in this life.

He

He gives an account of the will which she wrote in French the night before she was beheaded. In it she professes her zeal for the Catholic religion; and provides, that, if her son does not renounce his false and heretical persuasion, the crown of England should never descend to him, but devolve to Philip king of Spain. This will the Cardinal, and another Englishman, having compared the writing with her own hand in her letters, attested and delivered, so confirmed, to the Count of Olivares, the King of Spain's ambassador, that it might be transmitted to that King. 1567.

Papists joined with Protestants.

The Scotch nation, Papists as well as Protestants, concurred in the new settlement, as appears by the first bond of association, which was entered into upon the resignation of the crown, which the Queen was prevailed upon to make, (by force, as she afterwards said, when she had made her escape.) The Queen resigned her crown formally at Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1567, to her son; and, during his infancy, named the Earl of Murray regent: and the Council removing to Stirling, the resignation was presented and received by several of the nobility, in the name of the three estates. The Earl of Morton took the coronation-oath in the name of the Prince, who was anointed and crowned by the Bishop of Orkney, who had a few days before married Bothwell to the Queen. The bond they entered into upon that was, that the Queen, being weary of the government, and desiring to see her son settled in the kingdom in her life-time, had resigned the crown to him: they therefore promised, and bound themselves to assist the King in setting him on the throne, and putting the crown upon his head; and that they would give him their oaths of homage, with all dutiful obedience to him, as became true subjects, and would concur in establishing him in his kingdom, and resist all such as should oppose him. To this bond were two hundred hands, of the most eminent families in the kingdom: twenty-five of them were then Earls and Lords, and fifteen others, who have been since that time advanced to the nobility.

1569.

Besides this bond, they entered into another, in April, 1569, by which they not only acknowledged the King's authority, but likewise (during his minority) the authority of the Earl of Murray as regent, renouncing all other authority. They all swore to this; and, if they failed in observing it, were contented to be counted false, perjured, and defamed for ever. This was signed by several

BOOK IV. 1559.

lords, who had not ſigned the former. Theſe were for the greateſt part Proteſtants, but many Papiſts joined with them; ſo that whatever was done againſt the Queen was done, not upon the grounds of the Reformation, but upon a national account, in which all ſides concurred.

The reaſons that moved Queen Elizabeth to be jealous of the King of Scotland.

In all this, the Queen of England had ſecretly a hand, how much ſoever it was diſguiſed, or denied. The intereſt of ſtate was clearly on her ſide; for the houſe of Guiſe, who had formed great projects in France, laid a main part of their ſcheme in advancing the Queen of Scotland to the crown of England; and, in view of that, many plots were formed to deſtroy that glorious Queen. They practiſed likewiſe on the King of Scotland, promiſing, that, if his mother was advanced to the crown of England, he ſhould ſtill be King of Scotland. They engaged him to continue unmarried, though he was the only perſon of his family. They durſt not venture on a Popiſh match, till their great deſign on the crown of France had ſucceeded; and would by no means ſuffer him to marry into a Proteſtant family.

The Queen of England, with her wiſe Council, underſtanding all this practice, raiſed thoſe jealouſies of his religion, and made ſuch diſcoveries of the ſecret correſpondence he was in with the houſe of Guiſe, that to this all the troubles that the Kirk gave him were chiefly owing.

But as theſe practices had a fatal concluſion with relation to the unfortunate Queen Mary; ſo when, on the murder of the Duke of Guiſe, and the ſucceſſes of the beginning of Henry the Fourth of France's reign, all the projects of that ambitious and perſecuting houſe were at an end, the King of Scotland married a daughter of Denmark, and continued ever after in a confidence with the Queen of England, which ſecured to him the ſucceſſion to that crown.

The concluſion.

With this the hiſtory is concluded, which is gone beyond the firſt deſign of it, which was only to open the firſt ſettlement of the Reformation in the Iſle of Great-Britain, in order to give an account of ſome other important matters, which bear a very near relation to it. And now it may be looked upon as an authentic hiſtory of a ſeries of great tranſactions, honeſtly, though often feebly conducted, with good intentions and happy beginnings, though not carried on to the perfection that was deſigned and wiſhed for.

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